CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS

Diversity and Education for Liberation:
REALITIES, POSSIBILITIES, AND PROBLEMS

La diversité et l'éducation pour la libération :
RÉALITÉS, POSSIBILITÉS ET PROBLÈMES
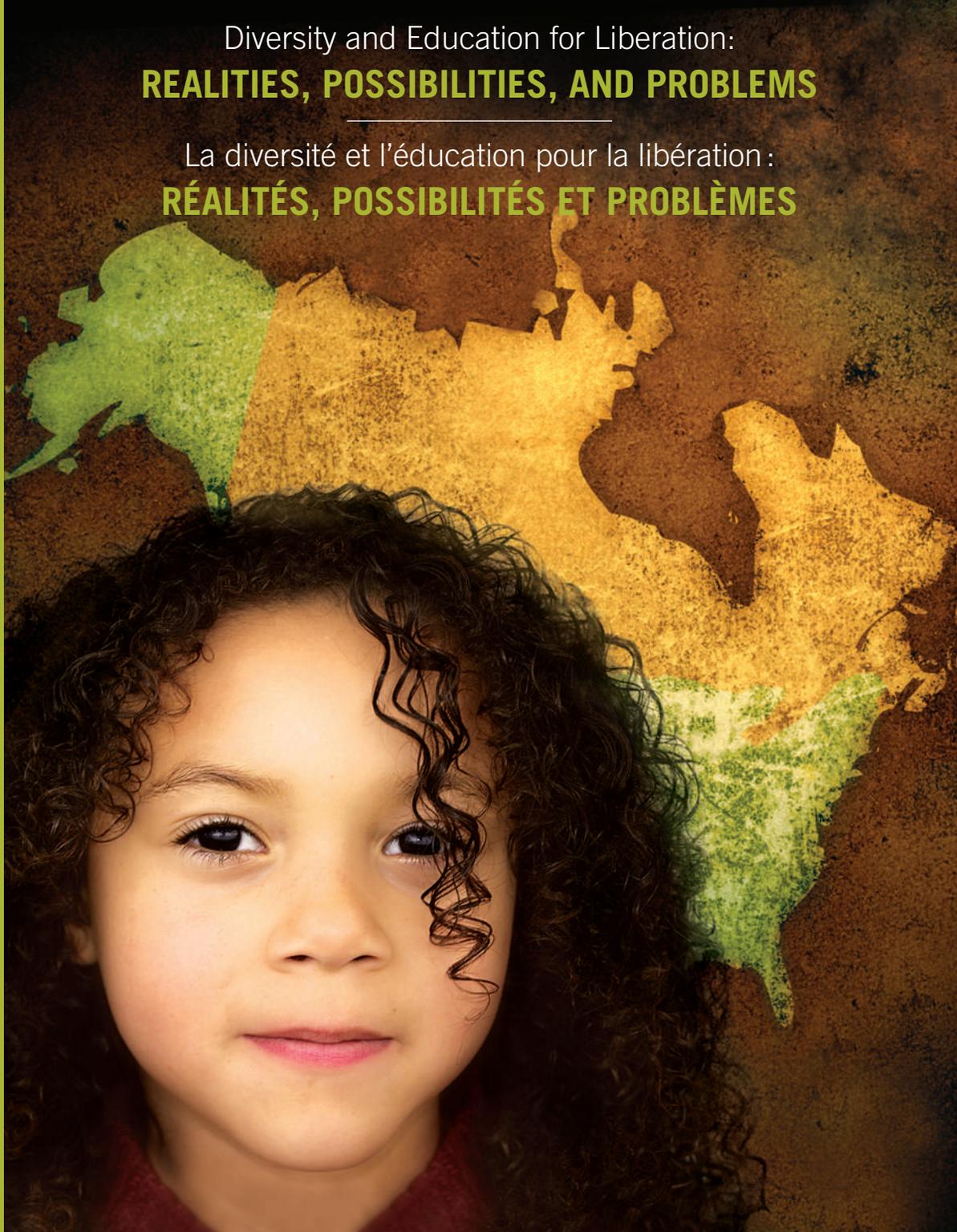
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MULTICULTURALISM TURNS 40: REFLECTIONS ON THE CANADIAN POLICY

THE ASSOCIATION FOR CANADIAN STUDIES AND
THE CANADIAN ETHNIC STUDIES ASSOCIATION 2ND ANNUAL CONFERENCE

SEPTEMBER 30 TO OCTOBER 1, 2011, MARRIOTT HOTEL, OTTAWA, ONTARIO

The Association for Canadian Studies and the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association invite proposals for our joint conference "Multiculturalism Turns 40: Reflections on the Canadian Policy" to be held September 30 to October 1, 2011, at the Ottawa Marriot Hotel, 100 Kent Street. This conference also marks the 21st conference of the Canadian Ethnic Studies Association and the second in a series of three conferences jointly organized with the Association for Canadian Studies. The Conference will offer a unique opportunity to exchange views and ideas in the Nation's Capital on the occasion of this important anniversary.

Conference organizers welcome proposals for papers, sessions, panels, roundtables and video presentations that address the topics of ethnicity, immigration, diversity, and multiculturalism in Canada, particularly in relation to the 40th anniversary of the introduction of multiculturalism as a government policy in 1971. Such issues as the evolution of policy on multiculturalism, current debates over multiculturalism, the impact of multiculturalism on Canadian society, multiculturalism and ethnic identity, multiculturalism and immigrant integration, multiculturalism and official languages, multiculturalism and community formation, multiculturalism and social cohesion, the role of the media and multicultural policy, multiculturalism, equality and social justice, comparing the Canadian approach to other countries, etc. Organizers invite submissions from a variety of perspectives, academic disciplines, and areas of study, including the humanities and the social sciences. Travel assistance is available for some presenters, the amount to be determined based on number of participants. We will endeavor to make a decision shortly after the abstract is received in order to facilitate those who need verification of their acceptance for travel funding purposes at their own institutions.

Please visit our websites: cesa.uwinnipeg.ca and www.acs-aec.ca for more information. Presentation and poster submissions should be directed electronically to James Ondrick, Director of Programs, Association for Canadian Studies at: james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca

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LES 40 ANS DU MULTICULTURALISME CANADIEN: RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA POLITIQUE CANADIENNE

2E CONGRÈS ANNUEL DE L'ASSOCIATION D'ÉTUDES CANADIENNES
ET DE LA SOCIÉTÉ CANADIENNE D'ÉTUDES ETHNIQUES

HÔTEL MARRIOTT OTTAWA, ONTARIO DU 30 SEPTEMBRE AU 1ER OCTOBRE 2011

L'Association d'études canadiennes (AEC) et la Société canadienne d'Études Ethniques (SCÉE) invitent des propositions pour un congrès conjoint intitulé : *Les 40 ans du multiculturalisme canadien : réflexions sur la politique canadienne* qui aura lieu du 30 septembre au 1er octobre 2011, à l'hôtel Marriott situé à Ottawa, au 100 rue Kent. Ce congrès marque aussi le 21e congrès de la Société canadienne d'Études Ethniques et le deuxième d'une série de trois congrès organisés en collaboration avec l'Association d'études canadiennes. Le congrès offrira une opportunité unique d'échanger points de vues et idées dans la Capitale nationale, à l'occasion de cet sujet important.

Les organisateurs de la conférence sollicitent des propositions de présentations, de panels de discussion, de tables rondes, et de vidéos qui aborderont le sujet de l'ethnicité, de l'immigration et du multiculturalisme au Canada, tout particulièrement dans le contexte du 40e anniversaire de l'introduction de la politique gouvernementale sur le multiculturalisme en 1971. Des questions telles l'évolution des politiques sur le multiculturalisme, les débats actuels sur le multiculturalisme, l'impact du multiculturalisme sur la société canadienne, le multiculturalisme et l'identité ethnique, le multiculturalisme et l'intégration des immigrants, le multiculturalisme et les langues officielles, le multiculturalisme et la formation des communautés, le multiculturalisme et la cohésion sociale, le rôle des médias et de la politique multiculturelle, le multiculturalisme, l'égalité et la justice sociale, les comparaisons de l'approche canadienne avec celle des autres pays, etc. Les organisateurs sollicitent des soumissions de différentes perspectives et disciplines académiques en sciences sociales. De l'aide financière pour les frais de déplacement sera disponible pour certains conférenciers, le montant de laquelle sera déterminé selon le nombre de participants. Nous tenterons de prendre une décision rapidement suivant la réception du résumé, question de faciliter la tâche à ceux qui auront besoin d'une confirmation de l'acceptation de leur proposition afin de pouvoir faire une demande de financement auprès de leur propre institution.

Veuillez visiter nos sites web cesa.uwinnipeg.ca et www.acs-aec.ca pour plus d'information. Veuillez faire parvenir vos propositions électroniquement à James Ondrick, directeur des programmes de l'Association d'études canadiennes au james.ondrick@acs-aec.ca.

CANADIAN ISSUES
THÈMES CANADIENS

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THE LIBERATING POTENTIAL OF MULTICULTURALISM IN CANADA: IDEALS AND REALITIES

Ratna Ghosh is James McGill Professor and William C. Macdonald Professor of Education at McGill University in Montreal, Canada, and was Dean of Education from 1998 to 2003. She was appointed to the Order of Canada and the Order of Quebec, and elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (RSC). She has published books and articles on the topic of diversity in Canada and was featured in *Time* Magazine, Canadian Edition, 2003, in an article on "Canada's Best in Education". She is the incoming President of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES). As President-Elect of CIES, she has organized the 2011 annual conference of CIES to be held in Montreal for the first time.

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows stuffed. I want the cultures of all lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any.

Gandhi

The essays in this special volume of *Canadian Issues,* published for the 55th Annual Conference of the Comparative and International Education Society (CIES) to be held in Montreal (May 1-5, 2011), address questions still being raised about the concept of multiculturalism. Many of these essays point to some of the ambiguities and complexities of integration in Canadian society, several of which focus on the province of Quebec because of its distinctive linguistic and cultural makeup. The role of education and the challenges of diversity faced in schools by students, administrators, and policy makers alike, as well as the policies of multiculturalism and interculturalism are discussed. Many of the essays draw attention to the theme of this year's conference, which is *Education is That Which Liberates,* and the potential of education to liberate the mind from ignorance and prejudice. This will be a key topic in presentations, workshops, plenary sessions, and a theatre performance.

Canada is a country of immigrants; it is known as the first country in the world to have a policy on multiculturalism (1971). While French and British settlers conquered the landscape from the Native populations, many other groups of people also helped build the country. Presently, Canada's 33 million people reflect a vast diversity of cultural, linguistic, and religious backgrounds, skin colours and physical features – all of which ultimately impact the socio-economic levels and life chances of people.

EDUCATION AND LIBERATION

With the increasingly diverse nature of societies, and the dramatic impact of globalization, electronic media and communication technologies, disadvantaged and marginalized groups and individuals are clamoring for social justice and opportunities to be included in the globalization process. Changes resulting from a market economy and technological advances have influenced the goals of education. The traditional objectives of the development of values have shifted to skills training. However, as the recent events in North Africa and Japan have demonstrated, social justice issues and the moral imperative to work towards a sustainable world are ignored at great risk to all. Increasing diversity in societies around the globe must be supported by inclusive policies and educational institutions, and those who work within them have a moral, political, and ethical obligation to carefully rethink their role in producing future citizens.

Education can be a powerful tool for combating inequity and discrimination in today's conflict-ridden world. It must challenge the structures that maintain the uneven development within societies. It must be a process that liberates people not only from ignorance and poverty, but also from fear, vulnerability, injustice, and social inequality. In a knowledge society, ignorance will only create further inequalities.

Thinkers like Freire and Tagore[1] have stressed the need to liberate the process of education itself by using methods

that prevent depositing "knowledge" to the students. "The oppressed must learn to liberate themselves, and in turn, their oppressors, who are also dehumanized through the very process of oppressing others" (Freire, 1975: 27). Liberatory education prepares learners to expose and challenge oppressive social structures that are often hidden because they are normalized. Educational institutions have also been complicit in perpetuating these unfair social and economic structures.

LEGISLATION

In Canada, legal protections for equality and anti-discrimination legislation exist in several legal instruments starting from the international documents to which it is a signatory to federal, provincial, and municipal ones. How effective can legislation be in shaping society? Two issues are important with respect to this question. First, as Martin Luther King, Jr. once noted, legislation does not change the hearts of people but it restrains the heartless (King, 1964). Secondly, it cannot be assumed that legislation operates effectively to reduce inequalities. Legal protections are generated by groups in power and operate within societal and cultural contexts. These environments are influenced by norms and customs, which create "systemic, structural, and social obstacles... institutionalized and embedded in both official and unofficial law and custom… *apparently* neutral institutional rules, policies and practices… (that can have)… detrimental effects on the life chances, opportunities and well-being of minorities and women" (Sheppard, 2010: 3-4). Legal scholars have started to look at how the injuries of exclusion and discrimination are sometimes entrenched in practices, policies, and norms which appear neutral but work to prevent the fair distribution of societal privileges (Sheppard, 2010; Sturm, 2001). Citizens need to be educated to change the cultures of social institutions in order to transform society into inclusive spaces and not merely reluctantly accommodate groups of people within an established social order. This inclusive space is crucial in immigrant societies where diversity brings with it challenges to equality and human rights.

The basic liberal principles and philosophy of individual human rights had been established in Canada through common law, and explicitly recognized by the adoption in 1948 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.[2] However, legislation was based on an instrumentalist vision prohibiting discrimination based on several grounds such as race, ethnicity, sex, religion, disability, and later sexual orientation, so that people could challenge the discriminatory act in courts. The awareness of structural discrimination and the likelihood of its perpetuation with time led to some proactive policy initiatives (Abella, 1984). But the structural societal

foundations into which these policies were inserted stayed intact. In other words, the underlying causes of inequalities were not addressed and new policies were merely grafted on to the existing frame. It was not until the 1980s that formal constitutional recognition was given to legal protection of minority and group-based identities and rights. This legislation was followed by several other legal instruments for equality such as the Employment Equity Act (1995). Currently, Bill C 389 is in its third reading in Parliament. If passed, this federal legislation will be a landmark statement on equality. It proposes to extend federal human rights protection against discrimination on the basis of transgender and transexual issues. It also amends the Criminal Code to include offenses as hate crimes when based on gender identity or expression.

Legislation on multiculturalism in Canada is a recognition of diversity in Canadian society. Multicultural Policy was based on an understanding of the need for formal recognition of differences in a democratic society built on a plurality of cultures, ethnicities and religions, gender, and sexual orientation. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau's vision of a "just society" led to the Policy of Multiculturalism in 1971. This policy viewed multiculturalism as an "idea for social reform based on the premise of equality of *opportunity* for *individuals* regardless of biological inheritance or ancestral history" (Hutcheson, 1998). Yet it was not until 17 years later, in 1988, that the Multiculturalism Act was adopted; multiculturalism was firmly entrenched in the Canada Act (Canadian Constitution) in 1982. Thus, the scaffold for a just society was assumed to be secure. As Claudia Ruitenberg points out below, it is not that multiculturalism has been achieved in Canada, there are still many challenges, but multiculturalism is a work in progress. It provides a framework which allows innovative possibilities.

Nevertheless, two key questions that need to be addressed in the Canadian context are: What has the term multiculturalism come to mean? What is integration?

MULTICULTURALISM

On the 40th anniversary of the Multiculturalism Policy in Canada this year, it is important to evaluate the impact this policy has had on Canadian society and is likely to have in future. Multiculturalism was vaguely defined in the policy as the protection and retention of cultures and languages of the various cultural groups to offer equality of opportunity for all its citizens to participate in all aspects of Canadian society and provide opportunities to strengthen the use of the two official languages, namely, English and French. How equal opportunity for participation in all aspects of society was to be achieved was not specified, although federal government programs for learning the

two official languages were put in place possibly with the assumption that all that was needed for full participation was knowledge of the languages. The federal government focused on providing programs and funding for the maintenance of the cultural heritage of groups and on heritage language classes in after-school programs. The focus was on cultural and linguistic retention. The Multiculturalism Act (1988) and the establishment of the Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act (1991) changed the direction of the concept of multculturalism towards a vision of elimination of racism and discrimination. Thus, the meaning of multiculturalism was expanded to make race relations a primary focus of the multicultural policy.

As an ideology, multiculturalism is a radical departure from the policy of assimilation, which was the goal of education until the mid-20th century. Multicultural Education in Canada represents a paradigm shift from an assimilationist model to one that incorporates other cultures. It began, like the Policy, with an emphasis on cultural songs, dances, and foods and broadened gradually to the study of other cultures and multiple perspectives on issues. From the eighties, anti-racist and critical multicultural models have become more common in schools. However, since education in Canada is a provincial responsibility and the impact of the federal policy on education can only be indirect, the provinces differ in their emphasis on multicultural education and the extent to which critical perspectives are prevalent varies from region to region. Today, most federal multicultural programs attempt to focus on institutional change, race relations, and citizen participation in societal institutions. Since educational structures, policies, and practices have traditionally been Eurocentric, other perspectives now need to be given to reflect new realities and provide a liberating education that recognizes the complexities of diversity and equity. Analyses of power relations and values such as respect for other people have profound consequences for the goals and practices in education.

Multiculturalism is a federal policy, although most provinces and many larger municipalities have adopted the policy primarily in education, policing, social services, and the protection of human rights. However, the Policy remains until today, four decades later, a very hotly contested topic. On the one hand, it has been abused by ethnic minority groups to sometimes reinforce their traditional behaviors and customs however unacceptable in modern democracies, especially those related to restrictive gender relations. Others have used religion for political purposes and taken advantage of "multiculturalism", thus avoiding review, analysis and transparency of a community's internal dynamics that might involve some oppressive power relations. Furthermore, like language, religion is a cultural signifier and is used in "cultural fundamentalist

constructions" (Yuval-Davis, 1997). On the other hand, in the absence of the institutionalization of race relations and discrimination legislation for 17 years after the Policy was announced, the focus on "ethnic cultures" and "cultural preservation" became the expression of the concept; and despite the later shift to economic and discrimination legislation in the 1980s, Multicultural Policy continues to be seen in static terms and remains a contentious issue. This is because it is still seen as a policy for maintaining cultures and languages of minority groups which, it has been argued, separates and divides people by creating ethnic ghettos rather than instilling in them a national Canadian identity.

An editorial in the well-respected national newspaper *The Globe and Mail* (Oct. 8, 2010) expressed some of the common concerns about multiculturalism. Entitled "Strike multiculturalism from the national vocabulary," it implied that multiculturalism represented cultural retention. The point of the editorial was to decry the belief that multiculturalism was about celebration of ethnic foods and dances that distance ethnic groups by putting them in separate silos. It argued that immigrants do not come to Canada to recreate what they have left behind but because of the opportunities and freedoms in Canada's ways of life – with its democratic institutions, freedom of religion and expression, and its respect for equality under the law. The fact, however, is that a majority of immigrants come to Canada for economic and educational opportunities; and many of them want to their traditional ways and customs.

Lack of conceptual understanding of the term multiculturalism has led to its misinterpretation. A major problem with focusing on heritage languages, tradition, and culture is that the focus of multiculturalism policy is on Allophones: those who are not Anglophone (English mother-tongue) or Francophone (French mother-tongue). According to the 2006 Census on immigration and citizenship (Statistics Canada, 2007), 58% of the Canadian population was Anglophone and 22% was Francophone (concentrated in Quebec), and 20.1% of the total population, a full one-fifth of the population had neither English nor French as its mother tongue (Statistics Canada, 2007). Also, nearly one-fifth (19.8%) of Canadians were born outside of Canada.

The complexion of Canada is changing rather fast. Whereas in 1971, about 62% immigrants came from Europe, in 2006 as much as 58% immigrants came from Asia (including the Middle East). So, the word "multiculturalism" has come to be associated with the word "immigrant" and the very word "immigrant" has a connotation of non-white groups: visible minorities. The popular perception is that it is a policy that caters to "ethnic groups" and this enables

the majority groups (Anglophone or Francophone) to watch from the sidelines so that white privilege is kept intact; it is never in question, never under attack (McIntosh, 1990). The Anglophone and Francophone groups who are white do not define themselves as "ethnic" and multiculturalism does not seem to affect them. Anglophones and Francophones are perceived not to have any ethnicity. The federal government refers to people from Asia, Africa and Latin America as "people of colour" or "visible minorities" while Quebec refers to them as "cultural communities." The majority groups do not assume a position in the framework of "multiculturalism." They not only distance themselves from identities of colour and culture, but they privilege themselves (as the majority) and do not see the disadvantages of discrimination, so that they do not have to share the power that they now have.

Another response to the concept of multiculuralism by neo liberalists has been to appear "color-blind." This implies treating everyone the same by appearing to be blind to differences in skin color (racial and ethnic differences). But human beings are deeply diverse – not only in their inherent characteristics (ethnicity, gender, age, physical attributes and aptitudes, physical and mental health) but also in their location or "positioning"(place of birth, socio-economic background, etc.) – which result in unequal power relations (Ghosh, 2002). The effect of ignoring such differences, in fact, may be unjust and inegalitarian (Sen, 1992). Studies indicate that how these differences are constructed has a great impact on student achievement and experiences in school, as well as on students' formation of their own identities. In effect, color-blindness condones and continues white privilege and the status quo of unequal power relations. Not to recognize the "location" (Bhabha 94) of a person or acknowledge that certain "differences" have disadvantages is "misrecognition". And, as Taylor (1992) points out, "Nonrecognition or misrecognition can inflict harm, can be a form of oppression, imprisoning someone in a false, distorted, and reduced mode of being" (p.25). Fairness, not color-blindness , is a fundamental principle of justice (Appiah, 96). Difference is seen as a problem and one way to deal with it is to fail to recognize it.

In school and in society, as long as multiculturalism implies nothing more than cultures in a static form it has been less challenging. A critical multicultural education approach that includes anti-racism, which deals with issues of structural and social discrimination, or power relations, becomes problematic.

INTEGRATION

The recent release of the 2011 report of the Migrant Integration Policy Index III (MIPEX) ranks Canada third after Sweden and Portugal in integration of immigrants.[3]

MIPEX attempts to *measure* integration policies. This ranking does not, of course, provide a picture of or represent immigrants' subjective experiences in society. Nor does it convey the challenges in the daily encounters of their children in schools. This volume is a small attempt to satisfy some of the need for interpretive contributions in this area.

Can legislation guarantee to improve integration in society? With the idea of having been founded by the British and the French, the initial policy and vision of Canada was that of a bicultural and bilingual country. The Report of the Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B & B Commission), on which multicultural policy was based, discusses integration in Canadian society. In its view, nothing should prevent those of other than British and French ethnic origin from keeping their attachment to their original culture once they have been integrated into Canadian life.

The B & B Commission had been set up in the late 1960s in response to the province of Quebec's demands for sovereignty during the Quiet Revolution which focused on preserving French culture and language in a country where the Québecois felt threatened and marginalized, a feeling which was legitimate given their very low birth rate, the homogenizing dangers of globalization, and their position vis-à-vis the English speaking population in North America (2% of the population). Language had been an important vehicle for validating ethnic identity. A bilingual multicultural policy with its focus on retaining heritage cultures and emphasizing both English and French, was in conflict with Quebec's goal of francization – as it was with Native groups' goals to preserve their endangered cultures. Thus, the policy was rejected by both Québecois and Native groups.

Quebec was split between federalists and sovereignists. The latter saw multiculturalism as undermining Quebec nationalism by equating it with "other" ethnic groups in Canada. However, Quebec's low birth rate and an urgent need for immigrant labour brought diverse groups of people into Quebec. The incoming populations largely settled in the greater Montreal region, while rural Quebec remained rather homogenous. In 1977, the introduction of Bill 101, the French language legislation, forced all immigrants of diverse cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds to attend French schools (with a few exceptions). The provincial government introduced its own policy of "interculturalism" as a model for integration of cultural communities.

Like multiculturalism, interculturalism is vaguely defined as a response to the new ethnic, racial and religious reality of Quebec. The intercultural programs are similar in many ways to those of the other provinces and the federal government. While multiculturalism is built

on the assumption of not pointing to a dominant culture, interculturalism in Quebec is based on the understanding of the predominance of francophone culture: to build and integrate other cultural communities into a common public culture based on the French language, while respecting diversity. Some Québecois see multiculturalism as an imposition by English Canada, as one member of the opposition *Parti Québecois* pointed out a couple of months ago that multiculturlism is a Canadian value, not a Quebec one! Both multiculturalism and interculturalism aim at respecting diversity and commitment to liberal democratic principles. There is the view that, given their similarity, the difference is merely semantic (Jedwab, 2011). However, "(a)ny model that seeks to manage Quebec's ethno-cultural diversity effectively must take into account the existence of an ethno-cultural majority and the uncertainty that is associated with its future," says sociologist Gerard Bouchard (Remiorz, 2011), who, along with political philosopher Charles Taylor, was appointed by Premier Jean Charest in 2007 to the Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences.

Currently, a debate about secularism and religion is going on in Quebec education and institutions. The province is perhaps more vigorously secular than others given its all too recent domination by the Catholic Church. This debate revolves around the place of religion in society and in schools (Proulx, 1999).[4] This particular issue began in 2007 with the question of reasonable accommodation in this society that is largely homogenous throughout the province but has very diverse populations in Montreal, its largest city. Secularism has come into question in relation to religious symbols: the hijab and the niqab[5] seem to symbolize Islam and women's position in Islam (although only about 25 women in Quebec are known to wear the niqab). Another religious symbol which has raised issues of secularism in the state in the "kirpan" worn by orthodox Sikhs. The recent Bill 94 bans the niqab when providing or receiving public services in public institutions such as schools and hospitals. As much as 94% of the population in Quebec support the veil ban, more than in any other province. Nor has any other province taken the initiative to ban the niqab.

In the school system, where the problem with both these objects first surfaced, "reasonable accommodation" is made for all religious groups, ranging from Christian to Muslim and Jewish groups. While some of the cases have been resolved in courts, the rulings were made on the basis of rights legislation rather than on multicultural or intercultural values (Quebec and Canadian charters on human rights). The guiding principle in schools is about the students' success and their right to equality and freedom of religion, not about multi/interculturalism (Fluery, 2007).

An interesting controversy has developed around Quebec's new Ethics and Religious Culture course which is mandatory in all school, and is being challenged in the courts. It replaces courses on religion, which traditionally meant Catholic or Protestant. Within Quebec's framework of a secular society, the aim is to promote critical thinking and introduce different perspectives to students who can make informed decisions about religion and ethical issues.

CONCLUSION

The constitutional and other equality legislation mentioned above represent a major shift in societal thinking by explicitly recognizing diversity in Canadian society. While legislation remains extremely important, it does not ensure effective protection of equal opportunity and recognition of diverse identities in Canadian society (Sheppard, 2006). Legislation can, nevertheless, result in reshaping the existing power relations and structures in society. Interpretations of multiculturalism have to be nuanced and contextualized in order to avoid a binary system of representation which solidifies and normalizes the gap between the "us" and "them", and which at present makes multiculturalism and interculturalism issues for the "other" to deal with.

From an educational perspective, an education which implies that multiculturalism is relevant only to minority groups in order that they may adjust to the social order is ineffective because the majority group needs to be equally aware of the changing nature of Canadian society and their privileged position in it. They need to know about unequal power relations, the meaning of difference and the experiences of those who are "different." The need is to transform existing institutional practices to create a society in which integration does not mean accommodation of certain "ethnic" groups; rather, it must construct a common space where dominant and minority groups are not recognized as having different privileges. The task of education, therefore, is to induce critical thinking of the societal status quo so as to alter the foundations of practices and norms which produce unequal opportunities and life chances as well as influence individuals' assumptions.

In the context of the extraordinary social changes in Canadian society and the world, the basis of education is to question and examine the roots of injustice and intolerance. Thus, the liberation achieved through education can be a powerful force in our society to produce enlightened citizens. Multicultural education is not a static concept. It is changing in interesting ways. It can liberate the mind from bigotry, intolerance, and injustice – and nourish open dialogue and friendly exchange among people.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] "I try to assert in my words and works that education has its only meaning and object in freedom–freedom from ignorance about the laws of the universe, and freedom from passion and prejudice in our communication with the human world." (Tagore, 1929, 73).

[2] McIntosh (1990, 1) describes "white privilege as an invisible package of unearned assets that I can count on cashing in each day, but about which I was 'meant' to remain oblivious. White privilege is like an invisible weightless knapsack of special provisions, maps, passports, codebooks, visas, clothes, tools, and blank checks".

[3] The MIPEX is a comparative measure of integration policies in 31 European and North American countries. Its 200 plus policy indicators provide a multi-dimensional view of opportunities available for societal participation of immigrants in various institutions of each country.

[4] In 1999 , Jean-Pierre Proulx, President of the Task Force on the Place of Religion in Schools in Québec, presented the report entitled: *Religion in Secular Schools: A New Perspective for Quebec.*

[5] The niqab covers the face as well as the head.

CONCEPTUAL PERSPECTIVES ON MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: A SURVEY OF THE FIELD

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ABSTRACT

This paper will undertake a survey of the various conceptual perspectives from which scholars and practitioners engaged in educational research and practice in their attempts to understand the dynamics of multiculturalism policy. These include: conservative multiculturalism, liberal and left-liberal multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism, anti-racist education, and anti-oppressive education perspectives. While these do not represent the entire range of perspectives that scholars and practitioners employ, it must also be kept in mind that these are not monolithic and/or consensual perspectives, and that there are debates internal and intrinsic to these perspectives that require separate research endeavors. This article takes the Trudeau era policy of Multiculturalism as its point of departure and examines how various provinces have adapted and implemented the official policy in their educational programs.

Forty years ago, Pierre Elliot Trudeau, the then Prime Minister of Canada, announced the Multiculturalism Policy on the floor of the House of Commons. Since then, multiculturalism has become an integral part of policy debates in Canada, but it has also become a marker of the Canadian identity discourses. Although education in Canada is under provincial jurisdiction, it has not been immune to the influence of the national Multiculturalism Policy nor the debates surrounding it. Most of the provinces have incorporated the policy into their educational systems to varying degrees. In one way or another, the notion of multiculturalism in its various articulations has been instrumental in the overall design and implementation of educational policies, curricula, teacher education, etc., in Canada.

Despite the prevalence of multiculturalism in almost all walks of life in Canada, there is no consensus on the definition of the concept. Broadly speaking, it has been understood as a public policy, ideology, cultural diversity, or as a quasi-analytical academic concept (Li, 1999). In Quebec, there has been an official rejection of the notion of multiculturalism on the grounds that it does not reflect the cultural reality of the people of Quebec. The province's policy and educational equivalent is the idea of "interculturalism," which entails a coming together of various cultures with the French language providing the common bond. The scope of this essay does not permit us to delve deeper into the definitional aspects of the issue. Thus, for the purpose of this essay, I will use the notion of multiculturalism in a generalized sense to denote a range of policies and practices – including those pertaining to education – that are broadly favorable to the social inclusion of cultural diversity

With this in mind, I aim in this paper to undertake a survey of the various conceptual perspectives from which scholars and practitioners engaged in educational research and practice attempt to understand the dynamics of multiculturalism policy. These include: conservative multiculturalism, liberal and left-liberal multiculturalism, critical multiculturalism, anti-racist education, and anti-oppressive education perspectives. I must mention that these do not represent the entire range of perspectives

that scholars and practitioners employ. It must also be kept in mind that these are not monolithic and/or consensual perspectives, and that there are debates internal and intrinsic to these perspectives that require separate research endeavors.

There is a sizable body of literature that seeks to explain the potential of education in addressing issues related to multiculturalism, interculturalism, and diversity in Canadian schools. These scholarly works emanate from multiple conceptual foci, such as liberal (Kymlicka, 2007), left-liberal, critical, anti-race (Mansfield and Kehoe, 1994; Dei and Bradford 1999; Dei, 1999, Klassen and Carr, 1997; Bonnett and Carrington, 1996), and anti-oppressive perspectives (Kumashiro, 2002) on multiculturalism. It operates at various levels of analysis, such as theory building (Kymlicka, 2007, Hale (1997), Djebrane, Barciaga, et al., 2007, Heng-Borkhorst, 2007), policy analysis (Kymlicka 2007, Li, 1999, Mosquera and Mosquera, 2005; Carr 1999, 2007), teaching and learning (Winchester, Ian, Matuk and Ruggirello, 2007; Jacob, 1995, McKay and Sakyi, 1994; Gilborn, 1996; Li, 1996; Salili 2003; Young, Jon and Buchanan, 1996; Elbaz-Luwisch, 2004; Ghosh, 2004), issues related to identity (Harper, 1997; Riviere, 2005; Hassmann-Howard, 1989; St. Denis 2007), citizenship (Heath, 2004; Strickland 2010; Aponuik and Bruno-Jofre, 2002; Johnes, 2000; Martins, 2008; Sears and Hughes, 1996), curricula (Ghosh, 2008), evaluation and implementation and measurement (Levin, 2008; Ungar, 2007; Hill-Jackson 2007). Similarly, this body of literature employs various methodological approaches, such as surveys and other quantitative approaches, narrative inquiry, document analysis, ethnography, etc.

This article takes the Trudeau era policy of multiculturalism as its point of departure and examines how various provinces have adapted and implemented the official policy in their educational programs. An initial review of this literature shows that the majority of the work has been done in the areas of identity, citizenship, and the pedagogical aspect of multiculturalism and education, followed by historical and policy analysis. In geographic terms, the majority of the studies inform this article's focus on Ontario and, to a lesser extent, British Columbia. There are relatively fewer studies that have Quebec as their focal point of analysis (Ghosh, et. al, 1995; Ghosh, 2004; Bouchard, 2009; Belhachmi, 1997; Martins, 2008; Mc Andrew and Lamarre, 1996; Naseem, forthcoming). In the following space, I survey some of the major perspectives that provide the conceptual anchors for these studies.

LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM

As a conceptual framework, liberal multiculturalism is primarily concerned with the relationship between the individual and the state in the overall context of diversity and multi/interculturalism. In the Canadian context, the proponents of liberal multiculturalism focus on the response of state and societal institutions to complex and intersecting demands of an increasingly diverse population. Considering pluralism in a sociopolitical context as a necessary feature of a liberal society with individuals as autonomous actors, the central argument of this school of thought is that the complexities of Canada's increasingly diverse population will be played out in the courts of law and in federal and provincial legislatures, in turn resulting in political and social rules and rights for both the minority and the majority groups (Kymlicka, 2007). This line of reasoning places immense trust in the workings of the liberal democratic state; it argues that it is the existing state and political institutions where the tensions inherent to a diverse population will be addressed.

In other words, liberal multiculturalism is predicated on the belief that there is a natural equality between the members of different groups (dominant and the subordinate) in a given society. Building on this premise, liberal multiculturalists argue that the absence of equality between these groups can only be due to the relative lack of social, economic, and educational opportunities. This line of reasoning assumes that the system can be reformed and that once it is reformed these inequalities will vanish.

LEFT-LIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM

While sharing the same epistemic grounds, left-liberal multiculturalism differs from liberal multiculturalism in that it holds that the latter obfuscates cultural differences between ethnic, racial, gender, and other cultural groups in the society. Left-liberal multiculturalism foregrounds difference without contextualizing it in the historical and cultural situations in which it was formed. Thus, difference is understood as a *historical* signification of one's positionality and experience. In this sense, it becomes an essence or an essentializing marker. The subject of this essence is understood to have an epistemic privilege that only the subject can have. One's lived experience becomes the sole basis for the voice that can tell the subjects' stories. It forms the credentials of one's identity. While admittedly, one's location, position, and experience in terms of race, gender, class, sexuality, history, etc., are important in the overall understanding, according to a left-liberal multiculturalism perspective they must be open to questioning in order to reveal the ideological and/or discursive influences that have shaped them. It is argued that this perspective does not assure all voices from the group will be equally heard. As is often the case, some powerful members of the group that have experienced marginalization assume the role of representative in the name of epistemic privilege and

present their voice as being that of the entire group. The marginalized members of the group, such as women, are often left unrepresented. Thus, in a diverse society, the dialogue between the groups, if it exists, is often a dialogue between the powerful members of the dominant and the subordinate groups.

CONSERVATIVE MULTICULTURALISM

Conservative multiculturalism is predicated on the belief that multicultural societies must strive for a pluralism that fosters a rich common culture. This perspective is said to have provided the basis for the American melting pot model, where cultural groups are expected to forego their distinctive identities, culture, language, and values and merge into the larger host culture. In other words, it is based on the idea that the immigrant populations must accept the social and political values of the host society in order for the society to work in a harmonious way. To them, the principal purpose of immigration, and therefore of multiculturalism, is the promotion of economic growth. Some proponents of this school of thought (Ravitch, 1991) have argued that those who immigrate should leave behind the values of their homeland, as these are precisely the values and value systems from which they fled. They oppose the multicultural educational models on the grounds that they preach relativism, i.e., that no one group has the right to judge any other group. They further reject what they view as relativistic multiculturalism on the grounds that all societies must have a set of basic values on the basis of which the notion of right and wrong can be established.

The conservative multiculturalism perspective is often critiqued for being assimilationist or, at best, for wanting ethnic groups to be add-ons to the dominant culture. It is also critiqued for promoting a superfluous, consensual view of culture and society. In the overall context of education, this perspective advocates a standardized educational model that is often based on the dominant epistemology, ethics, and value system – which seeks a harmonious citizenry and an ideal of a consensual nationalistic unity.

CRITICAL MULTICULTURALISM

Critical multiculturalism has emerged as a counter discourse to the mainstream liberal and left-liberal articulations of multiculturalism. While a number of scholars working in this tradition (Ghosh, Sleeter, Egbo) operate from a Freirean base, others, such as McLaren (2000), Giroux (2000), and Duarte and Smith (2000), draw upon Foucauldian post-structuralism, anti-racism, and post-modern feminism in addition to Freire. In its Freirean incarnation, critical multiculturalism seeks to challenge the hegemonic, white, Anglo-American bourgeois worldview without being naively idealistic (Duarte and

Smith, 2000, p. 18). In its Freire-Foucault orientation, critical multiculturalism aims to develop school as a site from where the hegemonic and assimilationist knowledge constructions and pedagogical practices can be challenged and eventually undermined. It is important to note that critical multiculturalism is skeptical of liberal multiculturalism's attempt to create societal dialogues without really creating conditions in which parties could enter the dialogue on an equal footing. As Duarte and Smith (2000) note, "…a Freire/Foucault synthesis enables the critical multiculturalism to recognize that while it may have the potential to be liberatory, dialogue also has to the potential to be a vehicle for enforcing norms and rules of communication; while it has the capacity to liberate, dialogue is often a mechanism for displacing consensus and silencing difference (pp. 18-19). However, the anti-dialogue stance of the liberatory critical multiculturalism based in Frankfurt school's anti-fascist critical theory—Isaiah Berlin's notion of negative liberty and Rosaldo's notion of borderlands—is not uniformly adopted by all scholars working in the field. As mentioned earlier, a number of prominent critical multiculturalism educators and scholars still believe in the power and importance of dialogue, introspection, and consciousness-raising as vehicles for negotiating and reaffirming diversity in multicultural societies.

Proponents of critical multiculturalism argue that the liberal trust in the institutions of the liberal democratic state is misplaced. They cite the history of ethnic and racial relations in countries such as the US, Britain, and Canada to argue that the existing institutions have not been able to deal with issues of diversity in a just and equitable way due to the unequal power relations in these societies (Giroux, 2000; McLaren, 2000). This line of reasoning suggests that the dominant, mono-cultural conceptions of history and society, which are ethnocentric or even racist, need to be rejected. They further suggest that only a framework based on a critical examination of power relations in the society can provide insight into how to address issues of diversity in society.

ANTI-RACIST EDUCATION

Anti-racist education focuses on race and the intersections of social difference (class, gender, sexuality, race, and ethnicity) to question power relations in the school and society (Dei, 1999). It recognizes the importance of personal experience and lived realities as a source of knowledge and explores the perspectives of different groups in society. Anti-racist education shares the neo-Marxist orientation and the critical theoretical epistemic base of the critical multiculturalism. Like critical multiculturalism, it purports to politicize education in order to uncover the social, economic, and structural roots of inequality in a

given society. Also, like critical multicultural perspectives, it aims to provide students with a space in which they can acquire/develop political agency to challenge the prevalent inequitable social and economic distribution of resources (Fleras and Elliot, 1992). While the critical multicultural perspective foregrounds class as an analytical tool, the anti-racist education perspective prioritizes race as a robust and comprehensive analytical and explanatory concept. However, it is important to note that the anti-racist education perspective understands racism not just as a personal prejudice. Rather, it understands racism as structural, institutional, embodied, and ideational. For scholars working in this tradition, education should not only aim at providing alternative explanations, but must help in looking at alternative ways of bringing about social change.

ANTI-OPPRESSIVE EDUCATION

Finally, anti-oppressive education as a conceptual framework is grounded in the notion that traditional education may actually contribute to oppression in educational and societal contexts. In other words, some of the so-called educational reforms may actually mask the oppressions that need to be challenged (antioppressiveeducation.org). Proponents of anti-oppressive education (Kumashiro, 2002; Schick, 2000, 2003) argue for a focus on changing how we think about and engage in many aspects of education, from curriculum and pedagogy to school culture and activities to institutional structure and policies. More importantly the application of anti-oppressive education in relation to issues of diversity suggests that it is a mistake to look at groups, both dominant and minority, as monolithic entities. Oppressions of various kinds are present at various intersections of marginality (gender, sexual preference, race, class, etc.) in both the dominant and the minority groups. These oppressions work through various mechanisms, such as curricula, textbooks, pedagogical strategies, etc. It is these mechanisms and how they contribute to various forms of oppression that researchers of diversity must focus on. Central to this perspective is the belief that education must aim to challenge multiple forms of oppression that include racism, classism, sexism, heterosexism, anti-Semitism, ablism, colonialism, and other "isms" (antioppressiveeducation.org, also see Kumashiro, 2002). Similarly, it is argued that there is not just one form of anti-oppressive education. The field of anti-oppressive education is broad and welcomes any approach to education that actively challenges different forms of oppression. It draws on multiple intellectual traditions and purports to bring together theoretical and practical insights from traditions such as feminism, critical theory and pedagogy, queer theory, postcolonial theory, and other movements aimed at social justice. "As it moves forward, the field of anti-oppressive education constantly problematizes its own perspectives and practices by seeking new insights, recognizing that any approach to education — even its own — can make certain changes possible but others impossible" (antioppressiveeducation.org). Anti-oppressive education draws upon scholarly bodies of literature that focus on a) education for the other; b) education about the other; c) education that is critical of privileging and Othering, and, d) education that changes students and society.

CONCLUSION

From the time that Pierre Elliot Trudeau introduced the multiculturalism policy, diversity in Canada has increased tremendously. There is a general impression that Canadian multiculturalism policy has worked well. At the same time, the policy has also been a subject of scholarly and societal scrutiny and critique.

A measure of the veracity of Canadian multicultural policy is that it has provided the language and the space within which societal debates and contestations over multicultural coexistence and rights can take place at almost all levels of the Canadian society. Canadian classrooms are microcosms of Canadian society. These debates, tensions, and contestations have also found their way into our educational system. At this level, the policy and its ensuing debates have largely been grounded in the liberal and left-liberal articulations of multiculturalism. However, some believe that in the past five years, the conservative discourse on multiculturalism has made serious headway in the Canadian policy discourse. The conceptual perspectives discussed above provide insight into various ways in which issues related to diversity can be understood. These perspectives are intellectual locations or modes of consciousness each with its own normative questions, answers and solutions for pluralistic societies such as Canada. It is quite clear that, for the foreseeable future, there will be no change in the institutional and structural landscape of Canada as suggested by the proponents of critical and anti-racist education. It is equally clear, however, that conversations on pluralism and multiculturalism from these perspectives constantly redefine the landscape by posing questions and challenging the normative set of assumptions and prescriptions that other perspectives advocate. As long as the space is open to conversations and contestations, the hope for a peaceful settlement of cultural tensions remains possible.

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IN DEFENSE OF OFFICIAL MULTICULTURALISM AND RECOGNITION OF THE NECESSITY OF CRITICAL ANTI-RACISM

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ABSTRACT

This paper is purposively provocative in its defense of official multiculturalism and the call for an anti-racist/anti-colonial reading so as to give voice to the lived experiences of racialized groups and to situate them at the center of the discussions around inclusion and belonging. It is opined that anti-racism as a discursive and political practice places the myriad forms of racism and their intersections with other forms of oppression in societal institutions on the table for discussion. Therefore, researchers, educators, policy makers, and community workers cannot shy away from an engagement with anti-racism in a spirited defense of official multiculturalism, despite the often unquestioned assumptions of citizenship and civility that underlay it. This paper asks: What does systemic oppression and resistance of the marginalized tell us about the concepts of nation, nationhood, citizenship, citizenship responsibilities, identity, and belonging? An anti-racist and anti-colonial gaze allows us to highlight the material and experiential realities of racialized groups in their dealings with the state and its social institutions (e.g. school system). It is argued that without recognition of diverse cultures, histories, identities and experiences, we [as scholars, educators and researchers] fail to create room for multiple knowledges to flourish in our educational institutions.

This paper is written to provoke a critical debate as part of the on-going contestation of ideas surrounding multiculturalism, "interculturalism", and anti-racism in Canada. In recent months, a number of Western leaders have openly questioned official policies of multiculturalism, arguing that it has failed to meet the challenges of social cohesion and good citizenship. Instead, they argue, the policy has created ethnic enclaves and communities who have stuck hard to their cultures and not adapted to the values of their new homelands. It is not at all surprising that such debates and musings will carry over and also happen in Canada. After all, we rightly pride ourselves on having a long-standing, open multiculturalism policy. I admit that I am not a big fan of multiculturalism; yet, I am hesitant to completely dismiss it as a social policy with no relevance. In Canada, the passage of Bill C-93 (an Act for

the preservation and enhancement of multiculturalism) on July 12, 1988, enshrined multiculturalism into federal law. As an official political doctrine, multiculturalism has promoted cultural diversity as an intrinsic and valuable component of the social, political and moral order. The policy also seeks to value racial minorities on the basis of a common humanity and envisions a future assured by goodwill on the part of all. Thus, at the very least, the contributions of different cultures to national well-being and destiny are officially acknowledged.

Many critics would rightly argue that, despite any good intentions, official multiculturalism has been ineffective in addressing broader questions of structural racism, social oppression, domination, and marginalization of peoples in society. The policy has failed to address profound issues of power, resource sharing, and working with social identities

and its implications for knowledge construction (Price, 1993). There are profound social problems that racialized immigrant communities confront daily in Canadian society: employment, education, housing, law, and the justice system. These issues are largely connected to integration challenges for newcomers as they navigate alienation and try to fit in with a socially devalued identity. Many immigrant youth and indigenous communities face challenges of poverty, both racialized and gendered, homelessness and displacement as non-status refugees, post-traumatic stress (coming from war zones), and discrimination in the housing and social service sector that affect their sense of belonging. Attention must also be paid to the complex historical issues of indigenous lands and occupation. We need to understand these moments of oppression based on Aboriginality as deeply embedded within the contexts of racism and colonialism and, subsequently, within the fabric of Canadian society. Multiculturalism offers limiting conditions in regards to contemporary discussions about indigenous land rights and self-governance. Celebratory promotions of diversity by the state fail to broach the material needs of Indigenous peoples or address the systems that create these material needs. Multiculturalism, in tacit ways, comes to appropriate and obscure important discussions about privilege, systemic power, and the way in which particular bodies come to be identified within these moments.

The discussion of multiculturalism registers differently in Francophone Canada. In a recent piece in the Toronto Star, Jonathan Montpetit points to recent strident critiques of multiculturalism in Quebec, where a growing number of *Parti Québecois* politicians have steadfastly been maintaining that "multiculturalism in not a Quebec value." Faced with a troubling anti-immigrant backlash, some scholars in the province have long proposed "interculturalism" as a model of social integration and/or a way to respond to the "accommodation of minorities" (Montpetit, 2011). This model grants the centrality of Francophone culture as a starting point for understanding how to integrate other minorities in the social fabric. The distinction between multiculturalism and interculturalism is very tenuous at best. While interculturalism is different in that it acknowledges the centrality of Francophone or Anglophone culture depending on the social context and location for the discussion, it is ignorant of the racially driven power dynamics that legitimize the white, colonial "settler" narrative in Canada, a narrative within wich Franco-Canadians are equally complicit.

Central to the discussion is the question of identity and inclusiveness within Canada; in particular, cooptation of identity through moments of representation that are governed by the mainstream media which utilizes colonially fashioned cultural narratives and tropes. The problem lies in the way we make sense of citizenry, historically articulated through Anglo-Franco concerns as devoid of indigenous peoples and as negating the sensibilities of the Diasporic movements. What counts for the history books is movement by particular European groups, which have come to deposit themselves by way of the legitimizing category of "settlers", as innate, as always already belonging to the land. Movement by racialised peoples have been "othered" and positioned outside of the nation-state. Sovereignty is positioned in a dominant way through singular/homogenous historical readings of citizenry/ identity. So, the coloniality of English and French as legitimating languages endows citizenry. Interculturalism does not escape this.

Notwithstanding these extensive limitations, as an anti-racist educator I do see multiculturalism as an allied discourse. We should be careful not to reject it outright and, in the process, remove a valuable first step towards a more critical anti-racist approach. In this light, we must challenge recent high-level critiques of multiculturalism. Recently, I was invited to give an African Liberation Month [African History Month] guest address to a community group in Edmonton, Alberta. On my way back to Toronto, I picked up a Vancouver Sun newspaper at the airport terminal. Glancing through (as I passed my time at the airport terminal) I read an opinion piece by Licia Corbella. Frankly, it made an interesting and very problematic read for me. Here, we have leaders of the West (including a Canadian intellectual of racial minority background) making such revealing and pointed comments on multiculturalism. In response to immigrant groups who wished to remove their children from certain educational programs on the basis of religious grounds (using the safeguards of the state multiculturalism policy), the university professor is quoted as saying "Immigrants to Canada should adjust to Canada, not the other way around" and adds that, "Canada has an enviable culture based on Judeo-Christian values...with British and French rule of law and traditions and that's why it's better than all of the other places in the world" (see Corbella, 2011). German Chancellor Angela Merkel is adamant that official multiculturalism has "failed totally." British Prime Minister, David Cameron, is also quoted as saying that "under the doctrine of state multiculturalism... we have failed to provide a vision of society to which they [immigrants] feel they want to belong. We have even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run counter to our values. So when a white person holds objectionable views — racism, for example — we rightly condemn them. But when equally unacceptable

views or practices have come from someone who isn't white, we've been too cautious, frankly even fearful, to stand up to them." Similarly, French President Nicolas Sarkozy is also quoted as asserting: "We have been too concerned about the identity of the person who was arriving and not enough about the identity of the country that was receiving them." These comments must be pleasing to the ears of the average person with doubts about multiculturalism. Coming from such powerful leaders, these ideas cannot be easily dismissed. I know a large cross section of our communities also share these sentiments.

These statements should also elicit fear and the realization that white, racialized discourses are gaining power and voice in more explicit as well as subtle ways; if multiculturalism, a soft discourse of inclusion is under attack, what does this mean for anti-racism? There is a Ghanaian saying, conveyed in a local song, which goes: "If Jesus Christ, the Messiah himself, was crucified on the cross, what do you think they [the crucifiers] will do to the common Pastor? His or her fate will obviously be worse." The sentiment can be appreciated even apart from the Christian faith: If soft multiculturalism is under such attacks, you can imagine what is being said of anti-racism in high places! But I refuse to engage in cowardliness. I believe that anti-racist and anti-colonial methods of perceiving communities can offer some lessons here. In response to these attempts to consolidate white privilege and further marginalize non-white communities, I intentionally mobilize anti-racist and anti-colonial methodologies to give voice to minority lived experiences and situate them at the center of the discussions around inclusion and belonging.

The push to assimilate ethnic and racial minorities and so-called immigrants into a Canadian/American/European Whiteness or into a society built on a white identity needs interrogation (Bedard, 2000). What is troubling in this debate is both the perception of the values of a nation as frozen and immune to the changes happening around it as well as the perceived superiority of Western neoliberal values. Why does one think that Judeo-Christian values are better than other values or more conducive to inclusivity? Immigrants must learn about the cultures of their new homes but the home country must also adapt to the changes around them, especially when the identities of a nation are continually changing through immigration and through the dynamics of social difference. Why is it necessary to stubbornly conceptualize Canada, America, or Europe as white, Judeo-Christian spaces when these categories purposefully exclude and marginalize many of the people that inhabit these areas? Room must be created within the fabric of Canadian society that is accepting of difference and open to mobility of values. We must not position difference

as the problem; rather we must work with the strength of difference, welcoming difference as an opportunity for us to grow together as a nation/community. We have to be careful how we comply with certain rigid forms of citizenship, which historically has been steeped in race and the production of civility. The "global" and the "universal" cannot be presented through a prism of the hierarchy of knowing and privileging of particular ideas, values, cultures and identities. Furthermore, we must question how the dominant understanding of multiculturalism misreads or ignores race and other forms of social difference as markers of oppression and, in fact, specifically makes race irrelevant in the Canadian/American/European psyche.

Anti-racism as a discursive and political practice places the myriad forms of racism and their intersections with other forms of oppression in societal institutions on the table for discussion. We cannot shy away from engagement. What does systemic oppression and resistance of the marginalized tell us about the concepts of nation, nationhood, citizenship, citizenship responsibilities, identity, and belonging? The anti-racist and anti-colonial gaze seeks to highlight the material and experiential realities of racialized groups in their dealings with the state and its social institutions (e.g., school system). For example, anti-racism education acknowledges the meanings and implications of race and racial constructs, and how all forms of difference intersect (class, gender, sexual, disability) to script life chances and opportunities. Anti-racism education is involved with learning about the experiences of living with racialized identities and understanding how students' lived experiences in and out of school are implicated in youth engagement and disengagement from school. Anti-racism education also uncovers the ways in which race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, ability, power, and difference influence and are influenced by institutional processes. Anti-racism interrogates the processes of teaching, learning, and educational administration, as well as the ways in which they combine to produce schooling successes and failures for different bodies. Anti-racism opines that questions of power, equity, and social difference are significant for learning outcomes and the provision of opportunities for all youth.

Anti-racism broadens the discussion around identity, citizenship, and belonging to include not only the so-called "immigrants" but other racialized, colonized, oppressed and indigenous bodies in white settler contexts. Anti-racism brings questions about the processes of colonization and racialization to the fore, pointing to how citizenship, community-building, claims of identity, history, politics and knowledge, as well as power sharing and the distribution of resources are embedded within racialized

power relations and mobilized by white privilege to the disadvantage of others. Anti-racism is about power and privilege. It challenges any sense of entitlement, calling for resistance, social responsibility, and collective undertakings to fight oppressions. It is about making claims to self and collective worth that undergird a connection to everyone around us (including social communities and our natural environments). This is why an anti-racist ontology would herald the society, culture, and nature interface and point to a spiritual sense of self and place. Anti-racism is bound by connections of inter-dependency and inclusion.

Anti-racism distinguishes between the notion of "dominant culture/race" etc., from ideas of "majority culture/race". When majority is taken to mean superior or something to be privileged, it is here that we run into problems of social integration. Thus, a critical anti-racist analysis of the majority-minority dynamic is approached more as a question of power relations rather than sheer numbers. Our understanding of group dynamics and social relations, while acknowledging the existence/ presence of majority-minority cultures/groups, will be politically and conceptually flawed if it fails to engage in power and the asymmetrical power relations among groups. In other words, what does it mean when we ask minorities to assimilate or integrate into dominant cultures? What is being affirmed and what is being lost? What histories, identities, and cultures are we denying – and, simultaneously, what is being privileged and at what and whose expense? These are critical questions that anti-racist education brings to the table for discussion. Raising these questions is not about fragmenting communities. It is about building "communities of differences" in which power sharing is as much a concern as the maintaining of groups' identities, cultures, and languages. All groups have rights to maintain their identities, cultures, languages, etc., but not at others' expense. When there is a loss of one's/ group identities, histories, and cultures, the whole goal of social cohesion is lost.

When anti-racism theory is taken up, I sometimes think that the conversation is governed by the assumption that the anti-racist educator is bereft of the Euro-body or the Indigenous body. We must recognize that anti-racism education is not exclusive to a particular group, community, or identity. Therefore, we must come together in the name of community, shared politics, solidarity, social justice, and social change to engage the theory and practice of anti-racism education if we are seeking a harmonious way of life through difference. More importantly, we must ask about what it means for the Euro-body to do anti-racism work? Such a question invariably speaks to other concerns: Where does knowledge reside? How do we come to know? What is knowledge and/or what knowledge counts? How

do power and knowledge intersect? These questions are about accessibility and rights. At the same time, we must be cautious about coming to know in ways that classify the historic constituents of colonization. We must avoid a theorizing that accords a particular privileging and discursive authority onto minoritized bodies of knowledge while at the same time working with historically contingent variables. This, in turn, opens up possibilities for discussing the historic specificities and the myriad sites of complexities and contestation of colonization, in relation to the ongoing production of settler nation-state. The recognition of complexities and contextualization is important because it allows us to move away from reliance of dogmatization of a particular theoretical framework—the "my way or the highway" conversation (i.e., multiculturalism versus anti-racism, etc). Instead, I invite a theorizing in which all learners can engage in an intellectually honest conversation, allowing for the complicities and complexities of the different historic bodies, as entangled within the politics and representations of settler/citizen/immigrant, to come to the surface.

This paper is more about the implications of the education of learners that flow from the policy of multiculturalism/interculturalism and the need to shift the gaze away from multicultural/inter-cultural education onto critical anti-racist education. One cannot say this loud enough: the school is a site in need of anti-racist, anti-colonial readings, interpretations, interventions, disruptions, and subversions. Learners of today are and must be anti-colonial subjects and agents. The "anti" (in anti-racist/anti-colonial) is not simply oppositional or confrontational but, more importantly, "action-oriented", liberatory, productive, and transformational. We must push forward in the recognition of the value of diversity and oppositional knowledges. We must be willing to interrogate both what we are resisting and also our own resistance, recognizing our multiple positions and never stopping in our fight against discourses of marginalization and oppression, never losing sight of what we are fighting for. Objective neutrality is not an option.

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DIVERSITY AND EDUCATION FOR ENTANGLEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Based on German Chancellor Angela Merkel's speech of October 2010, I analyze some significant differences between Germany and Canada in their commitments to multiculturalism. I juxtapose Merkel's divisive language to French philosopher Alain Badiou's premise that "there is only one world." While the theme for this special issue emphasizes "education for liberation," I argue for an education that entangles or, at least, that reveals the entanglements we cannot live without.

This past fall, the international media reported a remarkable speech by German Chancellor Angela Merkel. On October 16, 2010, when addressing a gathering of younger members of her conservative Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party, she unequivocally declared multiculturalism in Germany a failure. According to the BBC voice-over of the video clip of the most controversial part of her speech, Merkel said the following:

> We are a country which, at the beginning of the 1960s, actually brought guest workers to Germany. Now they live with us and we lied to ourselves for a while, saying that they won't stay and that they will disappear again one day. That is not the reality. This multicultural approach, saying that we simply live side by side and are happy about each other, this approach has failed, utterly failed. (BBC, 2010)

In addition to the verdict about multiculturalism itself, one of the striking features of the speech is how strongly Merkel positions herself and the members of the CDU as the "we" who have watched the immigrant "them" enter Germany and—to make matters worse—decide to stay. Clearly, she assumes that immigrants or descendants of immigrants are not members of her party. But while these words are, to most Canadian ears, shocking enough, the translation conceals the cynical undertone of Merkel's words:

> Wir sind ein Land, das im Übrigen Anfang der 60er Jahre die Gastarbeiter nach Deutschland geholt hat. Und jetzt leben sie bei uns. Wir haben uns eine Weile lang in die Tasche gelogen. Wir haben gesagt: Die werden schon nicht bleiben, irgendwann werden sie weg sein. Das ist nicht die Realität. Und natürlich war der Ansatz, zu sagen: Jetzt machen wir hier mal "Multi-kulti" und leben so nebeneinander her und freuen uns übereinander – dieser Ansatz ist gescheitert, absolut gescheitert.
> (Euronews, 2010)

Merkel's language was informal, creating a sense of familiarity with her audience. A translation that conveys that informal and cynical tone might be:

> We are a country which, at the beginning of the 1960s, actually brought guest workers to Germany. And now they live with us. For a while we kidded ourselves, saying, they won't stay anyway, at some point they'll be gone. That is not the reality. And of course the approach was to say: we'll do the "multiculti" thing here and live next to each other and be all cheerful about it—well that approach has failed, utterly failed.

It seems to me that in Canada, in the year of the 40th anniversary of the Multiculturalism Act, such words would be unthinkable. This is not because multiculturalism in Canada has been achieved and we now live in a society in which—to borrow words from the policy itself— individuals and communities of all origins can participate fully and equitably in the continuing evolution and shaping of all

aspects of Canadian society. In fact, as many articles in this journal alone have documented, ethnic minorities continue to face significant challenges in Canada. For example, Valerie Preston and Ann Murnaghan (2005) write that,

> Despite the promises of multiculturalism, visible minority immigrants are experiencing exclusion and marginalization in Canada. One measure of their difficulties is the rising percentage of immigrant families that reported incomes below the low-income cut off, a frequent measure of poverty (p. 68).

And Luin Goldring (2010) calls attention to the fact that, with the expansion of temporary foreign worker programs in Canada, there is a widening gap on the basis of immigration status and citizenship rather than on the basis of ethnicity:

> To the extent that people whose status is precarious are not on an effective path to permanent residence, and much less to citizenship, current policy practice will entrench a two-tier membership in Canada, where no pathway leading to formal political participation and where they are not considered members of the nation where they live and work (p. 53).

Stating the obvious then, there are inequalities and injustices in Canadian society and Canadian multiculturalism is, at best, a work in progress. Moreover, there are significant differences among the provinces; for example, in February 2011, in the context of the debate over the wearing of the Sikh kirpan in the Quebec Legislature, Louise Beaudoin of the *Parti Québécois* pointed out that multiculturalism was not a Quebec policy, "since Quebec has not signed the Canada Act 1982 which enshrined multiculturalism within the Constitution" (Ibbitson, 2011).

However, in spite of the challenges with multiculturalism in Canada, I believe that Merkel's words could not have been uttered in Canada. Of course, the different histories of Germany and Canada are an important part of the explanation. The majority of the Canadian population is comprised of immigrants or their descendants from a wide range of ethnic backgrounds; the Aboriginal peoples made up 3.75% of the total population in 2006 (Statistics Canada, 2009). By contrast, Germany was ethnically quite homogeneous until well into the 20th century. Elke Winter (2010) notes that "after the shameful experience of the Holocaust, a positive German identity in ethnocultural terms had become impossible" (p. 170). The idea of "multiculturalism" in 1980s Germany, then, was as much a way of reflecting the changed social

fabric as a result of the arrival of guest workers, as it was an attempt "to break away from Germany's notorious legacy as an 'ethnic nation'" (Joppke, 1998, p. 300, as cited in Winter). In recent years, explicit pride in German culture and identity has seen an upsurge again in Germany while in Canada, the "commitment to immigrant multiculturalism as a normative idea remains strong" (Winter, p. 180).

There also seems to be a different awareness in Canada that the words we choose matter. Detractors of this tendency will mock it as "political correctness," a superficial attempt to paper over the cracks. But the point I wish to make here is that our language plays a role in widening or narrowing the cracks themselves. As I have argued elsewhere, following J. L. Austin and others, our "words not only *mean* something, but also *do* something" (Ruitenberg 2005, p. 40). Merkel's observation that "now they live with us" *means* that guest workers and their descendants now live with those whose families have been in Germany for generations. What it *does* is reinforce the gap between "us" and "them," between those who are German and those who are considered not German enough. It makes it painfully clear to guest workers and their families that no matter how hard they have worked and how much they have contributed to the German economy, they are still "guests" in a country they should not consider their own.

Language matters, perhaps especially when we stop paying attention to it, when words and expressions have become so commonplace that we forget to ask ourselves what kind of world they reflect, and whether it is a world we want to live in. The world that Canada's Multiculturalism Act wants to create is one in which Canadians of all ethnic origins can say "we"—not in a starry-eyed celebration of diversity, but in a sincere recognition of the webs of interdependence that make this country hang together. While the theme for this special issue is "Education for Liberation," I wish to propose instead, then, an education that highlights these webs of interdependence. It is not an education that liberates, but an education that entangles or, at least, that reveals the entanglements we cannot live without.

Of course, we strive for the education of "autonomous" citizens in the sense that we want citizens who can think for themselves rather than accept at face value what someone else tells them, and who can examine and ask critical questions of their political, religious and other leaders. But "liberation" also suggests a model of individual independence that covers over the important interdependence that characterizes our existence. None of us can live without the others' help, be it direct or indirect; we are all fundamentally insufficient to ourselves. So instead of an education that liberates, I argue for an education that impresses upon us the deep and ineradicable dependence that we have on others.

The guest workers to whom Merkel refers came to Germany in the 1960s and 70s. Now, almost half a century later, ongoing globalization has only expanded our interdependence farther beyond the borders of the nation state. In lieu of Merkel's divisive language, we should take note of the language of Alain Badiou (2008):

> The simple phrase, 'there is only one world', is not an objective conclusion. It is performative: we are deciding that this is how it is for us. Faithful to this point, it is then a question of elucidating the consequences that follow from this simple declaration. A first consequence is the recognition that all belong to the same world as myself: the African worker I see in the restaurant kitchen, the Moroccan I see digging a hole in the road, the veiled woman looking after children in a park. That is where we reverse the dominant idea of the world united by objects and signs, to make a unity in terms of living, acting beings, here and now. These people, different from me in terms of language, clothes, religion, food, education, exist exactly as I do myself; since they exist like me, I can discuss with them—and, as with anyone else, we can agree and disagree about things. But on the precondition that they and I exist in the same world (p. 38-39).

I want to stress that I quote these moving words not to invoke a "common humanity," the idea that we are "basically all the same." I simply do not believe this is the case, nor do I believe it is a helpful premise for the challenges of living well together in a society characterized by cultural diversity. Badiou emphasizes a common "existential situation," that of sharing the same world (p. 40), but he makes it very clear that this does not imply a shared ontological situation, some shared human substance: "The single world is precisely the place where an unlimited set of differences exist" (p. 39). I would go one step further and argue that the only sameness we share is an absence or lack, this lack is one of independence and self-sufficiency. As Judith Butler (2005) puts it,

> None of us is fully bounded, utterly separate, but, rather, we are in our skins, given over, in each other's hands, at each other's mercy. This is a situation we do not choose. It forms the horizon of choice, and it grounds our responsibility (p. 101).

So what kind of education takes into account this interdependence as the horizon of choice? What kind of education can help "elucidate the consequences that follow" from the declaration that there is only one world?

For one, it would be an education that does not treat "multiculturalism" as a decorative feature of Canadian society, to be celebrated in "multicultural days." Rather, it is a critical approach that makes students aware of the fact that the liberal pluralist framework that guides Canada's institutions is not, itself, culturally neutral, and that different individuals and groups find themselves closer to or further removed from this framework. Moreover, it takes into account the inequalities that affect people's lives, be they economic, racial, based on citizenship status, or otherwise. These inequalities are significant because, in the webs of interdependence to which I have referred, we are not all dependent on others *to the same extent and in the same ways.* While, ontologically speaking, we are all "beings who are formed in relations of dependency" (Butler, 2005, p. 20), in more practical terms we differ in the social privilege we carry based on, for example, our family's class background and our physical ability. As a consequence, the extent and form of our dependence on others varies. If we are able to get by more easily on our own, this is not a situation that gives us additional rights but, instead, one that comes with additional responsibilities.

Secondly, education that understands interdependence as our horizon of choice places less emphasis on individual achievement. Of course, talent and effort should be fostered and recognized, but we need not concentrate on individual "excellence"—a concept that, by definition, implies that others are left behind. Instead I argue for education that develops the understanding that nothing we say or do is our invention alone but always is a response—no matter how critical—to ideas and practices we have inherited (Ruitenberg, 2009a).

Finally, an education that reveals our mutual entanglements does not need to pretend that we always "live next to each other and are all cheerful about it"; there are political differences between us, differences in terms of the visions we have for what a desirable social order looks like (see, for example, Ruitenberg 2009b; 2010). In education we should not shy away from disagreement, as long as we remember that, as Badiou puts it, "we can agree and disagree about things. But on the precondition that they and I exist in the same world" (p. 39). In other words, the acknowledgement that my political adversary and I share a world precedes but does not eclipse our disagreement.

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MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: NOTHING MORE THAN FOLKLORE?

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ABSTRACT

The objective of the article is to reflect on the notion of multicultural education. Considered by many as a transformative and critical approach when developed in the 1960's, multicultural education is more, nowadays, about celebratory cultural practices. However, some confusion over the notion of multicultural education remains. Some scholars still associate multicultural education with principles of social justice, while for others it is more about acknowledging cultural differences. But, employing the same term with reference to two very different conceptual views for integrating students from diverse backgrounds can be problematic for policy makers, practitioners, and scholars (including graduate students) as well.

INTRODUCTION[1]

My purpose in writing this short article is to reflect on the notion of multicultural education and, hopefully, contribute to the theoretical discussion on the inclusion of minority students in the educational system. From the perspective of some school stakeholders, a lot has been said and done already about integrating minority students in the schools. School personnel, in particular, often think that linguistic, racial, ethnic, and cultural diversity among their students is not a high priority issue anymore, due to measures implemented to recognize, in one way or another, minority students in their school. References are made specifically to the celebration of differences through specific cultural activities, such as music, dances, food, etc., as well as to the provision of appropriate language training in the instructional language (Gérin-Lajoie, 2008).

From the perspective of some teachers and principals, student diversity has taken a back seat to what they consider more pressing issues that have emerged in the past 15 years, such as being accountable for the work they accomplish with their students. Standardized testing, in particular, has taken centre stage in the educational discourse worldwide. Talking specifically about education in the United States, for example, May and Sleeter (2010) remark that "a rapidly growing standards and testing movement has replaced earlier attention to racial and ethnic diversity" (p. 1).

However, almost 50 years ago, multicultural education was considered as a transformative and critical tool among scholars and practitioners (Banks, 2004). These two ways of looking at multicultural education (celebratory VS critical) have brought some confusion over this notion. Consequently, scholars (and practitioners as well) do not always have a common understanding of what constitutes multicultural education: some still associate multicultural education with principles of social justice, while for others it is more about acknowledging cultural differences. This latter perception has been referred to as "liberal multiculturalism" (May and Sleeter, 2010). It is this liberal notion of multicultural education that continues to prevail in today's schools across North America.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION NOW

Multicultural education has been part of the official discourse for decades, in North America, as well as in other parts of the world, since the American Civil Rights movement of the 1960s in the United States. As an educational movement, multicultural education was understood then as a transformative tool that would be used to bring equity for all students in schools. Banks (2004) spoke of multicultural education as a field of study designed to increase educational equity for all students. Nieto (2002) attributed specific characteristics to multicultural education, claiming that it was a dynamic process whose

aims were to be inclusive. Among the characteristics listed by Nieto was antiracist education, education for social justice, as well as critical pedagogy. However, in a subsequent article published in 2004, the author no longer used the term "multicultural education", referring instead to "critical multicultural education" to describe inclusive education, although keeping the same theoretical approach.

As illustrated in my introduction and in the paragraph above, multicultural education has been conceptualized from alternative points of view: a) a "transformative" oriented approach is still present in rare instances, and b) a "food and festival" approach where students celebrate ethnic diversity through food, music, costumes from their country of origins. Employing the same term with reference to two very different conceptual views for integrating students from diverse backgrounds can be highly problematic[2] for policy makers, practitioners, and scholars, alike. Over the years, liberal multicultural education has become institutionalized as the dominant approach within the education system, notwithstanding the arguments from proponents of a more critical approach. Multicultural education appears to have lost its critical side in becoming more celebratory of diverse cultural practices than preoccupied by social justice. Harper (1997), referring specifically to the Canadian reality (although, in my opinion, this specific discourse applies to other countries as well), describes multicultural education as being understood as an invitation to celebrate students' cultures, with an emphasis on the folkloric markers of the cultural diversity among students – what critics have referred to as the "food and festival approach." The objectives of multicultural education are representative of a liberal discourse concerned with helping students to understand and appreciate cultural differences and similarities and to recognize the accomplishments of diverse ethnic, racial, and socioeconomic groups. Multicultural education is also understood as being about respecting and showing comprehension towards students' racial, cultural, and linguistic diverse backgrounds.

The issues of equity and social justice have subsided from the stakeholders' discourse, although critics continue to argue that true inclusion will be impossible to accomplish if systemic changes do not take place in schools. The political objective of a true multicultural education approach has disappeared from the discourse of policy and practice, though it remains active within the scholarly and academic discourse in a few instances. Multicultural education is often seen by its critics as a means to assimilate minorities to the host society. These critics point out also that it is not realistic to pretend that all cultures are equal. Relationships between the dominant culture and the "other" cultures should be examined through an analysis of power, in order to better understand persisting inequalities. To attain equity, from this perspective, minorities would need greater access to political and economic power than currently exists. To conclude, the transformative dimension of the concept of multicultural education from its origins in the 1960's has disappeared, or perhaps never really took hold in the world of practice, while the "food and festivals" approach prevails in the educational stakeholders' discourse and practice.

MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN CANADA

In the Canadian context, the official discourse in educational policy and practice on multicultural education differs little from the rest of the world, referring mainly to the celebration of the diverse cultures in presence, forming what is often called "the Canadian cultural mosaic".

In 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to adopt a federal policy on multiculturalism. The policy was adopted for two main reasons. The first one was in response to an increasing number of immigrants from a wide variety of cultural and linguistic backgrounds over the years, especially in the 1950's and 1960's. The second reason was a political one: the rise of nationalism in Quebec brought the Canadian government to set up the federal Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism. During the audiences, people other than French or English origins became increasingly vocal regarding the role of their respective cultures in the new Canadian mosaic. What resulted from the Commission's work was a federal policy on bilingualism, but no policy on biculturalism. Not long after, a policy of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" was promulgated. In this policy, the government recognized the value of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic background, their language, or their religion. It also recognized the rights of Aboriginal peoples and the status of the two official languages, French and English.

Following the 1971 multicultural policy, ministries of education across the country developed their own integration policies in regards to students' diversity. In English Canada, they opted for a liberal multicultural education approach. The official discourse emphasized the need to respect all cultures, which reinforced the treatment of minority cultures as folkloric artifacts, fixed "things" (McCarthy, 1998). This notion remains very present in teachers and principals' discourse across Canada even though 40 years have passed since the 1971 Multiculturalism policy at the federal level (Gérin-Lajoie, 2008), and despite persistent critiques of this understanding and approach to multicultural education as highlighted below.

The most salient critiques of liberal multiculturalism and particularly of the idea that "all cultures are equal" have come from antiracist and critical multicultural education scholars who claim that all cultures are not equal in terms

of their access to power, and that social reality should be examined through a lens where power relations occupy centre stage. It is essential, from this perspective, to work not only toward the cultural integration of minorities but also toward their structural inclusion. If the intention is to lead to more equitable social relations between newcomers and the host society, liberal multicultural education in its present form is far from attaining this objective.

TEACHERS' TRAINING

One cannot reflect on the notion of multicultural education without mentioning teachers' training and the way that the concept of multicultural education gets reproduced or even ignored in several instances. In initial teacher education programmes, the integration of minority students is rarely the centre of attention. Often it appears as one of many topics in a broader course on school and society. When distinct courses focusing on the issue are provided, they are likely to be offered as electives. When it comes to teachers' continuing professional development, workshops might be available to them on pedagogical days, but not necessarily mandatory and with little systematic follow-up to support the transfer of ideas and strategies into practice in the classroom and school. As previously mentioned, attention to students' diversity has been less a priority during the last decade as the concerns of public school educators have shifted to other educational realities.

But what strikes the most when speaking with practicing regular classroom teachers is their almost unanimous claim that they have never been trained in the field of multicultural education, or how to teach minority students (unless they have chosen to seek additional qualifications as English as a Second Language specialists). Their discourse shows low levels of comfort when they talk about what strategies and accommodations they make in response to their work with cultural and linguistic minority student populations. Colour blindness, sameness, and folklore remain at the centre of their discourse. The notion of "difference" is raised when situations described as problematic occur with minority students, otherwise, teachers claim to not "see" them as different from the others in their class (Gérin-Lajoie, 2008). Ignoring the difference means for the teachers that they provide equal treatment to all of their students, on the assumption that equal opportunity serves the purpose of equity.

In the cases where a more critical approach is sometimes used in training future teachers or practising teachers, it is often more the result of individual efforts of committed advocates, than a concerted institutional and collective decision (King, 2004; Sleeter, 2004). When we look at the scholarly literature on multicultural education,

at the discourse of educational practitioners on the topic and finally, at teachers' training programs, there is evidence that we remain in the presence of a liberal discourse when it comes to the integration of minority students in schools. Multicultural education is about "celebrating differences" through folkloric activities.

CONCLUSION

I wrote this short paper while reflecting on my continuing contact with graduate students who often have a difficult time differentiating multicultural education from critical multicultural education. This confusion seems to be due in large part to the alternative ways the concept of multicultural education is depicted in the academic literature, sometimes as taking the perspective of social justice and equity, and other times as taking a more folkloric perspective where cultures are objectified as artifacts consisting of alternative beliefs, norms, customs, and material things (e.g., food and clothing), and the emphasis is placed mainly on respect for intercultural differences and perhaps communication between groups. As a result, the notion can be nebulous and easily misinterpreted by the reader.

In recent years however, concerted efforts from critical scholars to deconstruct this concept have contributed significantly to a better understanding of the fundamental differences between the transformative multicultural education of the 1960s and the prevailing liberal multicultural education perspective and approach which has unfortunately persisted as the official discourse on minority students' integration in schools in North America and other countries around the world.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] I would like to express my gratitude to Stephen Anderson for the time he spent revising the article and for his useful comments.

[2] For example, graduate students or scholars entering the field get easily confused when getting familiar with the existing literature, especially the American literature. The way multicultural education is sometimes described is in fact how other scholars have defined critical multicultural education.

MEETING THE CHALLENGES OF THE NEW CENTURY: CREATING COMMON VALUES AS FUNDAMENTAL TO CITIZENSHIP

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ABSTRACT

In the midst of the on-going values debate and in addressing the question of which values, we propose a four-part model of twelve citizenship values that is linked to principles, democratic concepts, and dispositions to act. This model is of particular interest to policy and pedagogy.

An intense debate rages in most democratic pluralist societies around the question of which values best relate the self and society. In Canada, the values debate continues unabated, especially in school contexts (Bouchard & Taylor, 2009; Stolle & Hooghe, 2002; Desaulniers, 2000; Francis, 2001; Kingwell, 2000; Mc Andrew, Jaquet & Ciceri, 1997). In the context of a globalization marked by greater interconnectivity and consequent blurring of frontiers, the complex values debate calls into review educational and political policies and practices.

At issue is the very nature and relevance of pedagogical relationships that create the link between the moral and the political. One side of the debate assumes that it is possible to instil virtues through direct teaching by addressing these systematically and explicitly, as in character education. Another side calls for caring pedagogical relationships that support the discussion of moral and democratic values at relevant moments for the learner. Arguing for the teachable moment, Noddings (2002) favours the use of conversation in caring pedagogical relationships which address deeply meaningful questions, such as: Why am I here? Where do I stand in the world? What might I become? What has my life amounted to? However, neither side addresses which values are in question; this paper attempts to do so within a liberal democratic perspective.

VALUES, DIVERSITY AND CANADIAN CITIZENSHIP

Recent citizenship conceptions are multidimensional, focusing upon the recognition and respect of cultural groups, allowing for different ways of living citizenship in Canada (Bouchard & Taylor, 2009; Kymlicka, 2003; Siemiatycki & Isin, 1997; Taylor, 1994). Concerns about citizenship values are located at the very core of creating a cohesive society which considers social programs and traditions of civic engagement as fundamental to social networks – with trust, reciprocity, quality of life, and absence of social strife all needed to generate wealth (Kunz and Li, 2004). This critical notion of social cohesion recognizes

the inequities and exclusions of Canadian life and moves towards recognitive forms of social justice and critical multiculturalism (May, 1999; Jensen, 1998; Honneth, 1995).

In light of increasing diversity, many Canadians feel that it is important to have a system of shared values. Debates tend to pit economic-materialistic values against others who consider humanistic and idealistic values – such as freedom, a clean environment, a healthy population, integrity, individual human rights, safety and security – to be more important (Ekos Research, 1997). Nonetheless, many Canadian citizens do share values, including self-reliance, children as an investment in the future, collective responsibility, and a desire for greater social equality among citizens (Molgat et Larose-Hébert, 2010; Hébert & Wilkinson, 2001; Ekos, 1997; Peters, 1995).

Values are generally shared, becoming ideals and societal norms upon which individuals determine appropriate action in social situations, based on judgment and societal norms. This assumes that there is an external basis for morality beyond the individual; yet in a neo-liberal market economy, the individual is the source of values. Students then are bearers of values which are constructed upon social and familial experiences. Administrators and educators are confronted daily with decisions to make regarding the best possible response to conflicts of values that occur in educational institutions. Attempting to map Canadian citizenship values which have become complex and multidimensional, this article addresses the relationships between citizenship values, virtues, principles, dispositions and concepts, within a liberal democratic framework, and then comments on promising future directions for policy development and citizenship education. While the choice of values and schemata proposed here may be debated, these best represent our perception of the situation.

MAPPING CITIZENSHIP VALUES

The relationships between citizenship values, virtues, principles, dispositions, and concepts are explored here in order to develop a conceptual map of citizenship values of relevance to educational and public policy. First of all, a few definitions: What is a *value,* a *virtue?* Both terms evolved over time. In the 17th century, *value* referred to the merit, qualities or interest of a person, idea, painting, literature, or music (Rey, 1997) – as in the expression the "aesthetic value of a painting," which brings in notions of weight and measurement as well as the idea of personal judgment. Today, the term has sociological meaning, referring to systems of social values based on judgment and societal norms. In comparison, emerging from the Aristotelian tradition, the term *virtue* came to hold

religious significance, referring to moral, masculine, and virile qualities, such as courage, moral energy, and physical force, as well as political force, power, and efficacy (Rey, 1997). Here, *citizenship values* is taken up to refer to a constellation of ideals relating to democratic citizenship, which may be manifested as principles, dispositions, and concepts that have individual and social meaning, as well as cognitive, affective, and moral dimensions.

Principles refer to basic moral rules that define personal conduct, referring to foundational elements of general scope which logically constitute a science or discipline. The term also refers to normative rules of moral action, formulated explicitly or not, to which a person or group is attached and which flow from values in a given society. Democratic *dispositions* refer to inclinations to act whereas the other terms refer to fundamental ideals. As defined here, democratic dispositions are acquired inclinations to engage with others in altruistic ways that are consistent with underlying citizenship values and principles. In other words, dispositions are a developed capacity to understand, accept, and act on the core principles of democratic society (Galston, 1991). Over time, *concepts* have come to refer to dynamic schema of thought rather than static configurations of notions (Rey, 1991).

Figure 1: Macro-Concepts of Citizenship Values
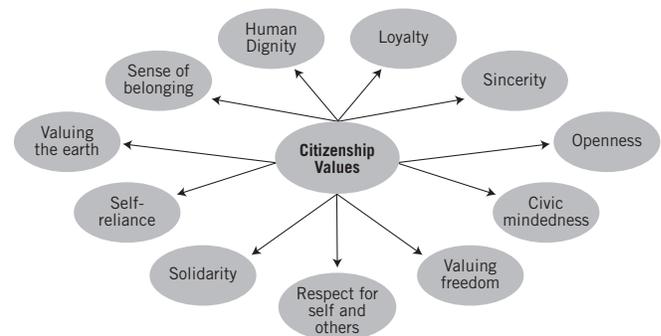
Next, to develop a conceptual map, values, principles, dispositions and concepts are placed in logical relationship and represented spatially. Twelve macro-concepts are identified as fundamental citizenship values, namely *mutuality, reciprocity, openness, civic-mindedness, valuing freedom, valuing equality, respect for self and others, solidarity, self-reliance, valuing the earth, a sense of belonging,* and *human dignity* (Hébert & Wilkinson, 2001). The identification of these values as well as principles, dispositions, and concepts is based on a comprehensive literature review, beyond the scope of this paper, and may be contentious to those in traditions other than liberal democratic perspectives.

Situated in a first circle, logical relationships may be read between the macro-concepts (Figure 1). For example, reciprocity contributes to respect for self and others, just as valuing freedom contributes to being equal, to solidarity, and to a sense of belonging, and so on. Similarly, logical relationships may be read, radiating from the centre of the wheel to each macro-concept, as these are in an 'is-a' relationship. In other words, self-reliance is a citizenship value, as is human dignity and civic-mindedness, and so on.

Four domains of citizenship – namely civic, political, socioeconomic and cultural – organise and inform the concept map characterised by levels of conceptual relationships (represented in Figures 2-5). These are colour-coded for ease of reference, wherein blue refers to macro-concepts, green to principles, violet to dispositions to act, and orange to democratic concepts. The four figures interrelate with each other, across levels and from level to level, in inclusive relationships, thus reflecting the complexity and multi-dimensionality of values and of citizenship. The figures are intended only as spatial representations which allow a visual account of the interrelationships, levels and domains of citizenship values.

NETWORK OF CITIZENSHIP VALUES IN THE CIVIL DOMAIN

Fundamental civil values, *mutuality,* and *reciprocity* are especially needed for relationships between citizens (Marzouk et al, 2000; Veldhuis, 1998b; Callan, 1997; Kymlicka, 1995; Hughes, 1994). *Mutuality* may be manifested as a principled sharing of responsibility for commonalities, such as group dynamics, common spaces, resources and opportunities (Audigier, 1998b; Kymlicka, 1995; Selman, 1991). Acting on principle to share responsibilities requires an inclination to support others and an ability to estimate the scope of activities to be shared among many. Thus, the manifestation of mutuality is conceptually linked to an understanding of group cohesion, the idea of a network of associations making up civil society, and support for majority rule as democratic concepts. *Reciprocity* requires adherence to a basic principle of speaking honestly and truthfully in exchanges, as well as respecting one another's accomplishments and excellences (Callan, 1997; Galston, 1991). The first principle leads to a disposition to act without intention to deceive as key to a cohesive civic society which flows into and from the recognition and respect of truth as a democratic concept (Evans, 1997). The second principle requires a capacity to evaluate the talents, character, and performance of public officials and is linked to civil literacy of Canadian history, geography, and economics, as well as to a strong emphasis of citizenship knowledge of government processes, law, and constitutional practice (Masemann, 1989).

Figure 2: Network of Citizenship Values in Civil Domain
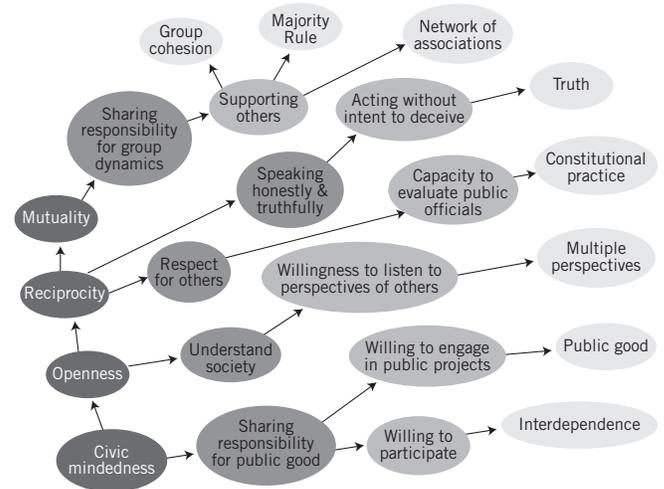
Identified as fundamental citizenship values in the civic domain, *openness* and *civic-mindedness* are consensual civic ideals of Canadians (Marzouk et al, 2000; Hughes, 1994). In searching for understanding of society, openness leads to a willingness to listen to the perspectives of others as a disposition and to multiple perspectives as a key democratic concept. Civic-mindedness implies a shared responsibility for the public good as a basic citizenship principle guiding action, flowing into a willingness to participate and to engage in common public projects as dispositions, semantically linked to the notion of the public good (Callan, 2000, 1997) and to interdependence (Galston, 1991, Evans, 1997).

NETWORK OF CITIZENSHIP VALUES IN THE POLITICAL DOMAIN

Freedom, equality, and respect for self and others (Peters, 1995; Marzouk, 2000; Audigier, 1998a; Evans, 1997) are fundamental democratic values within the political domain (Figure 3). *Valuing freedom* leads to a principled preference for democracy and to a deeply rooted respect for human life and for the rights of others (Evans, 1997; Marzouk, 2000; Galston, 1991). The first principle, *preference for democracy,* requires an inclination to obey the law leading to freedom as a democratic concept whereas *respect for human life and rights of others* requires an individual to not harass or impose unduly upon others as dispositions, linked to liberty as democratic concept. Within a renewed vision of the multiplicity and complexity of citizenship, freedom applies to both individuals and collectives, neither of whom can be entirely free without also being equal, while allowing for a relative degree of social constraint upon individual liberty.

Figure 3: Network of Citizenship Values in Political Domain
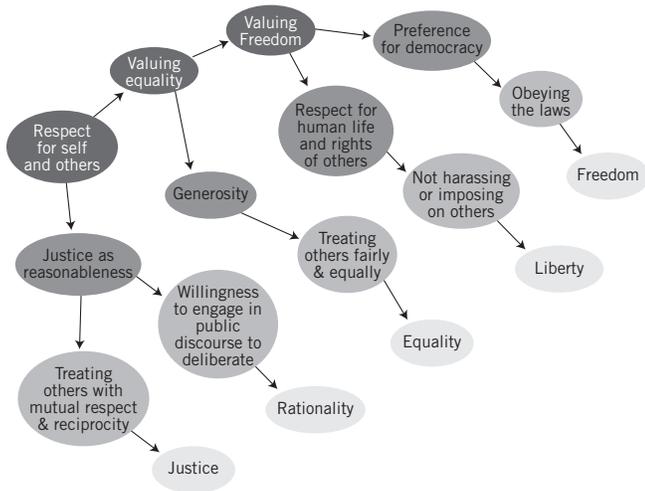
Valuing equality requires a fundamental principled generosity towards others, nourishing a disposition to treat others fairly, conceptually linked to equality (Hughes, 1994). A disposition to view and treat others as equals results in more egalitarian relationships at work, between spouses and in less hierarchical parent-child relations as part of the shift towards what may be termed post-materialist values, defined by an individual's need for belonging, self-esteem and values related to quality of life.

Respect for self and for others is critical to the political domain as it is closely linked to justice as reasonableness (Callan, 2000). This principle leads to dispositions to treat others with mutual respect and reciprocity, which may prove to be both difficult and complex (Gutmann and Thompson, 1990). Flowing from and into the democratic principles of justice and rationality, acting with principled reasonableness requires a disposition manifested as a willingness to engage in public discourses, in deliberation, collaboration and narration as citizenship practices (Molgat et Larose-Hébert, 2010; Young, 2000; Callan, 2000, 1997; Parker, 1996; Hutchinson, 1989; Hughes, 1994; Galston, 1991; Dillon, 1987).

NETWORK OF CITIZENSHIP VALUES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC DOMAIN

Solidarity is retained for the analytic framework as citizenship value, with possible linkages with the political domain (Hutchinson, 1989). Solidarity can lead to coming together as an entire society to *trust others* and to *value children, as an investment in the future,* as future adults, which is a second order citizenship value (Peters, 1995). Those ultimately responsible for children are their families, but there is also recognition that society should support parents, and by extension educational institutions *in loco*

parentis, and the state. Doing so requires dispositions to cooperate with others and to share duties and benefits. The democratic concepts upon which rests the value of solidarity consist of the right to assembly so as to determine what is best for children and for adults as their caretakers, as well as the rights to unionize, to assure a whole earth, to a secure and safe economy, and to a sane and cohesive society for their future.

Figure 4: Network of Citizenship Values in Socio-Economic Domain
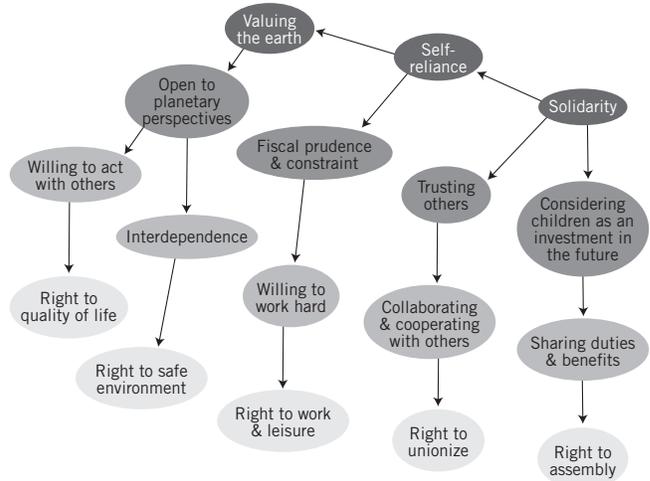
Self-reliance is integral to what Canadians value, which suggests that government should not have an invasive role in determining the common good of individuals (Peters, 1995). In other words, the government should be there to provide assistance, when needed, within the overall emphasis on individual self-reliance. Self-reliance is closely linked to *fiscal prudence and constraint* on the part of the government, as there is a widespread desire among citizens to limit government spending. The connection with collective responsibility and fiscal restraint is contradictory, as there are multiple factors affecting social inequality and for this, government is partly to blame (Peters, 1995). Moreover, collective responsibility implies some sort of government intervention as well as a unified group response. On both individual and societal bases, principled fiscal prudence and constraint require industry, such as a willingness to work hard, a disposition which has long been linked to citizenship duties towards a productive society and to an individual's dreams of socio-economic betterment. In a climate of fiscal restraint and massive cutbacks, however, working is no longer a guarantee or measure of what it is to be a true citizen. All part of a network of citizenship values within the socio-economic domain, the relationships between citizenship, work and self-reliance flow conceptually towards democratic rights to work and leisure in a balanced lifestyle.

The emergence of rights related to global issues evinces a concern for the environment as central to the socio-economic well-being of a democratic society. An increasing concern with *valuing the earth* requires a principled openness to planetary perspectives (Ouellet et Benoît, 1998; Hemon, 1997; Hughes, 1994). Common in education, this value sees citizenship as going beyond the local, the provincial and the national, to encompass global citizenship. Global education programs aim to produce citizens who are knowledgeable about world issues, are open to different world perspectives, associate with others, are kind to strangers, and are disposed to act with other citizens of the world to improve the planet (Hébert, 2010; Appiah, 2006). This commonality presents an image of Canadian citizens as people who know the contemporary society and its issues, who are disposed to work together for a common good, who support pluralism and who are capable of acting together so that their communities, country and world become a better place for all (Hébert, 2010, 2009; Bourgeault et al, 2002; Magsino, 2002; Pagé, 1997; Sears and Hughes, 1996; Evans, 1997; Hughes, 1994; Masemann, 1987). Actualizing this principle requires the recognition of human interdependence, all flowing to more recent socio-economic rights to quality of life and to a safe environment.

NETWORK OF CITIZENSHIP VALUES IN THE CULTURAL DOMAIN

A sense of belonging and *human dignity* serve as key values in the emerging cultural domain based upon the recognition of the social and cultural nature of human beings (Hébert, Wilkinson, Ali & Oriola, 2008; Marzouk et al, 2000; Peters, 1995). Seemingly contradictory, the values of self-reliance and collective responsibility co-occur in a dynamic tension. It is not possible for an individual to be entirely free and separate from community. The tensions between individuality and collectivity create the civil, political, social, and cultural institutions which sustain both our freedom and satisfy our need to belong to something greater than ourselves. To actualize our collective responsibility to create a stronger society, a willingness to find new solutions and to compromise is needed as a citizenship disposition, in logical relationship of categorical rights to identifications as national, religious, social, cultural, and other groups.

The value placed on *human dignity* requires a principled recognition of the dignity of others and of one's own, as well as a principled commitment to pluralism (Bourgeault et al, 2002; Magsino, 2002; Kymlicka, 2003, 1995; Hemon, 1997; Ouellet and Benoît, 1997; Pagé, 1997). This commitment assumes and involves a distinction between individual and collective rights, based upon the recognition of the plurality of contemporary society. In

a pluralist context, civil engagement is as necessary and obligatory as social, economic, and cultural participation – which can lower the barriers that divide society into minority and majority groups, going beyond group and individual identifications (Ouellet and Benoît, 1998; Pagé, 1997). These principles feed the recognition and respect for diversity as well as mutual respect and compassion for others. Manifested as a principled recognition of others and of self, as well as a commitment to pluralism, the value on human dignity acted upon in the form of mutual respect and compassion flows from and into democratic concepts of multiculturalism, tolerance and acceptance of others.

Figure 5: Network of Citizenship Values in Cultural Domain
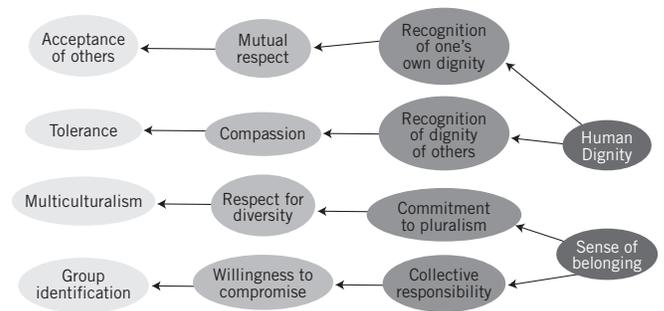
THE FUTURE: A NEW CANADIAN CITIZEN FOR A NEW MILLENNIUM?

The conceptual mapping of citizenship values holds considerable promise to ensure a healthy democracy. True to the nature of contested notions of citizenship, attempts to develop curriculum and pedagogies will be intriguing. A first challenge lies in being able to implement these values in policies that adequately recognize all as persons and citizens within all four domains of citizenship. A second challenge flows from the youthful nature of values acquisition and participation (Stolle and Hooghe, 2002), which suggests that values education be part of the curriculum in both elementary and secondary schooling. For quality values education, it would then be essential to adopt sophisticated dialogic critical pedagogies of discovery which support youngsters while they explore values, and civic and political participation in their daily lives. Given limited available knowledge of the articulation of values, teachers and students would need to work these out in creative yet realistic ways, with, for example, dramatisations, creative writing, artwork, and with a mixed range of digital and living resources. Curriculum materials could very well draw on a rich array of world stories, music and art to illustrate the full range of Canadian values, dispositions and principled actions in a diversity of situations, for enjoyment, discussion, and understanding in daily life.

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A MISSING DIMENSION IN MULTICULTRALISM IN HIGHER EDUCATION: THE MARGINALIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' VOICES AND WRITING IDENTITIES

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ABSTRACT

This reflective essay highlights the realities, problems and possibilities multilingual writers face in negotiating North American mainstream academic discourses and developing their writing identities. Drawing on Russian literary theorist Bakhtin, I argue that language is the missing dimension in multiculturalism in higher education. His dialogic theory discourse and emerging selfhood assumes a fusion of languages and social worlds in human consciousness. The multilingual competence international students bring to North American campuses should be valued and seen as a resource and enrichment for empowering students to develop their writing identities and authorial selves in an era of diversity, equity, and globalization.

AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION: MULTILINGUAL WRITERS IN ACADEME

> *I did not mean to plagiarize. I am beginning to see the difference. But I do not understand why I was so punished and received a failing grade in the entire course for one mistake.*
>
> *I feel like I am a dummy and cannot do academic writing.*
>
> *I do not think I have a voice anymore 'cause I have to fit and write what they want.*
>
> *I know I can write in French but many of my professors cannot read what I write if I do.*
>
> *In the Tamil community here in Montreal we do mix and borrow codes from Tamil and Sanskrit*

These excerpts reflect the recurring comments I keep hearing from decades of teaching and supervising international graduate students in my seminars on Multilingual/Multicultural Literacies and Qualitative/ Ethnographic Research Methods. Many international students come from outside Kachru's "Inner Circle" countries such as Canada, United Kingdom or United States, write in more than one language, and have experienced a variety of non-Western literarcy traditions espoused by many Anglo-American scholars (Canagarajah 2002; Kachru, 1992; Kubota, 2001; Matsuda, 2006).

Writing is not merely a mastery of normative, uniform sets of codes, conventions, or registers that indicate proficiency in academic discourse. Ivanic (1998) argues that "writing is an act of identity in which people align themselves with socio-culturally shaped possibilities of selfhood, playing their part in reproducing or challenging dominant practices and discourses, and the values, beliefs and interests which they embody" (p. 23). Appropriating

new discourses is not just a matter of 'picking up' new information or new discursive practices as new ways of knowledge making. Many educators and policy makers may erroneously assume that international students have problems because they do not know or understand the expectations of academic discourse in North American academic institutions. In his *Geopolitics of Academic Writing*, Canagarajah (2002) uses the concept of "code meshing" to understand the bringing together of multiple discourses among multilingual writers and the powerful literacy traditions students from non-western backgrounds come from and bring to their classes in higher education. He also (2006a) argues that "not every instance of non-standard usage by a student is an unwitting error. Sometimes it is an active choice motivated by important cultural and ideological considerations" (p. 609).

Kubota (2001) argues that assumptions about "non-native speakers" of English can lead to the 'othering' of ESL students by stereotyping their cultures and languages. Such othering presumes the existence of an unproblematic 'Self' of Western images, of power relations, and feelings of superiority or inferiority. Framing "English Learners" as an essentialized group of students, who are somehow different from an invisible, unspecified but assumed mainstream norm, results in reifying uni-dimensional categorical concepts of identity (Gutierriz & Orellana, 2006) and reproduction of the academy (Lee & Maguire, 2011, in Press). Are prevailing mainstream discourses of academic writing for international students really about diversity or equity, or more about conformity to a sanitized "one size fits all" homogenized, normative view of academic writing?

What does authorship mean for international students as multilingual writers who border cross within two or three discourse communities and more than one language? How can those in higher education ensure that students are able to write with authority and develop their own writing identities and authorial selves? As students negotiate new contact zones (Bakhtin, 1981) and new ideological writing environments, many struggle with competing textual expectations and degrees of authority and freedom about what they should write, how they should write, and for whom. Lee and Maguire (2011, in press) argue that "the growing presence of international students from countries where English is not the dominant language raises academic, equity, sociolinguistic, and political questions within North American tertiary hosting institutions."

Human consciousness comes into existence through the medium of surrounding ideological worlds and finds itself "inevitably facing the necessity of having to choose a language" (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 295). I draw on Bakhtin's (1981) social theory of language and two competing and even coexisting discourses—authoritative discourse and internally persuasive discourse—to frame my questions. Authoritative discourse refers to privileged languages and official discourses, such as official government policy and legislation, the discourse of tradition, generally acknowledged beliefs and authority that cannot be disrupted. Internally persuasive discourse refers to everyday discourse that constantly changes in social interactions. It is the discourse of personal beliefs, values, and ideas that influence our responses to the world and others and allows for negotiation. The two discourses can create socio-political tensions between languages and power, texts and power, self and others. When international student writers are engaged in learning authoritative discourses in North American academic contexts, they may experience conflicts derived from the power relationships between the new authoritative discourse of others and their internally persuasive discourse as authoring selves (Lee & Maguire 2011, in press). Disconnects between their own cultural writing styles and those of North American mainstream academic discourse and the tensions between those at the core and periphery have been documented elsewhere (Abasi & Graves, 2008; Gentil, 2003; Mathews, 2003; Sadeghi, 2005).

Many research-intensive institutions readily affirm cultural diversity as a desirable source of institutional capital and symbol of academic excellence. Is this marketing of international student enrollment merely a source of revenue for universities competing in the global market place and are claims for increasing visible cultural diversity just rhetoric of 'political correctness'? What kinds of people are international students becoming in their new ideological environments? (Bakhtin, 1981). What are our ethical and professional responsibilities to these diverse "speaking personalities" (Maguire, 2010), who may or may not experience conflicting discursive academic literacy practices in expectations in knowledge making and developing their own writing identities and authorial selves? Certainly, authoritarian punitive practices for transgressions such as plagiarism are not the answer (Abasi & Graves, 2008; Decker, 1993).

Multilingual writers of "English" including other languages now outnumber mainstream native users of English in my classes. In learning to appreciate some of their challenges, realities, possibilities, and problems, I wonder why some international students who are multilingual experience discrimination and feel marginalized or like "dummies" despite the increasing internationalism of tertiary institutions that claim diversity is valued. Language is the missing dimension in multicultural education in tertiary institutions, especially those who claim excellence in their admissions and recruitment discourses of attracting the "the best and brightest." Most striking is

the marginalization of international students' multilingual voices, which includes writing in more than one language such as English and/ or many "Englishes" (Kachru 2002). Whose writing voices are privileged? (Maguire, 2010). Who is at the core and periphery? (Mathews, 2006)

DEVELOPING WRITING IDENTITIES IN ACADEMIA: WHOSE EXPECTATIONS DOMINATE OR PREVAIL?

A comprehensive review of studies on the publishing experiences of periphery scholars and students suggests that "international publication is more of a challenge to multilingual scholars than it is to others who are endowed with economic, cultural, and symbolic capital and thus able to respond to the demands of the core academic discursive practices with relative ease (Uzuner, 2008, p. 261). Pederson (2010) examined how a group of multilingual scholars in Jordan negotiated multiple linguistic and cultural affiliations, and experience empowerment and disempowerment in English.

Holland et al. (1998) view identities as "possibilities for mediating agency and the key means through which people care about and care for what is going on around them". Canagarajah & Jersky (2009) argue "written competence in English has taken on added significance for students and scholars in the context of globalization" (p. 473). They identify six major challenges, realities, and tensions for multilingual writers: Authorship vs. Voice, Borrowing vs. Plagiarism, Description vs. Practice, Accommodation vs. Resistance, Process vs. Product, Grammar vs. Genre. They also see one of the most "complicated issues currently under discussion inspired by the social changes of globalization and philosophical change of postmodernism [is] the status of World Englishes" (Kachru 2002). International students' perceptions and experiences of academic literacy practices they are expected to appropriate and emulate can differ from and clash with those of their, mainstream North American professors. Not surprisingly, therefore, international students may experience a crisis of writing identity in North American institutions of higher education.

Several issues emerge in considering international students' developing writing identities in academia and whose expectations dominate or prevail: Whose "Englishes" are privileged in tertiary education? How ready are tertiary institutions to meet the needs of multilingual writers who write in English and more than one language in the high stakes contexts of academia? How can multilingual writers develop their own writing identities and voice/s in academic writing that privileges the hegemonic power of an idealized version of "Standard" English? Many composition scholars now argue that other languages are also gaining importance in the context of globalization (Dor, 2004), thus challenging claims that English **is** the language of globalization.

New challenges and possibilities emerge for professors and students to be open to the possibilities that to use languages are to "people" them (Bakhtin, 1986) with their own intentions and interests. Language does not function as a culturally or ideologically neutral tool for human expression of ideas. What moral obligations do institutions have towards these multilingual writers' in respecting and acknowledging their multilinguistic competence and ensuring their writing voices are understood, heard, and respected in university classrooms and viewed as resources and cultural enrichment in academe?

CANADIAN CONTEXT: RHETORIC & REALITY

A commitment to diversity, equity, and multiculturalism, which is one of the primary principles of Canadian higher education, ought to be much more than simply having a token representation of international students among its student populations. In the light of Canada Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1981) and Official Languages Act (1969), one might logically infer that Canadian university students write in both official languages, English and French. Indeed, the policy at my own institution states that students have the opportunity to write their papers in English or French. How many actually do so is unknown. In writing this essay, I posted four questions to my own university senior administrators; no statistics are available for the first three questions.

1. How many international students are currently enrolled in graduate studies at McGill? How many are trilingual or multilingual?
2. How many of these students are multilingual writers and/ or write in more than one or two languages in their programs and disciplines?
3. Although we have a policy that affords students the option to write in French, how many graduate students actually do so other than those in the French Language and Literature departments?
4. Where are we in the debate this summer re extra fees for writing courses especially for international students? What can we expect in the future with respect to this policy and graduate student enrollment? And meeting the needs of advanced multilingual writers?

Even though I inform my francophone/bilingual students of university policy, very few actually do so. Why not?

A starting point for Canadian administrators in higher education should be to know how many and what types of bilingual and multilingual writers inhabit their campuses. Question 4 refers to a recent university policy to charge students, who may need writing instruction to increase their English writing proficiency, extra tuition fees if a writing course is not part of their regular program. One

can challenge whether this is unethical since international students incur larger tuition costs than local students. Thus, while my university seemingly welcomes diverse international students on its admission website, the self-reported realities articulated by these "English" or multilingual writers from outside Kachru's outer circles countries suggests quite the opposite. Considering the high stakes implications they experience in their "rite of passage", the issues are what kinds of writing is actually valued to graduate, pass written comprehensive examinations or theses and dissertations, and the kind of support they can expect. While it is well known that an increasing number of students in Canadian universities do not speak English as their first language less, well known is how many there are and who they are and what their needs may be.

While Canadian universities appear to welcome diversity, teaching international students at a research intensive university like my own and listening to their personal narratives about their academic literacy practices suggests that negotiate competing textualities between dominant North American academic discourses and their own internally persuasive discourses. These negotiations influence their engagement in various knowledge-making activities, including writing in their disciplines, and their own writing identities as bilingual/ multilingual writers. Even research in second-language writing tends to ignore these socio-cultural dimensions of academic writing from international students' perspectives and actual lived experiences. Educators in higher education need to challenge the assumed homogeneity of students' perceptions of academic literacy practices and institutional "identity" labels, such as "ESL writer" and "non-native writer." Lee and Maguire (2011) used Bakhtin's theory of authoritative and internally persuasive discourses to argue through case studies of two Korean students for a view of writing as situated cultural activity that is responsive to the experiences of increasingly diverse student populations in academic settings. Abasi and Graves (2008a; 2008b) examine how university plagiarism policies interact with students' academic writing in English as they develop identities as authors and students. They illustrate how such policies frame the professor-student relationship and influence student text production and even mystify academic writing and scholarly possibilities.

The problem international students face begins even before they arrive on campus and take courses – as they try to comply with admission requirements. How should bilingual/multilingual international students best present themselves to North American universities? For example, many universities ask students to write a letter of intent, introduction, or personal narrative. These texts are often used as part of an admission application and read by members of admissions committees who may or may not have experience in reading and understanding texts, let alone evaluating their worth. Much needed is research that aims to understand how multilingual writers decide how to present themselves and what compromises they may face in complying with what Bakhtin would describe as the "authoritative discourses" of the academy and the expected voice that will be valued to gain access to graduate studies. Many Canadian universities expect the students to be proficient in English and can demand proof of this proficiency. But the niggling question remains: Which standards of English are used in assessing this proficiency?

MANY ENGLISHES: WHOSE STANDARD/S?

Tertiary educators need to interrogate their institutional voice/s with respect to proficiency in English and assumptions about one version of English as the norm - be it standard, British, Canadian, or American. Pedersen demonstrates that even international students who are English speakers and writers who live outside Kachru's "Inner Circle" countries (such as the United States and Canada), bring varieties of World Englishes used outside the inner circle and rich nontraditional literacy practices. Canagarajah eloquently argues for the importance of understanding that as World Englishes border cross, students face challenges in making discourse choices to afford them the necessary linguistic capital to "gain access" into and to succeed in academe. To function as postmodern global citizens, many students from even dominant Anglo-American communities need to be proficient in negotiating diverse repertories of World Englishes.

Composition studies document a long history of privileging monolingual writers and attempts by North American institutions to contain or restrain this diversity. This reproduction of the image of the ideal monolingual English graduate student and corresponding neglect of linguistic diversity has profound consequences for graduate students' academic trajectories, consequences that start with their admission to graduate programs and continue when applying for fellowship and completing their programs. The challenges international students face raise questions about writing and knowledge-making in academic settings (Canagarajah, 2006a; Matsuda, 2006) and "reinventing the university or reproducing the academy." Traditional institutionally, discursively constructed and attributed labels, such as native/non-native writers or ESL writers need to be challenged for their assumed cultural and linguistic homogeneity of international students and cultural groups. Lee and Maguire argue for reconceptualization of L2 writers and international students within a discourse of possibility

(Canagarajah, 2006a Holland; Lachicotte, Skinner & Cain, 1998) rather than painting portraits of their struggles as deficits or transgressive appropriation of texts.

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS ON CANADIAN UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES: WHAT KINDS OF PEOPLE ARE THEY BECOMING?

Obviously, international students bring foreign capital, increase visible ethnic diversity, and enhance the international reputation of the hosting institutions (Matsuda, 2006). Lee and Maguire argue that international students on Canadian campuses face numerous challenges, which include adapting not only to the country, but also to new educational systems, social relationships, and discursive academic literacy practices. Their perceptions of the academic literacy practices they are expected to appropriate and emulate may differ or clash from those of their North American professors. How do international students negotiate taking on new positionings in Western academic settings that are different from those in their home country? What kinds of people are international students becoming in universities? What might we as teachers of writing imagine as authorial activities and identities for international students, who are often labeled as ESL writers? How have we traditionally imagined these "non-native" students in our prevailing discourses? Kubota (2001) maintains that studies in contrastive rhetoric, for example, tend to dichotomize Western and Eastern cultures and draw rigid cultural boundaries between them. They have perpetuated reifying labels such as "individualism, self-expression, critical and analytical thinking and extending knowledge to Western cultures on one hand and collectivism, harmony, indirection, memorization, and conserving knowledge to Asian cultures in general on the other" (Kubota 1999, p.14). This reductionistic line of thinking ignores the complexities of L2 students' diverse identities and knowledge-making processes and the roles that languages play in this process.

Bakhtin argues that language lies on "the borderline between oneself and another. The word in language is half someone else's. It becomes 'one's own' when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention" (p. 293). For international student writers studying in a North American context, this usually means appropriating the norms of academic writing in "English". What are the textual possibilities for international students? What are our ethical and professional responsibilities as educators in responding to the needs, goals, aspirations and expectations of international students? What should authorial activity look like in tertiary academic institutions as our student populations become increasingly diverse? What kinds of textual possibilities can institutions envision for international students? In reorganizing their sense of being and how they are relating to their social worlds, they may experience what Bakhtin calls the process of "ideologically becoming," which refers to the process of "distinguishing between one's own and another's discourse, between one's own and another's thought" (p.345). Lu (2004) stresses that educators need to delay assessment of what novice writers need and how they need to use English until they have studied their understanding of different ways of writing. Their writing problems may have more to do with the influence of oppressive normative expectations and systemic influences on their writing rather than with not knowing those expectations.

A commitment to linguistic diversity and multi-culturalism should be more than simply having a stereotyped "diverse" representation of international students. A multilingual commitment inevitably means openness to change, linguistic and cultural diversity. This requires systemic strategies and transformative practices that help everyone adopt a critical approach to languages, texts and power relations. It offers new possibilities for addressing the questions raised in this essay: What kinds of selves, writers, people are we asking international students to become when they inhabit our academic institutions and engage in authorial activities? In classrooms? In communities? In society? Silverstein (2003) argues this is the era of anxieties about identities and crises of identity politics. More documented case studies of international students' lived experiences and rhetorical agency are good starting points, including their perceptions of cultural textual borrowing and "code meshing." If a dialogic view entails being responsive and answerable to the voices of others, how should those in higher education respond to students who say *"I do not think I have a voice anymore 'cause I have to fit and write what they want"* – *"In the Tamil community here in Montreal, we do mix and borrow codes from Tamil and Sanskrit"* How can international students write with authority and voice, to develop their writing identities in higher education?

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THE CHALLENGES OF TEACHING NATIONAL HISTORY IN THE CANADIAN MULTICULTURAL CONTEXT

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ABSTRACT

Since the establishment of public education over a century ago, Canadian educators have continually faced the challenges of teaching a common national history to the younger generations. This paper looks at the implications of these challenges for 21st century history education.

Teaching national history has never been so hotly debated – and contested. For Peter Seixas (2002), the current interest in history can be understood as the unprecedented convergence of deep-rooted factors: the resurgence of memory and heritage practices, the rapid migration and mixing of peoples and cultures, the end of the Cold War and the re-emergence of nations and states, the empowerment of previously disempowered groups, and finally globalization and its technologies. While virtually every country has been affected in one way or another by these factors, Canada presents an interesting case study. Divided by language, region and nationality, the country has historically faced the challenge of accommodating diversity without undermining solidarity and unity. "In our 130-year existence," philosopher Will Kymlicka (1998) observes, "Canadians have managed to build a prosperous, tolerant, peaceful, free and democratic society in what is one of the most ethnoculturally diverse countries in the world" (p. 1).

The purpose of this chapter is to present the situation in Canada history education from a historical perspective. While no country offers a simple "cut and paste" solution, the Canadian educational experience presents an interesting case in point. More specifically, the paper looks at how federalism and nationalism, collective memory, multiculturalism, and historical thinking and consciousness have affected the ways in which history education has been defined and translated into educational policies, curricula, and research practices. Relying on the framework of Osborne (2006), it outlines three related conceptions of history teaching, all of which continue to affect, to varying degrees, Canadian education: nation-building, contemporary studies, and historical thinking.

1. NATION-BUILDING NARRATIVES

Born out of a 19th century compact between the two founding nations – French and English – the country was brought into formal existence at the height of European nationalist movements. Faced with the danger of expansion and civil war in the United States and highly vulnerable to attacks and assimilation, the scattered colonies of Canada could only be brought together for a common purpose. The consequence of this unique trajectory was the establishment of a particular political arrangement and culture that remains to this day.

The British North America Act (BNA Act) of 1867 laid out the terms and agreements of the new Dominion of Canada. While European states were being crafted as unitary nation-states, the Fathers of Confederation drafted a federal arrangement in which the powers were divided between provincial and federal levels. Provincial control of education was central to the Constitution of 1867 – at least for French Canadian leaders. Section 93 of the Constitution not only guaranteed that provinces would have absolute power over education but recognized that French and English minorities (as originally defined in terms of Catholics and Protestant minority rights) were entitled to separate education systems.

Motivated by the new political arrangements and fuelled by decades of colonial education from such reformers

as Egerton Ryerson, Canadian education soon became a political priority. The increasingly industrial, urbanized and multiethnic population of Canada required skilled labour and loyal citizens. Schools, in the words of Ryerson, were seen as an instrument to prepare Canadians for "appropriate duties and employments of life, as Christians, as persons of business, and also as members of the civil community in which they live" (in Axelrod, 1997, p. 25). Public education was seen as a means to socialize Canadians and "imbue them with attitudes designed to make society both productive and governable" (Axelrod, 1997, p. 43). Nation-building was the process through which Canadians would become good workers and citizens.

Despite the fact that the provinces were responsible for education, all Canadian schools were expected to develop a "national consciousness" (Tomkins, 1977). A great part of the school mission, particularly so in English Canadian provinces, focussed on the Canadianization of people and their allegiance to the British Canadian parliamentary system and Anglo-saxon culture. As George W. Ross, Minister of Education for Ontario, once declared: "As Canadians, we should teach more of Canada and in teaching Canada we should teach it as only one colony of the vast British Empire on whose dominion the sun never sets." (in Jain, 1977, p. 42).

Of course, the production and teaching of this grand narrative did not go unchallenged. French Canadians, for one, had also developed their own narrative texts of the country – even before English Canadians – that were instilled in the Catholic school system of French Canada (see Lévesque, 2004). Many of these contradicted the tenets of an English-speaking homogeneous nation founded on the superior virtues of the British Empire. Instead, they focused on the heroic struggle, *la survivance* of the *Canadiens*, and the role of religion and Divine Providence (Bruchési, 1952; Roy, Gauthier and Tardif, 1992).

2. MULTICULTURALISM AND CONTEMPORARY STUDIES

By the 1960s, a new set of social and educational transformations radically altered the older vision of Canadian history and identity in place since Confederation. On the one hand, new interest in and demand for public education forced political and educational authorities to reassess the goal of schooling. This time, however, reforms had to reflect the needs of Canada's "cultural mosaic" – not exclusively the aspirations of the ruling élite (Porter, 1965). In the province of Ontario alone, the schooling population more than doubled between 1945 and 1960, from 663,000 students in 1946 to 1.3 million by 1960 (Tomkins, 1986). Most of these students were Canadian baby boomers but also non-European immigrants from Asia, the Caribbean and Latin America with no connection to British

and French Canadian culture. Critics became increasingly vocal and organized. They persuasively exposed the racist, sexist, and class-based nature of Canadian education and rightfully demanded equality and recognition (Strong-Boag, 1996). Raymond Breton summed up the issue facing Canadian "others" in these terms: "When communities of people cannot recognize themselves in public institutions… [they] feel that they are strangers in society, that the society is not *their* society" (1986, p. 31).

On the other hand, the nation-building narratives once inculcated in Canadian schools ceased representing and explaining Canada to the diverse population of the country. The old "core myths," as Francis (1997) observes, "no longer explain anything….The story of Canada I learned from my schoolbooks is totally inadequate for understanding Canadian society as it is today" (p. 174). The Quiet Revolution in Québec was the catalyst for a long-needed dialogue and the necessity of reworking the federation to accommodate all Canadians. In 1963, the federal government established a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (B&B Commission) to examine existing practices and recommend ways of ensuring wider recognition of the fundamental cultural dualism of Canada. At the request of the B&B Commission, a comparative study of Canadian history textbooks across the country was undertaken. To no surprise, the report (Trudel and Jain, 1970) presented a bleak picture of Canadian history. It concluded that "when we compare the way in which the historical material is presented, again we are in two different worlds… there is unquestionably an English tone and a French tone" (p. 124). In other words, Canadian children were educated in completely different systems depending on their language and religious affiliation.

The celebrations surrounding the Centennial of Canada in 1967 provided an additional impetus for re-assessing Canadian history. A National History Project was established to survey civic education across provincial jurisdictions. Directed by A.B. Hodgetts, the report rhetorically entitled *What Culture? What Heritage?* was the largest and most comprehensive study ever to be conducted on Canadian education. As with the findings of the B&B Commission, Hodgetts' report offered yet another indictment of Canadian history teaching and learning. Courses of study were regional in focus and outdated, textbooks presented a "bland, unrealistic consensus version" of Canadian progress with emphasis on political and constitutional history. Current events, controversial issues and cultural diversity were completely ignored by teachers. Perhaps more appalling, classrooms observed were dominated by "chalk and talk" lectures and textbook memorization and student-centred activities reduced to simple discussions and facts finding worksheets. With this

state of affairs, it is no surprise that many left the school with a negative appreciation of history – and of their own country. "The apathy of the great majority of these students regarding Canadian studies," Hodgetts (1968) concluded, "is taken out of the classroom, and adversely affects their involvement in Canadian affairs" (p. 77).

The initial response of authorities to this situation came from different directions. At the federal level, a series of political decisions were taken, including the adoption of the Official Languages Act in 1969 making French and English the two official languages of Canada. Responding to the concept of "cultural mosaic," the government of Pierre Trudeau abandoned altogether the notion of cultural dualism and implemented instead a policy of multiculturalism in 1971. All these changes – and many significant others such as guaranteed educational rights for French and English minorities – were entrenched in a new Charter of Rights and Freedoms a decade later. Provincial governments soon amended, not without much debate, their own policies and regulations to better reflect the constitutional changes taking place at the national level – resulting in a rather complex and confusing system across the country. Multicultural education, French immersion, and ESL/FSL programs, to name but a few, gradually found their way into the Canadian school systems (McLeod, 1989). "Overt responses of the schools to multiculturalism," Kogila Moodley (1995) observes, "indicate a shift from the earlier assimilation to a greater acceptance of multiculturalism" (p. 804).

Perhaps the most influential response in education came from the Canadian Studies Consortium, an interprovincial network of regional centres, which established the Canada Studies Foundation (CSF) in 1970. The CSF was innovative in several ways. Responding specifically to the recommendations of the Hodgetts' report, the foundation produced many publications about Canada, sponsored various local school projects across the country, involved over 1000 educators in curriculum development, and provided in-service education to more than 30,000 teachers. Parallel to these, Ministries of Education in every province undertook long-needed curriculum reviews to better reflect the latest research findings and development in education. For Penney Clark (2004), the publication of Jerome Bruner's landmark book *The Process of Education* provided Canadian educators a modern, progressive way of looking at history and social studies. For Bruner (1977), children were not simple assimilators of knowledge but active problem-solvers who could learn the fundamental structure of scientific thinking. His argument rested on the principle that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectual honest form to any child at nay stage of development" (p. 36). The new programs of study mirrored,

to various degrees, Bruner's ideas about the structure of the discipline, emphasizing problem-based learning, independent projects, and primary source method.

Focus on child-centred discovery methods also let to another American influence on Canadian education during the period: the promotion of contemporary studies. Some influential neoprogressive educators, such as Donald Oliver and Shirley Engle, proclaimed that disciplines such as history "did not necessarily prepare informed and responsive citizens" (Tomkins, 1986, p. 397). They recommended instead that school subjects be integrated into contemporary studies apparently more palatable to young learners (Newmann and Oliver, 1970). Following these recommendations, Canadian school history gradually lost its prominence in the curriculum (Davis, 1995). Once-popular textbooks proclaiming Canada's progress, such as *Building the Canadian Nation* or *The Romance of Canada,* were relegated to shelves and replaced by less triumphant ones: *Challenges and Survival* and *In Search of Canada.* According to Osborne (2000), "history began to lose its place in the school curriculum" (p. 423) because of a number of converging factors, including a perceived lack of social relevance of history, an increased focus on multiculturalism and anti-racism, a change in teacher education (from disciplinary backgrounds to generalists), and the elimination of provincial examinations and the de-streaming of the curriculum favouring individualized timetables. Whatever the reason, by the 1980s school history had been supplanted in many provinces by other more "relevant" subjects under such appealing headings as Man in Society, Multicultural education, World Religions, and Environmental studies. As historian Robert Gidney (1999) sums it up from his educational research, "the average learner would not accept the statement that 'You must take history because it's good for you'" (p. 103).

3. HISTORICAL THINKING AND CONSCIOUSNESS

The publication of the book *Who Killed Canadian History?* by prominent historian Jack Granatstein in 1998 marked the beginning of a new era in Canadian history education. Declaring that national history was literally dead, killed by a combination of political decisions and educational policies from anti-intellectual bureaucrats, psychologists, social historians and multicultural educators, Granatstein (1998) was the most vocal and perhaps influential critic to demand publicly "a common curriculum of compulsory history courses in the public schools and high schools" (p. 142). Although his argument was highly conservative and much in line with the older nation-building paradigm, his plea came at a strategic moment in Canadian politics. Public debates on the place of history in schools, rhetorically referred to as the "history

wars," more or less revolved around two fundamentally different perspectives.

At one extreme, neo-conservative thinkers like Granatstein and patriotic organizations such as the Dominion Institute presented a pessimistic view of Canadian multicultural society and distrust in youth culture. Editorials and national surveys showing abysmal lack of political knowledge among young Canadians, unable to recall bits and fragments of the collective past, led to emotional outcries in the population. For these "heritage fashioners," the future of the country was at stake. For Québec nationalists, a lack of knowledge of Québec history inevitably meant the assimilation by *les Anglais* and the predictable death of their sovereignist project (see Laville, 2006). Canadian historian Desmond Morton described the situation during the period in these words: "School history has plenty of supporters in contemporary Canada…. [But] the current enthusiasm for school history – heaviest among older and influential Canadians – may not necessarily benefit students. Memorizing a few hundred facts will not, in Fernand Dumond's phrase, persuade the young that they are free 'to *read* history and to *make* it as well'" (p. 60).

At the other end of the debate were a relatively small but important number of scholars, educators, and organizations long dedicated to education. Building on the forward-thinking works of British and other European didactics scholars, and paralleling Bruner's earlier notion of the structure of the discipline, they advocated a fundamentally different conception of school history. Instead of viewing it as a political tool for citizenship activism and heritage practice, they conceive history as a form of knowledge and way of thinking about the past (Lévesque, 2008). Perhaps the most influential thinker was Peter Seixas, Canada Research Chair in Historical Consciousness. For Seixas (2006), it is far from clear that "a resurrected, monumental narrative, the construction of a simple public memory, can meet the felt needs for a usable past that will help orient young people for the future" (p. 14). What is more appropriately needed, in his view, is a history education that will aim for a higher standard, the development of students' "historical consciousness". Seixas defines the concept as a critical interpretation of a usable history necessary for understanding the meanings of the past for contemporary purposes. To become historically conscious, students must be able to articulate some sophisticated answers to key questions in history:

- How did things get to be as we see them today?
- What group or groups am I a part of? What are its/their origins?
- How should we judge each other's past actions?

- Are things getting better or are they getting worse?
- What stories about the past should I believe in? On what grounds?
- Which stories shall we tell? Why?
- Is there anything we can do to make things better?

Unlike the tenets of collective memory, the approach to historical consciousness does not provide a simple, uncontested path to nation-building. Rather, it offers a critical link between past, present, and future as envisioned by citizens. Perhaps more importantly, its goal is not to shape a people through the teaching of a common narrative memory but to shape students' minds so they become more conscious historical thinkers. Historical consciousness can be a valuable idea to education inasmuch as it provides a conceptual framework to study how learners develop progressively their own narratives and understanding of the nature of history. It also helps, more broadly, to make sense of people's orientation in time and personal engagement with cultural artefacts of the collective past.

The proponents of historical thinking and consciousness have had, so far, a relatively influential role in Canadian educational research. Three recent examples can serve as evidence of this new direction: the Benchmarks of historical thinking school initiative (see www.historybenchmarks.ca), the national survey Canadians and their Pasts (www.canadiansandtheirpasts.ca), and the establishment of The History Education Network/Histoire et éducation en réseau (www.thenhier.ca).

CONCLUSION

The development and often unfriendly coexistence of the three competing approaches to history education delineated here offer some valuable lessons to consider: (a) nation-building narratives are central to identity and national history, (b) school history needs to be relevant to be meaningful, and (c) students no less than adults are unable to create their own histories without deep understanding of the nature of history.

Since the invention of public schooling, school history has always placed nation-building as fundamental to its mission. Regardless of the debates on the issue of nationalism, the narrative of the nation remains a valuable enterprise for communities in democracy. But as Canadians know too well, the development of an "imagined community" (Anderson, 1991) sharing a national narrative is challenging. People may share institutions or a common territory but inhabit different historical realities. The challenge for 21st century democracy is precisely to devise structures that allow for the development and dialogue between multiple narrative accounts of the nation without

undermining unity and solidarity. This challenge, as Stanley (2006) points out, is to enable us "to construct a narrative that explains how it is that we come to inhabit common spaces, and to allow others to see and engage with these narratives" (p. 47).

This is the second lesson to be learned: history needs to be personally relevant in order to be meaningful. Students often leave school without deep knowledge of or interest in the collective past as a result of poor school history programs. It is not, as Conrad, Létourneau and Northrup (2009) illustrate in their recent survey on "Canadians and their pasts," that people have no interest in or engagement with the past. On the contrary, most Canadians are engaged in a variety of historical activities, ranging from visits to museums, to entries in journals or diaries, through to family photographs and artifacts preservation to watching historically-based movies. The educational movement for contemporary studies in the 1970s was rooted in the cognitive belief that programs of study had to be presented in a didactical way that addresses present-day issues of concern to students. People feel most connected to history when they encounter the past in engaging, familiar and intimate ways. What this suggests for educators is to create programs that will allow students from increasingly different backgrounds, nationalities, and experiences to see themselves – and their personal interests and concerns – represented in their history classroom. Teachers must enable children to explore and reassess their own past, to construct their own narrative accounts, and perhaps more importantly to analyse how their personal histories intertwine with those of the communities they inhabit.

But this approach to school history is only successful if students are exposed to the nature of history as a discipline with its own procedures, standards, and mode of inquiry. Indeed, people cannot adjudicate between competing narratives of the past or even (re)construct their own usable histories without some appreciation of how such narratives are constructed and disseminated. "The challenge for history education," Seixas (2006) observes, "is to devise ways to introduce young people to these same historical tools, processes, and ways of thinking, not in order to make them mini-historians, or to give them an early start on academic careers; rather, to help them make sense of who they are, where they stand, and what they can do... (p. 21). Far from exacerbating ethnic, cultural or linguistic divisions, such an approach to history can provide "a common public forum for the discussion of divergent historical views and experiences" (Seixas, 1997, p. 169).

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REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION: A TOOL IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PLURALIST AND INCLUSIVE SCHOOLS?

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ABSTRACT

This article first presents the concept of reasonable accomodation as it was defined by the Canadian courts through various rulings, with a special focus on the guidelines that make adaptation to diversity a requirement for educational institutions as well as on the limits that decision-makers can invoke in this regard. In the second part of the article, the assets that reasonable accomodation represents for the development of inclusive schools are discussed, as well as some of the challenges of its implementation.

REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION IN THE CANADIAN CONTEXT

The concept of reasonable accommodation was progressively defined following the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, through several judgments initially related to work relations and later to the delivery of services. The normative foundations of reasonable accommodation are based on the recognition that, even without the intent to discriminate, a rule or practice that *appears neutral* and that is applied equally to everyone may constitute an infringement on the right to equality. This is the case when such a rule or practice excludes or disproportionately puts at a disadvantage certain categories of citizens. Taking into account that many such apparently neutral rules are marked by Canada's dominant Catholic or Protestant heritage, courts have ruled that an infringement to the religious freedom of individuals in such situations constitutes a legitimate reason to render compulsory the search for an accommodation (*Commission des droits de la personne et de la jeunesse, 2005;* Bosset, 2007).

For a few years now, Canadian courts have suggested to corporate and public sector leaders that, once a rule or a practice within their institution or business has been established to have a discriminatory effect, a two-step plan be followed. The first question they must ask is whether the rule or practice is indeed well-justified and necessary to ensure that the institution or business can accomplish its mandate. If this is not the case, the course of action should be to abolish it, or to redefine it in a more inclusive manner. If it is clearly demonstrated that the rule or practice is essential, then there is an obligation to correct its discriminatory effect.

Reasonable accommodation, which corresponds to this second case, is therefore an exception granted to a person or group of persons for whom a universal rule or practice would have a discriminatory effect, on grounds set out by the Canadian Charter that it would infringe upon the exercise of fundamental rights.

Reasonable accommodation should not be considered as an obligation to accept all requests or even to find a solution to all potential cases of conflict between, on the one hand, norms and practices, and on the other hand, certain fundamental rights of individuals. The obligation is first and foremost that both sides search for a solution and negotiate in good faith. The main limit that can be invoked by the corporate or public sector leaders, either to justify the denial of certain requests or in a more positive manner to propose an alternative solution, is that of **undue hardship.** This is to demonstrate that the given request challenges the very capabilities of the institution to carry out its mandate. Early rulings stressed elements such as financial costs, organizational factors, or the magnitude of risks. More recently, the Court has started to analyze the question

of reasonable accommodation within institutions whose mandates are more complex than those of businesses, such as schools, day-care facilities, or social services providers. Indeed, such institutions cannot only reflect the values of their clientele, but usually aim to educate, transform, or defend them. In such cases, many argue that the concept of reasonability should extend to the compatibility of some requests with the given mandate (Mc Andrew, 2003; Gaudreault, 2007). Nevertheless, reflection in this regard is still very preliminary. Regarding schooling, for example, cases that have been brought to the Supreme Court have dealt only with dress code requirements, and not with requests to exempt students from parts of the curriculum based on established knowledge (for example, Darwinism vs. Creationism) or linked to civic skills (for example, the new Quebec course on Ethics and Religious Culture) (MELS 2007; Woehrling, 2008).

Nevertheless, regardless of such grey areas, courts have reiterated on many occasions that reasonable accommodation must be compatible with the respect of other rights of individuals requesting accommodation, or with the right of other individuals who could be affected. At a lower judicial level, the British Columbia Court of Appeal has ruled in the *Three Books Case* that reasonable accommodation[1] could not be invoked to allow one minority to censor another. It therefore nullified the decision of a school board which had withdrawn from the shelves of its school libraries three books that favoured homo-centric family models, as a means of responding to the sensibilities of certain religious communities (Tully, 2006).

RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATION AND PLURALIST SCHOOLING: STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS

Reasonable accommodation can represent both a powerful theoretical concept and a relevant strategy in balancing three equally important social goals of modern society: the respect for diversity and for individual rights, the actualization of equity, and the promotion of social cohesion. In public debates, reasonable accommodation is often presented as favouring essentially the first objective, but one can easily demonstrate that it can also support in a very significant manner the other two. Indeed, the most important goal of reasonable accommodation is not to merely respect diversity, but to allow marginalized groups to equally participate in public and private institutions without having to renounce their values, as long as these are compatible with a minimal definition of legitimate claims in a democratic society. Contrasting a republican conception of integration — which requires students to choose between, on the one hand participation and equality, and on the other, their religious or cultural characteristics and identities — reasonable accommodation aims for a reciprocal adaptation. While educational institutions gradually modify their rules and practices to adjust to socio-demographic changes, individuals belonging to minorities also see some of their values or behaviours being transformed over time, through the social interaction created by their participation. Moreover, in cases where different rights seem to be in conflict with one another, it is obvious that by avoiding the exclusion and the marginalization of individuals that one aims to protect, these individuals are afforded much more opportunity to develop an autonomous choice between alternative values (MELS 2007; Milot, 2008).

Nevertheless, this positive impact of reasonable accommodation is only possible if the experience of negotiating such a compromise, regardless of its tensions and difficulties, is a positive one. This invites us to address some of the challenges linked to this demanding concept.

The main criticism directed at reasonable accommodation is its complexity (Fleury, 2008; Potvin, 2008). For a citizen who learns about it through the media, often in a very biased manner, and even for a school principal or a teacher who is more directly involved, it can appear rather chaotic. *Rationality*, which involves clear norms applied to everyone in the same manner without discussion, is often more comfortable than *reasonability*, which implies the acceptance of different compromises in different instances.[2] Moreover, even if reasonable accommodation involves a negotiation without an *a priori* defined result, this does not mean that it is without legal guidelines. At the end of the process, charters, laws, as well as school rules, sometimes impose their own preferred solutions. Therefore, the school principal is often under the impression that, on the one hand he is being told that school norms cannot be rigid (e.g., that he must adapt), but on the other hand that the compromises which he will finally take as admissible or refuse to comply with, can at any moment be nullified by the Courts, which are often considered to be biased in favour of minorities. Therefore, if reasonable accommodation is to play a positive role in the construction of an inclusive school, public authorities need to listen more carefully to the fears of school personnel in this regard. Better information and inter-cultural training directed to those working in school milieus must also be developed. In this regard, the *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences,* held in Quebec during Winter 2008, has represented a significant step in favour of the first objective, even if we can wonder whether its impact on the other two has been positive (Mc Andrew, 2007; CCAPRCD, 2008).

Reasonable accommodation is also criticized at both ends of the spectrum, by partisans of civic integration and by partisans of a more radical multiculturalism, as it is simultaneously said to "flirt" with communitarianism and assimilationism. In the first instance, some fear that while it is meant to apply only to individuals and be limited by the necessity of respecting individual rights, reasonable accommodation actually contributes to further empowering traditional ethnic or religious elites, while reinforcing orthodox definitions of religious practices. These criticisms have been voiced particularly since the Amselem ruling, which established that it was not the mainstream interpretation of religions that should be paramount in judging the infringement of religious freedom but the sincerity of individual beliefs. Although at first glance this seems like a liberal position, many analysts and school authorities have argued that such a ruling has had the perverse effect of limiting the moderating input of mainstream religious authorities, while it has given more power, within educational institutions, to marginal positions shared by traditionalist or orthodox militants (Lefebvre, 2008; Maclure, 2008). Nevertheless, other people have argued that the democratic exercise implied by the negotiation of an accommodation contributes to citizenship education among religious minority youth, and thus, it may help them to question the monopoly of religious authorities in their life choices (CCAPRCD, 2008).

At the other end of the spectrum, some partisans of a more radical conception of multiculturalism consider that all guidelines that constitute the framework for seeking reasonable accommodation in schools are actually much more favourable to a soft version of assimilationism than to a true recognition of diversity (Bourgeault & Pietrantonio, 1996). Schools would take into account only watered-down conceptions of minority cultures and religions, such as those which are compatible with the Western paradigm and the dominant culture. Reasonable accommodation would thus not live up to the expectation of true pluralism, which allows citizens in a democracy to hold radically different conceptions of "the good life." Nevertheless, this critique has some flaws. Indeed, while reasonable accommodation may favour minority participation in common institutions, it does not forbid some people or groups from choosing to attend ethno-specific institutions, or even within the limits defined by the law, to live their lives largely at the margins of the dominant society.

Finally, many worry that school principals — and even more so schoolteachers, who are sometimes also challenged by this task — are not adequately trained to define rules and practices, or their accommodations, to foster the equal participation of all students regardless of background (CCAPRCD, 2008; Mc Andrew, 2008). It is certainly easier for people who experience diversity daily than for ordinary citizens to resist the sensationalist treatment by the media of various cases of cultural or religious conflicts. Nevertheless, these individuals often lack the skills needed to adequately manage such a negotiation between values — which is not the only one they must address in today's schools, where they face many other competing challenges. In this regard, even if many training initiatives are carried out at the provincial, school board or NGO levels, one can doubt that current training is sufficient. This is because most training is aimed at school principals, while reasonable accommodation often elicits important resistance on the part of school teachers, and even more among students and parents — these last having significant power in decision-making processes at the school level. This is exemplified by the 2002 conflict surrounding the wearing of the kirpan by Sikh students. This case made it all the way to the Supreme Court in 2006 because, initially, parents of mostly French-Canadian background who were sitting in the governing body of a school refused a compromise that was negotiated by school authorities. Nonetheless, if one truly believes that the search for reasonable accommodation must be a reciprocal process, training should not be aimed at dominant society members alone. In this respect, public authorities should give greater support to NGOs who help in the establishment and integration of newcomers or who represent religious minorities, so that while the NGOs inform their clientele or members of their rights such organizations may also help newcomers to gradually develop a sense of *identity moderation.* A better understanding of the role of religion and of its limitations in a democratic society, and of the challenges experienced by children (who are often caught between two worlds) is especially needed.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] This dilemma happens most of the time when parents ask for an accommodation for their child. In the case of an adult, one can assume that the freedom to prioritize his/her different rights is a prerogative of that given individual.

[2] Even if everyone generally prefers to be subject to reasonability than to rationality when his/her own needs are at stake.

RELIGIOUS ACCOMMODATION IN SCHOOLS: FIRST AND FOREMOST, GUARANTEEING UNIVERSAL ACCESS TO EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

Students' adaptation to religious diversity in a school setting is a complex problem. It involves not only the law and the dominant norms of plurality acceptance in society, but also, and especially, equal access to education. The law upholds mandatory reasonable accommodations that stem from freedom of conscience and equality. Society, for its part, can be more reluctant to make particular religious exceptions within the public sphere. As for schools, they must fulfill their educational mission to teach and educate, as well as expose students to pluralism. However, there is no way of promoting openness to diversity if expressions of religious diversity are not allowed within the schools. Thus, it seems that reasonable accommodation can be an asset in carrying out the schools' mandate.

Historically, Quebec's school system was founded on the basis of a confessional division between Catholics and Protestants. Despite the upheavals within Quebec society over the last few decades, the choice of school system has been guaranteed by many levels of legislation, including the Canadian Constitution. However, in July 2000, we witnessed an accelerated secularization of the school system and of the State organizations that ensured its functioning. In September 2008, denominational religious study programs, both Catholic and Protestant, were replaced by Ethics and Religious Culture, a non-religious compulsory curriculum.

In this structurally secular context, many questions remain to be answered regarding the status of religious identity within the school. They pertain chiefly to those who wear religious symbols (veil, turban, kirpan), but also to those who demand to be exempted from certain pedagogical activities. The most common demands are to be excused from certain classes or activities (dance, music and physical education – especially swim class), to modify exam schedules which conflict with religious holidays, and to refuse to attend certain public outings. Even if all the participants involved in the school agree that the harmonious integration of students of all origins into the school system is important, not everybody agrees about the role that religious diversity must play within the school's norms and practices.

Some people want schools to be a place where, in the name of an all-encompassing integration, all religious distinctiveness must be excluded. Conversely, others believe that by systematically forbidding all types of religious expression, schools risk excluding public school students and bypassing one of education's fundamental goals, which is to impart openness to religious diversity and co-existence. This mission became concrete with the implementation of the Ethics and Religious Culture curriculum, which, among other objectives, explicitly aims to promote "openness to religious diversity," and in doing so, permits students to develop "appropriate behaviours toward religious diversity, notably tolerance, respect and openness to dialogue."[1]

The *Policy on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education*[2], which identifies intercultural education as one of the school's basic objectives, emphasizes the need to consider the multifaceted differences in the school environment, particularly in relation to accommodations. This holds true for all schools, even the most homogeneous ones. However, the multi-ethnicity rate is higher in larger urban centers; certain schools see rates of more than 80%, as is the case in several schools in the Montreal area. There are no *Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport* statistics on the religious diversity rate in Quebec schools, but it can be hypothesized that religious diversity is more present in areas with strong ethnic diversity.

REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION FOR RELIGIOUS PURPOSES

Under the current state of law, the religious aspects of students' lives must be managed mainly by "reasonable accommodations" (RA). The obligation to accommodate for religious purposes can stem from an infringement on the right to equality or to freedom of religion, both of which are guaranteed by the Canadian and Quebec Charters. The concept of reasonable accommodation is defined very precisely by José Woerhling:

> *"Compulsory accommodation (or adaptation) obligates, in certain cases, the State and the people or private businesses to modify legitimate and justified norms, practices or policies that apply to everyone without distinction, to take into account the specific needs of certain minorities, notably religious minorities. [...] The aim is to remove an obstacle created by a general policy or legislation that is justified and legitimate, but that brings about prejudicial consequences for certain people or certain groups, because of the characteristics that set them apart from the majority."* (Woerhling, 2008, p.43)

Accommodation is also used in cases of *indirect* discrimination. As early as 1995, the *Commission des droits de la personne* stated that, regarding the hijab, obligatory accommodation is not determined by the more or less liberal interpretations of the exegesis of the Koran: "[...] religious freedom includes the right to wear a particular type of garment for religious purposes. This right is infringed, in principle, when a female Muslim student is forbidden to wear the hijab, contrary to her beliefs. [...] and so these rules infringe the right to equality; they must be adapted in a way that will eliminate their discriminatory impact. Schools are obliged, in this regard, to provide reasonable accommodation."[3] In this instance, the commission analyzes the problems related to wearing religious symbols by taking into consideration the measures found in the Quebec Education Act. That is to say that the most basic issue, from a legal and educational standpoint, is not that of aligning an individual religious symbol and secular school policy, but that of aligning the right to education and the accommodations aimed at respecting that right.

LIMITATIONS AND CRITICISMS

Reasonable accommodations are mapped out by jurisprudence and have limitations, even though some popular perceptions make it seem as though anything is permitted. Indeed, excessive constraints create limitations to reasonable accommodations; namely, the excessive cost incurred by the institution for the adaptation, to the rights of others, and to the good functioning of the institution.[4]

But there has been a multitude of controversies which have caused the Quebec government to create two review committees. In November 2007, the Consultative Committee on Integration and Reasonable Accommodation in the School Setting (headed by Mr. Bergman Fleury) submitted a report to the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.[5] The report emphasized the fact that demands for reasonable accommodation occur independently of the presence or absence of immigrant students; thus schools report that Catholics, Protestants, and Jehovah's Witnesses, as well as Muslims and Jews are the ones who most often ask for reasonable accommodation. After an investigation of the schools, the committee observed that the adaptation measures' main goal is the students' achievement and the respect of their democratic rights. The school's mandate is what the schools most often refer to when examining the demands. And so, the RA for religious purposes issue is taken into account, not in the context of imposing secular institutional norms upon students, but in the context of the school's educational mission.

The issue of adaptations granted to people for religious purposes has grown into a national political debate that is no longer limited to the issue of schools. One of the high points of the debate is the Quebec government's creation, in March 2007, of the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (headed by Mr. Gérard Bouchard and Mr. Charles Taylor). Like the Fleury committee, the commission, in its final report[6], recommended that the existing tools used to clarify reasonable accommodations be better distributed throughout the school systems, where 78% of reasonable accommodation demands are of a religious nature. Even though practices in school milieus are relatively successful, according to the testimonies gathered during the commission's inquiries, the school personnel is nonetheless

often under the impression that they are not sufficiently knowledgeable about the RA markers. Despite the fact that, in 1994, the Ministère de l'Éducation published a training module for administrators, there seems to be a persistent lack of distribution and training, especially since reasonable accommodation must always be assessed in a contextual, case by case manner.

IS THE SCHOOL'S MISSION COMPROMISED BY RA?

As I have already pointed out, the accommodation of students' religious identities provokes a certain amount of dissatisfaction within the population. Some might find it paradoxical that the religious structures and symbols of the majority have disappeared from schools while other religions emerge, albeit at different times and in different ways. Incidentally, certain religious symbols are more polarizing than others. The hijab worn by young girls in school shocks part of the population because it supposedly contradicts the school's secularity and gender equality. According to its detractors, by allowing these young Muslim girls to wear a veil in school, the socializing institution confirms the legitimacy of a patriarchal system with this symbol woman's inferiorization and submission. As Marie Mc Andrew reminds us, we must determine to what point this practice actually compromises girls' access to equal education, rather than abstractly analyze the meaning to be given to such a sign.[7] I would add that we must be wary of imposing an ideological meaning to a religious symbol that could effectively compromise the freedom of interpretation of the same women we are trying to save.

The symbolic case of accommodation within a school context that provoked the strongest reactions is, without a doubt, that of the Sikh kirpan. Here, a young student was granted the right to wear the ceremonial dagger, with certain security measures in place, by his school board and later, by the Supreme Court of Canada. This was determined a reasonable accommodation which allowed him to keep attending public school. When reaching their decision on the kirpan, the judges of the Supreme Court assessed the negative effects of being excluded from school and the positive effects of accommodation[8]:

> If some students consider it unfair that G [a young Sikh] may wear his kirpan to school while they are not allowed to have knives in their possession, it is incumbent on the schools to discharge their obligation to instil in their students this value *that is at the very foundation of our democracy. A total prohibition against wearing a kirpan to school undermines the value of this religious symbol and sends students the message that some religious practices do not merit the same protection as others. Accommodating G and allowing him to wear his kirpan under certain conditions demonstrates the importance that our society attaches to* protecting freedom of religion *and to showing respect for its minorities. The deleterious effects of a total prohibition thus outweigh its salutary effects.* [51 54] [57 59] [67 71] [76] [79] (my emphasis)

Fulfilling the school's mission must remain at the heart of the deliberation over accommodation. In this case, the decision is based on three important foundations which the school, the foremost place for socialization, cannot ignore – as they relate to fundamental aspects of its educational role. They are basic rights, the integration in common institutions, and the school's duty to teach tolerance.[9] If we consider the student body's right to security, it has not been proven that a kirpan, worn in accordance with certain security measures, would send the message that the school now condones violence.

It is in the hands of the State and public institutions, notably the schools, and of the citizens as a whole, to promote deliberation and integration in common institutions and to avoid excessive constraints placed on minority groups that may provoke defensive strategies and even more costly exclusions. It seems to me that recognizing diversity, within reasonable limits, is much more beneficial to integration than radical restrictions in the name of general principles, be it secularism or gender equality.[10]

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QUEBEC'S ETHICS AND RELIGIOUS CULTURE PROGRAM: CONTROVERSY, CONTENT, AND ORIENTATIONS

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ABSTRACT

This article provides an overview of Quebec's new Ethics and Religious Culture Program. Given the social and historical importance of the program, and given that it is often the subject of gross misrepresentations, the aim of the paper is to provide a careful and substantiated reading of the program's content and orientations.

1. BACKGROUND AND CONTROVERSY

In 1995, the Quebec government began a major reform of its education system. Up until then, school boards in Quebec were divided along confessional lines, designated as either Catholic or Protestant. In 1997, school boards were deconfessionalized and divided along linguistic lines, designated as either English or French speaking. In 2005, the government announced that all confessional religious instruction would be abolished as of 2008. In the fall of 2008, the Ethics and Religious Culture (ERC) program became compulsory for all Quebec schools, elementary and secondary, public and private (Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport 2005; MELS 2008, preamble).

The implementation of the program was followed by highly publicized pockets of resistance. A group of Evangelical Christian Parents withdrew their children from the course. A High School administration decided to suspend those students who did not attend the ERC classes. The Coalition for Freedom in Education, which is supported by several conservative Christian groups, organized demonstrations, protest marches, and various public events denouncing the program (Bouchard 2009; Educaloi 2008). The President of the Association of Catholic Parents, which supports the Coalition, rejected the program for what he sees as "the imposition of multiple religions." He also criticized the ethics component of the program for its purported moral relativism (Morse-Chevrier 2009). In a similar vein, a national Canadian newspaper published an article entitled "Quebec's Creepy New Curriculum" which also accuses the program of moral relativism and

claims that the teaching material for this program "openly subverts Judeo-Christian values" (Kay 2008). The Coalition for Freedom in Education and the Catholic Civil Rights League use this article to support their argument against the program.[1]

Debates over the right to be exempted from the program found their way into the courts. Loyola, a private Catholic High School, petitioned the court and won the right to be exempted from teaching the program.[2] Two Catholic parents had previously failed in their attempt to obtain the right to have their children exempted from the program.[3] They argued that the program violates their freedom of religion. Their appeal was turned down by the Quebec Court of Appeal.

Opposition to the program has not been the prerogative of religious groups alone. The President of the Quebec Lay Movement (le Mouvement laïque québécois) has called for the abolition of the program, claiming that it undermines the achievements of the Enlightenment. Here, the continued presence of religion in Quebec public schools is perceived to undermine the goal of educating rational-autonomous citizens (Poisson 2009). In 2005, the former president of the movement argued that combining ethics and religion in a single course would preserve "religion's stronghold over moral education" (Bouchard 2009). In 2006, the University of Montreal Philosopher Daniel Weinstock argued that combining religion with ethics would give the erroneous impression that ethics cannot stand on its own, independent of religion.

A study mandated by the Institute of Research on Quebec received considerable attention in the media. This study takes the position that the program replaces the quest for knowledge with the promotion of multiculturalism. Immediately after conclusions of the study were made public, a member of the government's official opposition party urged the government to abolish the program. The leader of the opposition party, while rejecting the idea that the program should be abolished, nonetheless called for a parliamentary commission on the program to determine whether the study's conclusion are founded (La Presse Canadienne 2009).

Resistance to the ERC program is not surprising given that the program marks a significant departure from confessional or faith-based approaches to religious education. Moreover, the program arrives at a time of intense public debate on the place of religion in Quebec society. Intelligent critiques of the ERC program can serve to advance this debate. For example, Weinstock's concern over the juxtaposition of ethics and religion in the same program has led to a constructive debate over the nature of the relationship between religion and ethics in a secular-pluralistic society (Begin 2008). This is a relatively young program that still needs refinement (Morris, forthcoming). Moreover, as McDonough (forthcoming) argues, some of the controversy around the program at times results from its lack of conceptual precision and clarity.

Much of the criticism to date, however, blatantly misrepresents the program, and is often permeated by inflammatory and sensationalist rhetoric. For example, the *National Post* article on Quebec's "creepy" program claims that ERC program is nothing less than "a state sanctioned left-wing religion" imbued with Quebec's "heritage-averse ideology" (Kay 2008). Here, "paganism, cults and witchcraft" allegedly have the same status as Christianity. Considering that the program emphasizes the religious heritage of Quebec, this claim grossly misrepresents the content and orientations of the program. The president of the Quebec Lay Movement asserted that the program is an "insult" to the intelligence of teachers and to the discipline of philosophy (Poisson 2009). In the Loyola court case, the judge was not content to pronounce a judgement pertaining to the legal right of the school to be exempted from the program. In an apparent attempt to colour his judgement, he added that the imposition of the ERC course is tantamount to the "totalitarianism" of the "Inquisition" (Boisvert 2010). Ironically, the ERC program teaches students to develop nuanced and substantiated points of view while being cognisant of how hasty generalizations, straw man arguments, and false analogies can undermine the kind of fruitful dialogue necessary for peaceful co-existence in a pluralistic-democratic society. Some of the

attacks on the ERC program effectively reinforce the need for such a program. In the following section, I present an overview of its content and orientations.

2. CONTENT AND ORIENTATIONS:

"For human beings of today, what is most important is not learning to be the most competitive, but rather to learn to live together."[4] (Petrella 2004, 191)

"We must rid the world of evil. Now is the time to draw a line in the sand against the evil ones. Across the world and across the years, we will fight the evil ones, and we will win. You are either for us or against us." (George W. Bush, cited in Paul and Elder 2005, 3).

2.1 OBJECTIVES

The two primary objectives of the ERC program are "the recognition of others" and "the pursuit of the common good" (MELS 2008, 2). The first objective is based on the principle "that all people possess equal value and dignity." The second objective is seen as an attempt to "go beyond the satisfaction of purely personal interests." It seeks "to promote projects that favour community life and respect for democratic ideals." Here, students are encouraged "to engage in critical reflection on ethical questions (the first competency), and to understand the phenomenon of religion (the second competency), by practicing, in a spirit of openness, dialogue that is oriented toward contributing to community life" (the third competency) (MELS 2008, 1). By combining ethics and religion, the Ministry envisions a program that will "prepare students to contribute to the development of a more democratic and just society" (MELS 2006, 2).

Like all the subjects in the Quebec Education Program, ERC is a competency-based program. Here, learning is defined "as an active, ongoing process of construction of knowledge." A competency "is a set of behaviours based on the effective mobilization and use of a range of resources." Behaviours refer to capacities for using appropriate resources in the accomplishment of increasingly complex tasks. "Effective mobilisation" refers to deliberate use of intellectual skills necessary for addressing problems and tasks (MELS, 2007, 4).

2.2 THE ETHICS COMPETENCY

"Most students of moral philosophy… are disappointed by the remoteness of the subject from the practical problems they expect it to illuminate… moral philosophies are usually preoccupied with … arguing over definition(s)… or debating the merits of general theories… It is easy for students to conclude that… moral philosophy has little relevance to actual moral problems." (Rachels, cited in Maguire 2010, xiii).

In the ERC program, ethics is defined as "critically reflecting on the meaning of conduct and on the values and norms that the members of a given society or group adopt in order to guide or regulate their conduct" (MELS 2008, 1). The ethics competency, which "reflects on ethical issues," refers to the capacity to think critically about ethical questions and issues. To do ethics is to engage in an intentional process involving three capacities: 1) the ability to identify issues and analyze these issues "from an ethical point of view" (contextualizing, comparing points of view, formulating questions, examining conflicting values); 2) the ability to recognize salient points of reference; and 3) the ability to evaluate "options or possible courses of actions," and how options and actions might "foster community life" (MELS 2008, 16). Here, students reflect on the relevance of values and norms.

In this reflective process, students are challenged to go beyond the submission to unsubstantiated opinions and unexamined biases (MELS 2008, 16). They learn to describe ethical situations, what Maguire refers to as "framing the moral object" (Maguire 2010). They learn to compare, synthesize, explain and justify points of view. They are taught to differentiate different types of judgments, for example, judgments of taste from judgements of value.

The content of the ethics competency is primarily thematic. At the elementary school level, the program focuses on the following topics: "the needs of humans and other living beings," "interpersonal relationships," "demands associated with the interdependence of humans and other living beings," "demands of belonging to a group," and "individuals as members of society" (MELS 2008, 60-61). The secondary program examines the following themes: freedom, autonomy, justice, the social order, tolerance, human ambivalence, and the future of humanity. Unlike the students of moral philosophy in Rachel's quote above, learners engage with practical and real-life ethical questions and problems. Under the theme of autonomy, for example, students examine sub-themes like happiness, friendship and love. Under the theme of justice students are given the opportunity to examine life and death issues like cloning, assisted suicide, euthanasia and capital punishment.

2.2 THE DIALOGUE COMPETENCY

The development of the ethics competency is intimately tied to the dialogue competency. In fact, dialogue is considered the cornerstone of the program. Students organize their thinking, formulate arguments, clarify perspectives and substantiate points of view in conversation with others. The form of dialogue envisioned by the program involves attentive listening, openness, respect for others, attention to nuances, and a particular attention to those strategies and attitudes that hinder dialogue (e.g. hasty generalizations, personal attacks, straw man arguments, false analogies, appeals to the crowd, or appeals to prejudice and stereotypes). In developing this competency, students are increasingly able to ground and organize their thinking so as to formulate coherent and substantiated arguments (MELS 2008, 66).

The dialogue competency also includes an element of self-reflection. Students are called to reflect on the quality of their reflection as well as the quality of their dialogue. It is through this meta-reflection that learners begin to become aware of those elements that hinder dialogue (Morris 2010). To foster this competency, the intellectual climate of the classroom must be conducive to an open and free expression of ideas while at the same time enable a respectful calling into question of those ideas. The program attempts to go beyond the kinds of categorical "either-or/us versus them/you are right, I am wrong" thinking characteristic of the George Bush citation above.

In an attempt to create conditions for fruitful dialogue, the ERC program urges teachers to remain viewpoint-neutral. Teachers "are not to promote their own beliefs and points of view" and they should "maintain a critical distance" with "respect to their own convictions, values and beliefs." It is their professional responsibility to exercise "judgment imbued with objectivity and impartiality." Teachers should not share their views "to ensure against influencing students." They "use the art of questioning in order to encourage their students to think for themselves" (MELS 2008, 12).

2.3 THE RELIGION COMPETENCY

According to the authors of the program, knowledge of religious culture is necessary if we are to learn to live together in a pluralistic-democratic society. As Rondeau (2008) writes, "to promote living together in a pluralistic society, so that recognizing the other is possible, dialogue must be grounded in knowledge of the other" (81). A "knowledge deficit" about the other often means that viewpoints will be imbued with stereotypes. Such a deficit can degenerate into harmful reactionary responses.

The policy document for the ERC program refers to the importance of opening "the minds of students to the world and develop their ability to work with others while showing respect for cultural, social and religious differences." This openness and cooperative spirit "are essential for social peace" (MELS 2006, 10). The ERC program takes the position that teaching religion must be academic rather than devotional or denominational, and that no one perspective ought to be normatively preferred or imposed. The ERC program favours a form of "literacy" where

"instruction in religious culture promotes an understanding of the main components of religions that is built on the exploration of the socio-cultural contexts in which they take root and continue to develop. Sacred texts, beliefs, teachings, rituals, ceremonies, rules of conduct, places of worship, works of art, practices, institutions… knowledge of these aspects will enable students to grasp the many dimensions of religion… moral, political, social, historical… among others."
(MELS 2008, 1)

The program seeks to cultivate an "intelligence" or "literacy" on the significance of the religion in the lives of people. Themes at the elementary level include, for example: "family celebrations," "religious practices in the community," "religions in society and the world," "stories that have touched people." (62) Themes at the secondary level include: "Quebec's religious heritage." "key elements of religious traditions," "religious references in art and culture" (63). The religion component also includes secular representations of the world and existential questions like "Who are we? Where do we come from? Where are we going? Sub-themes include "the meaning of life and death," the nature of human being," love, suffering, and happiness (MELS, 2008, 37-40, 60-63).

3. CONCLUSION

The implementation of the Ethics and Religious Culture program has been an impressive undertaking. Following a vast reform of its entire education system, the Quebec government introduced the program as a required course for all schools. Not surprisingly, the far reaching implications of this decision have met a great deal of resistance. Some resistance and criticism can potentially contribute to the ongoing debate over the place of religion in Quebec schools and society. The court battles could serve to generate debate around parental rights and around the rights and responsibilities of private religious schools. Some of the more reactionary responses, however, have done little except to sensationalize the debate.

The formulation of the ethics competency as a process of doing ethics well is one of the major strengths of the program. To cultivate in learners the tools and the language that allows them to "read" moral issues thoughtfully, and to be able to substantiate points of view through dialogue is an indispensable measure of competency in moral matters. Moreover, to cultivate in learners an "intelligence" about religion, and to "mobilize resources" that will foster a capacity to understand religion and religious phenomena in its many dimensions is necessary, as the authors of

the program emphasize, for co-existence in a pluralistic-secular-democratic society.

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FOOTNOTES

* For the sake of brevity, Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport will be cited as MELS.

[1] A google search with the title of the article generated 3 full pages of web sites citing the article. The Wikipedia article on the ERC program uses the National Post article as one of its sources.

[2] Private religious schools can teach their own confessional program in addition to the ERC program.

[3] The judge ruled against the parents saying that the course does not violate their freedom because it does not impose any particular belief system. The judgments are available at: http://www.jugements.qc.ca.

[4] All the translations from French sources are the author's translations.

LANGUAGE EDUCATION AS THE ENTRY TO INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE (ICC)

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ABSTRACT

Language education enters a new era as current research considers education as the entry to (inter)culture, and socialization into cultural ways of knowing, doing and being. More and more, schools are viewed as institutions that must foster social cohesiveness, promote values and attitudes that will be accepted by diverse communities, and bring students of different ethnic groups to develop positive awareness of other cultures, based on mutual respect and even empathy. In this perspective, challenges extend beyond linguistic competencies. It has become essential to integrate ICC to language competence with coherence. It takes more than the addition of new knowledge or classroom practices to respond to such epistemological considerations. Therefore, it is important to view language teaching and learning as integrally linked to the development of (inter)cultural representations and our vision of the world. We all are social actors as well as educators. (Inter)cultural awareness is a first step to transcultural competence.

INTRODUCTION: ISSUES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Language education enters a new era as current research considers education as the entry to (inter)culture, and socialization into cultural ways of knowing, doing and being. More and more, schools are viewed as institutions that must foster social cohesiveness, promote values and attitudes that will be accepted by diverse communities, and bring students of different ethnic groups to develop positive awareness of other cultures, based on mutual respect and even empathy. In this perspective, challenges extend beyond linguistic competencies. Models based on grammatical, discursive, sociolinguistic and strategic competences (Canale and Swain, 1980; Canale, 1982) or adapted to integrate Bachman's pragmatic competence (Council of Europe, 2001) need to be updated to new realities.

In Canada, a country well known for its leadership in language and culture education, such concerns have been a major issue for a few decades. Programs such as Heritage Language Teaching were introduced in 1978 to promote cultural pluriculturalism (Quebec Ministry of Education, 1978). In 1983, The Council of Higher Education stated new orientations in order to take into considerations the multiethnic realities. It proposed openness to alterity, acceptance of differences, and education on human rights. A few years later, a special program of 'welcoming classes' for immigrant students with learning difficulties was developed to help these students integrate regular classes (D'Anglejan, Lussier et Dagenais,1990-1993). These classes were based on the development of literacy and the appropriation of the 'culture of writing' to facilitate the transfer from one language to another. More recently, Canadian research has developed a conceptual framework of 'Intercultural Communicative Competence' (Lussier, 1997), which was validated by more than 1500 young adults (Lussier, Auger, Lebrun & Clément, 2000-2008; Lussier, 2001; Lussier, 2009a, 2009b).

Such frameworks are crucial to language education if we are to establish a clear common understanding of the phenomenon and backgrounds to pedagogy in the classroom. They lead educators to employ more useful and effective language, and allow more valid and reliable evaluation of such competence. At this stage, it becomes essential to integrate ICC to language competence with coherence. It takes more than the addition of new knowledge or classroom practices to respond to such epistemological considerations. Therefore, it is important to view language teaching and learning as integrally linked to the development of (inter)cultural representations and our vision of the world.

PART ONE: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF REFERENCE ON INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATIVE COMPETENCE (Adaptation of Lussier, 1997; JAL, 2009)

The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, teaching, assessment, provides a common framework of reference for 'intercultural communicative competence' (ICC) (Lussier, 1997, 2009b). Other studies, such as *Representations of others and other cultures in the context of the pre-service and ongoing training of teachers* in European contexts (Lussier, Auger, Urbanica & al., 2003) and research on *Guidelines for the Assessment of Intercultural Communicative Competence* (Lussier, Golubina, Ivanus & al. 2007), published by the European Centre for Modern Languages and the Council of Europe, were based on this conceptual framework.

The conceptual framework takes into account existing theories and models (Lussier, 2009a), and the three modes of learning as presented by Rumelhart (1980) in the child's internalizing schemata of knowledge: *accretion*, the first common mode, when information is laid down in memory; *tuning*, which involves the modification of existing schema after different experiences; and *restructuring*, which is the creation of new schemata, by either analogy or by induction. It includes three domains of reference: intercultural cognitive competence based on knowledge; intercultural procedural competence based on skills (know-how); and intercultural existential competence (being) in reference to affective and psychological factors.

Domain of 'intercultural knowledge competence'

Intercultural knowledge competence is associated with cognitive factors and the acquisition of information. It implies three approaches: the humanistic, the sociocultural and the anthropological approaches, each of them having the same relevance in teaching. *The humanistic approach* refers to knowledge of the world linked to collective memory.

This dimension includes the acquisition of formal and explicit knowledge, such as high culture or artistic culture with capital "C." It refers to culture as the expression of civilization. *The sociocultural approach* refers to knowledge linked to the socio-cultural context. It considers culture as a social phenomenon. It is based on factual information that each individual should learn about a given culture in order to adjust to diverse cultural contexts. It includes knowledge of the target societies; the interpersonal relations between classes, sexes, generations, races; political and religious groupings or institutions; as well as major values, beliefs and attitudes regarding regional cultures, national identities and minorities. Such factual information is the reference to any real and impartial comparison with other societies. *The anthropological approach* refers to knowledge linked to the diversity in ways of living and thinking. It is centered on human beings and their ways of coping with different situations in different contexts. This type of knowledge refers to the daily life or to culture with a small "c." It is part of the "external" culture and implies mostly beliefs and behavior explicitly learned (Weaver, 1986). It is a level of accretion because information is laid down in memory and not necessarily transferred to real life situations.

Domain of intercultural skills

Skills refer to the use of knowledge in real life situations. It is the process of acquiring the 'know-how' or 'savoir-faire' when developing ICC. Three dimensions have to be considered. The first level, *to function in the target language, 'linguistically' speaking,* is considered in terms of different scales of performance as the level just beyond the survival level. Krashen (1981) identifies such context as "language learning" in the classroom in opposition to "language acquisition" which takes place mostly in a natural environment and reflects real authentic situations and interaction. The second level, *to adjust to and interact*

TABLE 1: Intercultural knowledge competence

DOMAIN	DIMENSIONS	SUB-DIMENSIONS
Intercultural cognitive knowledge (Savoirs)	*The humanistic approach* Knowledge of the world linked to: **- collective memory** *The sociological approach* Knowledge linked to: **- sociocultural context** *The anthropological approach* Knowledge linked to: **- diversity in ways of living**	*Formal knowledge – Culture «C»* • History and geography of other cultures • Civilization (arts, literature, music, painting, etc.) *Facts on:* • Interpersonal relations • The target society, culture and identity (values, beliefs, attitudes, etc.) *Daily life – Culture - «c»* • Similarities and differences (habits, customs, institutions, etc.) • Stereotypes, artefacts, folklore, etc. • Paralinguistic features (gestures, facial expressions, stance and movement, etc.) • Products, etc.

TABLE 2: Intercultural skills competence

DOMAIN	DIMENSIONS	SUB-DIMENSIONS
Know-how Competence (Language Behaviours)	***FUNCTIONING*** *in the target language* ***ADJUSTING*** *language to social and cultural environment and* ***INTERACTING*** ***INTEGRATING*** *the target language and culture and* ***NEGOTIATING***	• Implementing knowledge and acquired language in different contexts as learned in the classroom • Experiencing plurilingual and pluricultural situations in the target language and culture • Taking into account other contexts of ways of living traditions, behaviors, customs and values • Merging language and (inter)culture competence as a natural process • Interpret language to negotiate situations with conflict or misunderstanding

with social and cultural environments, involves explicit and implicit competences. Learners need to experience language out of the classroom through plurilingual and pluricultural practices in various cultural and social environments. They need to adapt cognitive knowledge and language skills to real life situations in order to develop intercultural skills, not only language skills. Finally, *to integrate and to negotiate the target language and culture* into social and (inter)cultural environments and complex situations means that learners are able to take into account other contexts of ways of living, traditions, behaviours, customs and values when interacting socially with people from other cultures. It even brings the learner to a meta-analysis of language, which leads to a reflective stage of discourse and the capacity of intercultural argumentation and interpretation. They are able to negotiate conflicts and situations of misunderstandings.

Domain of 'existential competence'

'Existential competence' focuses on the development of attitudes and cultural representations that shape our vision of the world and the development of values while constructing self-identity. It is described as the mentalist level of cultural representations. It refers more specifically

to the psychological and affective dimensions of learning. It underlies the intrinsic concept of xenophilia (openness to others and other cultures) and xenophobia (rejection of others and other cultures). It draws upon three dimensions: cultural awareness, critical appropriation, and trans-cultural competence.

The concept of "cultural awareness" is defined as the promotion and understanding and respect for other cultures, the ability to see all cultures - one's own and foreign - as the historically transmitted result of a community's history, mentality and living conditions (Mennecke, 1993). It implies the development of sensitivity to and consciousness of others and other cultures. It is a transitional stage between the culture of the learner and of other cultures. It builds on individual relations and collective relations from contacts with other cultures. It involves the recognition and understanding of similarities and differences among societies and cultures. It carries the understanding that the opposite - intolerance - 'could bring violence and social instability' (Lussier, 2007). The second level, 'critical appropriation' is concerned with the perception of self-culture and other cultures. It means being able to accept and interpret self-knowledge and self-identity, with respect for values held by other

TABLE 3: Intercultural existential competence - Being

DOMAIN	DIMENSIONS	SUB-DIMENSIONS

Existential Competence
 	
(Affective and psychological factors)
	Cultural awareness
	  Understanding
	
	Critical appropriation
	  Accepting
	  Interpreting
	
	Trans-cultural competence
	  Internalizing
	  Being a cultural mediator
		• Sensitivity to others and other cultures
		• Development of others and other cultures
		• Individual relations and collective relations
		
		• Self knowledge/self-identity
		• Respect of values from others and other cultures
		
		• Valorization of Otherness
		• Integration of new values in the respect of self-identity

cultures and individuals from different beliefs. It concerns the internal culture, the values, thoughts and patterns implicitly learned. It leads to critical pedagogy (Guilherme-Durate (2000: 37) since it refers to the process by which individuals negotiate and produce meaning. The third level refers to 'transcultural competence'. It is defined as the integration and respect of other values which result from the coexistence of diverse ethnic groups and cultures in the same society or distinct societies, while advocating for identity enrichment of each of the cultures in contact for a 'mieux vivre ensemble' (Lussier, 2007).

PART TWO: FROM THEORY TO PRACTICE

Within the evolution of plurilingual societies, language education needs to address the issue of (inter) cultural communicative competence. It implies changes in curriculum, teaching/learning outcomes and assessment.

a) Curriculum

In Canada, the development of new Language Policies tackles questions such as linguistic diversity, the learning of a third language as cultural enrichment, and the integration of immigrant populations (MELS, 1998; Ontario Government, 2009). With regard to curriculum development, two prototypes are available: the Heritage Project as linguistic, cultural and community crossroads from the School Board of Montreal (Lussier & Lebrun, 2009), and the new Curriculum in French as a second language produced by the Ministère de l'Immigration et des communautés culturelles du Québec (MICC, 2009). The following example is an adaptation in English of one of the dimensions of the program based on cognitive competence (knowledge), experiential competence (skills) and the development of behaviours and cultural representations that mould our vision of the world (Lussier, 2009b).

b) Teaching

In terms of teaching, the study published by the European Centre for Modern Languages/Council of Europe *'Developing and assessing intercultural communicative competence: A Guide for Language teachers and teacher*

educators' includes guidelines for teaching (Part 1, Lazar & al. 2007) and assessing (Part 2, Lussier, Golubina, Ivanus & al., 2007) intercultural communicative competence based on the Canadian framework of reference. The following example refers to the domain of existential competence.

TABLE 5: Existential competence: Shared values*

Instructions: From the novel that you just read, choose one of the characters that inspired you the most with its values, identical to or different from yours; by its moral qualities or shortcomings; by the effect it had on you. Then, fill in this diagram to reflect on your representations and values.

Me   Us   The other one

My values   Our values   Other values

* From : *Les lettres chinoises*, Ying Chen (1993) par Gagnon et Lussier, 1997

c) Assessment

In the 1990s, the Canadian government developed Language Benchmarks for immigrant adults in English as a Second Language (Norton et al., 1996) to reflect selected competencies in terms of levels of performance. They provide general descriptions and more specific language behaviours as indicators of performance without any reference to any programs of studies. In 1998, Laurier and Lussier developed similar research in French as a Second Language. There are twelve benchmarks divided into three proficiency stages (basic, intermediary and advanced) in reading, written production and oral interaction. By educators' request, these Language Benchmarks were revised in (MICC 2007-2010) to include oral comprehension. In the province of Quebec, the government even integrated

TABLE 4: Development of Intercultural Communicative Competence

DIMENSION	AXIS OF DEVELOPMENT	COMMON VALUES	KNOWLEDGE	SKILLS	SAVOIR-ÊTRE
Discovery of the target society					
Fields Ways of living	To get acquainted with: relationships between teachers and students	Equality between men and women	• Politeness • Status of professors • Bearings on authority • Linguistic barriers (tu/vous-in French)	• Use of given name • Use of forms of politeness according to the language situations and interlocutors	• To respect the opinions of others • To speak freely but with respect to the rights of others • To work in groups with respect to people in the group • To maintain visual contact with the teacher

Examples of descriptors and levels of competence-Assessing intercultural attitudes / being

LEVELS	DESCRIPTORS OF ICC COMPETENCE
Low	• Experiences intercultural situations with difficulty and tends to adopt a defensive approach in cultural situations. • Manifests tolerance to some culturally determined behaviour acts. • Demonstrates a degree of cultural awareness but still tends to be influenced by cultural stereotypes due to a passive attitude towards other cultures. • Shows some sensitivity but also shows ethnocentric attitudes and perceptions and expects adaptation from others.
Medium	• Manifests "mixed" attitudes to culturally determined acts of behavior. • Starts to accept intercultural ambiguities as challenging issues. • Demonstrates openness to other cultures, accepting and being sympathetic to other beliefs and values. • Has no profound argumentation of his own position in terms of his own attitude regarding cultural differences.
High	• Enjoys observing, participating, describing, analyzing, and interpreting intercultural elements and situations. • Argues well his own position toward different culturally determined acts of behaviour. • Expresses a sense of alterity, i.e. is able to reflect on what a person from a different culture would really feel like in such a given situation. • Expresses empathy toward representatives of different cultures.

language benchmarks specific to learning outcomes of the new curriculum in Language Arts, Foreign or Second Language Learning and Welcoming Classes at the primary level (Grade 1 to 6) and secondary level (Grade 7 to 12) and at the college level (2008-2010).

With regard to ICC evaluation, it is essential to mention that the domain of existential competence is not to be assessed by traditional methods such as a score from paper and pencil tests. In terms of formative evaluation, methods such as observation of the learning process, self-assessment, use of the portfolio and the individual diary are more efficient. In terms of summative evaluation, there is pressure on educators to reflect behaviours related to ICC in selected competencies under specifically defined performance. Such a proficiency scale based on Lussier's framework of reference (Lussier, 1997) was developed as a two-year project under the Council of Europe and Centre for Modern Languages (Lussier, Golubina, Ivanus et al., 2007).

CONCLUSION

In language education, acquiring language competence has been the primary issue since the 1980s. But, with the mobility of immigrant multicultural and plurilingual populations, we are now confronted with a more complex conception of language education. For example, on the island of Montreal, students speaking a mother tongue other than French or English represented 37.7% of the school population in September 2006. In order to address such a dynamic, the School Board of Montreal introduced a new approach to teaching and also funded new research (Lussier et Lebrun, 2009;41) for the implementation of the *Heritages Project: Linguistic, Cultural and Community Crossroads.* Such a project puts the emphasis on immigrant students' referential language as it allows better transfer from their mother tongue to learning the target language. The new curriculum integrates 'language' and '(inter)culture' as the dominant features and the integral tasks where students engage in interaction. The challenge for school educators is to be able to recognize the pluri-literacy competences of immigrant students in their diversity and to use their plural experience as their linguistic capital (Moore, 2006).

As we all know, many questions still remain. The concept of ICC carries much subjectivity. Despite such a burden, it becomes essential to rely on a conceptual framework of ICC in order to take into consideration the new issues of our modern societies. We all are social actors as well as educators. (Inter)cultural awareness is a first step to transcultural competence. Many language teachers already see such competence as an extension of communicative competence (Lussier, Auger, Urbanicova et al., 2003).

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INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION IN QUEBEC: PREPARING TEACHERS AND STUDENTS FOR DIVERSITY

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ABSTRACT

Among the many challenges of balancing protection of language and culture with embracing the growing ethnocultural diversity of Quebec society, preparing teachers and students to work effectively in diverse educational situations is of paramount importance. Despite the barriers to intercultural education in the cosmopolitan center of Montreal, and even more so in other regions, government policies must uphold the goals of intercultural education to promote harmonious relations in schools and in society at large. The gaps between educational policies and practices could be addressed by placing more emphasis on pedagogical practices which foster future teachers' intercultural competencies.

Although Quebec is ethnically and linguistically diverse, and continues to actively recruit immigrants, public schools are not all well equipped to manage diversity, and teachers and professors are often unprepared to work in diverse educational contexts. This lack of teacher preparation for diversity has also been noted in the rest of Canada (Jacquet, 2007; Mujawamariya, 2006) and in the United States (Cochran-Smith, 2003; Shinew and Sodorff, 2003). University teacher education programs in Quebec are beginning to put more emphasis on intercultural education, but the challenges in this field are numerous (Audet, 2003; Carignan, Sanders and Pourdavood, 2005; McAndrew, 2008). Considering the growing diversity in Quebec (Gouvernement du Québec, 2009), and the emphasis on social cohesion and *vivre ensemble* (getting along well together) by the Ministry of Education (Gouvernement de Québec, 1998), the lack of teacher preparation for diversity is a very important issue for Quebec society.

CHALLENGES IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

Since 86% of immigrants to Quebec settle in Montreal (Gouvernement du Québec, 2007b), there is a high density of immigrant students in Montreal schools compared with schools in other regions of the province. Several studies from the past fifteen years demonstrate the challenges of intercultural education in Montreal schools. For example, Perron (1996) mentions the lack of pluriethnic consciousness among teachers. McAndrew (2001) outlines several studies confirming the gap between theory and policies and practices in education. Allen (2006) found a lack of inclusive discourses in Montreal schools, leading to dropout or failure for immigrant youth. Potvin *et al* (2010) outline the challenges facing minority youth in secondary schools in Montreal.

While these challenges have been well documented in the cosmopolitan capital of Montreal, the situation is even more difficult in the outlying regions where the ethnocultural density is much lower and people are not as accustomed to diversity (Vatz-Laaroussi, Kanouté and Rachédi, 2008). In a medium-sized city in a region outside of Montreal, immigrant students have the most difficulties in social integration (Steinbach (2010a), and assimilationist and protectionist discourses on the part of the host society's secondary students are reported (Steinbach, 2010b). In regional areas, while there may be a lack of exposure to diversity and little interest in intercultural issues, there are also advantages such as increased opportunities for schools to work collaboratively with families, although these opportunities will not become fruitful unless educational policies and programs assure adequate support (Vatz-Laaroussi & Steinbach, 2010).

The work of the Bouchard-Taylor commission on reasonable accommodations (2008) and

the media sensationalism surrounding this process (Belkhodja, 2008; Potvin, 2008) highlight tensions between a growing cultural diversity and the protection of language and common values in Quebec society. These public debates created polemic discourses that belittle the *Other* (Rachedi, 2008). The final report of the Bouchard-Taylor commission recommends reconciliation and an openness toward the *Other*. In Quebec, the challenges surrounding linguistic and cultural diversity call for appropriate government policies, particularly in the domain of education, which is so important for the socialization of future generations.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS IN INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

The Quebec Ministry of Education has been promoting the ideal of *vivre ensemble* since 1998 (Gouvernement du Québec, 1998), yet school contexts are not always very welcoming for newcomers. This Ministry of Education policy document states that the integration of newcomer students is the responsibility of all school staff of every teaching institution (*Ibid,* p. 18). The Ministry sees the role of the teacher education program concerning intercultural education as fostering a consciousness of diversity among students, and preparing students to live in a democratic, pluralist, French-speaking society (Steinbach, 2009). The Quebec Ministry of Education, by promoting the policy of *vivre ensemble* and by including intercultural education in the official policy on the integration of immigrant students, thus underlines the shared responsibility of all students and teachers in the process of integration of students of immigrant origins into Quebec society.

However, ten years after the publication of this Ministry policy on the integration of immigrant students, in the context of the media hype surrounding the *crisis* of reasonable accommodations, the Quebec Ministry of Education was reiterating the importance of promoting *vivre ensemble* in the school milieu. Fleury (2007) despairs the lack of an intercultural competency among the twelve competencies which future teachers develop during their university training (Gouvernement du Québec, 2001). The report on integration and reasonable accommodations in the school context (Gouvernement du Québec, 2007*a*) outlines intervention strategies to take diversity into account, such as defining common cultural values and supporting schools in view of the ideals of *vivre ensemble.* At a Ministry of Education day of reflection, major concerns that surfaced were the lack of preparation of school staff and the weaknesses of university programs in educating future teachers in the area of intercultural competencies (Fortin, 2007).

Although the Quebec Ministry of Education recognizes the inadequate pre-service and in-service preparation of teachers in intercultural diversity, and acknowledges that the integration of immigrant students and intercultural education is the responsibility of all teachers, the policies and programs concerning the roles and responsibilities of host society students in this integration process are less clear. The program for learning language and culture in *accueil* (welcome) classes is quite specific in outlining expectations of newcomer students: they must become aware of the common values in Quebec society such as equality, justice, liberty and democracy; and if these values are in contradiction with their family values, the newcomer student must "undertake a process which enables him/her to establish a harmonious balance between these two value systems" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2004, p. 20) *[author's translation].*

If this sort of mandate is given to newcomer students, surely the roles of teachers and host society students must be taken into consideration in this process of integration. For teachers, this role requires an adequate preparation in intercultural education which allows them to modify their own attitudes, behaviours and perceptions, and which prepares them to teach the principles of intercultural education to their own students, in order to promote a bidirectional process of integration among all students.

IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS

How can teacher education programs successfully prepare future teachers with the intercultural competencies necessary to practice intercultural education pedagogy in their own classrooms, and foster an openness toward the *Other* and harmonic intercultural relations among their future students? Resistance to intercultural education on the part of teacher candidates is widespread (Jacquet, 2007; Kanouté, 2007; Moldoveanu and Mujawamariya, 2007). While intercultural education is important in developing a better understanding of other cultures and intercultural communication abilities, Ouellet (2002), along with several other Quebec scholars (Ghosh & Abdi, 2004; McAndrew, 2001; Pagé, 2004), signals the risks of emphasizing cultural differences and notes the absence of serious reflection fostered by monocultural activities such as intercultural days or weeks at schools. In order to be effective, the focus must be on developing attitudes and abilities rather than on simply developing knowledge of other cultures. Ouellet (2002) defines the objectives of intercultural education as recognizing and accepting cultural plurality as a reality of society, promoting a society with equal rights, and creating harmonious intercultural relations. Kanouté (2006) proposes sensitizing student

teachers to pluralism and cultural diversity through a process of decentering values, and using case studies to integrate theory and practise in future pedagogical interventions. I have experimented with innovative pedagogical activities such as intercultural exchanges, in person and online, which have been very effective in intercultural education classes for future teachers (Steinbach, forthcoming). Given the task of preparing students to live in a more and more diverse world, the importance of preparing teachers for cultural diversity cannot be underestimated.

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MAKING MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION WORK: A PROPOSAL FOR A TRANS-NATIONAL MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION

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ABSTRACT

In this essay I address some of the conceptual shortcomings of the contemporary approaches to multicultural education especially as articulated and understood in teacher education programs across Canada. I make a case for a need to re-conceptualize and re-define multicultural education in accordance with the needs a twenty first century interconnected and globalized world. My argument is that the current model of multicultural education is ineffective and has had limited impact because educators are tangled in a misconstrued framework that essentially focuses on culture in a national context and obfuscates issues of social justice.

In this essay I propose a new framework for multiculturalism and multicultural education. This framework seeks to move away from the 'culture' based understanding of multiculturalism by grounding the issues related to diversity and difference in trans-national social justice. My arguments are premised on the grounds that issues surrounding social justice and multiculturalism cannot be addressed within the contexts of individual nation states. These issues must be considered at the global level. The proposed shift away from the exclusivity of national contexts is necessitated by the recognition that the world is increasingly becoming an unfair place with a stupendously uneven distribution of resources and allocation of values. It is also mandated by the awareness that the actions of individuals are not confined to individual nation states. These actions produce and are reproduced by discourses, institutions and practices that cut across national boundaries and have varying influences on people living in diverse areas of the world. For example, immigrants are often disadvantaged in respect to access to social services as well as to the institutional and financial resources for preservation of their cultural distinctiveness. At the same time they are also active in institutions whose consequence and actions extend beyond national borders. Furthermore, their affiliation to and images of their countries and societies of origin often permeate identities

and representations of these individuals. Contemporary migrants live in a state of transnationality that allows them to maintain trans-national communities and interests. Such transnationality also makes them vulnerable to political and financial forces of globalization. It is, thus, imperative to investigate the dynamics of diversity by juxtaposing the seemingly separate notions of multiculturalism and social justice at the trans-national level.

I will start by historically contextualizing the Canadian policy on multiculturalism. I will then problematize the notion of culture that is intrinsic to this policy. Finally, I will present an argument for the need for a trans-national approach to multicultural education that seeks to address issues of diversity in conjunction with the issues of social justice at the global level.

DEFINITIONAL ASPECTS

Trans-national multiculturalism can broadly be defined as a negotiated balance between the value of diverse cultural expressions, and that of global social justice, with education as a mediating factor in such a negotiation. It seeks to move away from the exclusive focus on culture and to invoke an examination of complex interaction of cultural representations and rights in relation to distribution of economic and political resources at the global level. It seeks a reconceptualization of the relationship between the local

and the trans-national spaces in which contestations over identities, representations and distribution of resources take place.

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF MULTICULTURALISM POLICY IN CANADA

Historically, the focus of the multiculturalism policy in Canada is a continuation of its initial response to difference. Multiculturalism policy was initiated to manage difference and diversity at the national and provincial levels. Canada focused its attention on multiculturalism since the late 1960s. Although the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism appointed by the federal government was initially mandated to deal with English and French relations in Canada it ended up recommending the idea of 'cultural pluralism' to the federal government, which in turn encouraged Canadian institutions including educational institutions to incorporate 'cultural pluralism / multiculturalism / interculturalism' in their policies and programs.

The official policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework was accepted in 1971 and it became a law in 1982. In 1988 Bill C-93 was passed as the Multicultural Act. The Multicultural policy states that under Canadian law all citizens regardless of racial, ethnic, cultural, or religious background should be treated equally and should have equal rights and privileges.

After the establishment of the 1967 Immigration Act, which removed racial identity as a necessary condition of immigration, Canada saw a huge influx of immigrants from developing countries. In fact between 1967 and 1970, there was a 40% increase in immigration from developing countries, with most immigrants coming from Asia, Africa, the Caribbean and Latin America (Statistics Canada). Under such conditions the policy makers in Canada assumed that cultural equality was necessary to quell the contestations over issues of identity, cultural rights, etc. The policy makers had immense confidence in the redistributive justice mechanisms of the liberal democratic state. It was assumed that once there was better cultural understanding the liberal democratic state would take care of the basic imbalance in distribution of resources. This conceptual orientation has been the guiding spirit behind the design and practice of multicultural policies and education in Canada. However, it is abundantly clear that multicultural education in Canada has failed to bring about the desired cultural understanding between the various groups. Socially, it has led to what can be termed as the 'sari, samosa, and tindrum' multiculturalism (Ghosh, 2003). In the educational realm it has led to a model that aims at managing diversity in classroom by focusing solely on cultural differences. In teacher education programs it has led to alienation for both the majority and minority group student teachers. As I argue below the very idea of grounding the multiculturalism policy (and education) in 'culture' is flawed. It restricts the scope of such policies to cultural negotiations and not on vital issues of social justice and distribution of resources.

PROBLEMATIZING CULTURE

In order to understand why the policy of multiculturalism has been largely ineffective it is pertinent to problematize the idea of 'culture in multiculturalism'. The notion of 'culture' is not organic to the discourses on multiculturalism. As Lentin (2005) has forcefully argued, historically, discourses that form the basis of multicultural policies especially in the Europe and North America sought to replace race (as a categorizing principle) with culture after the Second World War. This substitution of race with culture effectively created a mirage of racelessness on the one hand and a superficial notion of cultural richness on the other hand. However, it must be well-known that this 'culturalizing' was not a bottom up process but a top-down one. For example, in the case of Canada, well-known philosopher Charles Taylor (2004) notes that contrary to the popular assertions the policy of multiculturalism was not historically an outcome of the struggle by minority groups for greater recognition and rights. It was conceived and enacted by the political elite and was based on political motivations.

The concept of culture was introduced to manage difference and not address injustices and inequalities in societies. The colonial conquests rationalized on the basis of racial superiority needed to be erased in the wake of decolonization. In the post World War II Canadian conditions where the majority of the workforce needed was coming from newly decolonized countries, it served the interest of the state to introduce the concept of 'culture' to obscure racial inequality and injustices prevalent in the society. However, it is clear that even though the notion of 'culture' became the centerpiece of policies to understand and manage difference and diversity it does not refute the idea that societies are still organized and categorized hierarchically. The concept of culture itself is problematic and restrictive as it portrays/depicts minority groups as monolithic. Furthermore, the manner in which culture is operationalized ends up restricting the understanding of culture to national contexts and thus depoliticizes and decontextualizes contestations over representation, identity and distribution of resources. Finally, culture as a focal point of diversity management policies is theorized in relation to the dominant culture that largely escapes questioning and challenge.

Such articulation of culture as an organizing principle to manage diversity has serious consequences for teaching about multiculturalism. As is the case with the

policy realm the multiculturalism component in teacher education programs also presents the concept of culture without problematizing it. In the absence of discussions about the problematic nature of culture students do not get a chance to reflect that the concept is socially and politically constructed. Hence in many teacher education programs, culture gets treated as a taxonomy and is used as a checklist to mark the characteristics of a people. The worst is the fact that the culture of the 'other' gets defined as monolithic. It appears as exotic, isolated, rigid and static. This leads to the disengagement of the minority group student teachers in the classroom, as they cannot identify with the cultural practices that are used in class discussions as characteristic markers of their people. With culture as the focal point of multicultural policies and education it is not surprising that the narratives of diversity, identity, and representation, start from the moment when the migrant arrives in the host society. Vital linkages to identity, displacement, relocation and experience and sustenance of complex affiliations and attachments that are located outside the national boundaries never make it to the narrative of multiculturalism (Clifford, 1989). These crucial linkages are often left out and forgotten. Images of Canada and the immigrants from five decades ago still guide the multicultural policies and education.

Unfortunately, the main debates about multicultural education in teacher education programs also obfuscate these vital linkages between the local and the global and still focus on classrooms practices, curricular representations, and cultural differences without going into details about how differences and inequalities are created at the macro level and how they get reflected at micro levels. This leads to celebrating diversity with a superficial understanding of inequality, a 'partial cultural understanding' de-contextualized from actual human relations and a depoliticized version of power relations. An educational framework that is disconnected from the global equity framework only persists in preparing teachers to become one-dimensional multicultural technicians focused on classroom management rather than educating for a conscious citizenship. With the Canadian society and the classrooms becoming more and more diverse there is a need to reconceptualize multicultural education by grounding it in the principles of global social justice. In the following space I sketch some of the main tenets of a new approach to understanding multiculturalism and multicultural education.

TRANS-NATIONAL MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: A PROPOSAL

A trans-national multicultural education has four key elements: **First,** it should be multifocal in that it should move on from essentially focusing on culture and ethnicity as markers of diversity. **Second,** it must have a global vision so as to be able to uncover and connect the extra-national relations of power, structures of oppression and sources of diversity. **Third,** it has to be rooted in a framework of global social justice, and **Fourth,** it must be trans-disciplinary. Each of these elements is necessary to help pupil-students develop a sense of empathy that in turn can help them understand the 'other' and deconstruct the self. Let me briefly sketch these elements and show how these can result in a more robust understanding of diversity and difference both at the social policy and educational levels.

a) Multifocality

There is no denying the fact that culture is an important marker of identity. However, in a world that is increasingly economically interconnected and governed by global laws a sole focus on culture results in an incomplete understanding of the 'other'. What is needed is a trans-national approach to multiculturalism, which can only be achieved by having multiple foci in the analysis of inequalities and injustices. Identity related issues devoid of proper geo-political contextualization, rules of global governance and historicization cannot be fully understood in the current era of unipolar world shaped by developments in information and communication technologies and governed by neoliberal principles. Trans-national multicultural education will help students contextualize identity markers within the proper context of the global economic and political structures that are instrumental in the formation of these markers in the first place.

b) Global scope

A second key element of a trans-national multicultural education is a global scope that can expose the vital linkages to identity, displacement, relocation and experience and sustenance of complex affiliations and attachments located both at the national and the global levels. Modern immigrant communities comprise dense and complex networks across national and political borders. Discourses and structures that affect them in myriad ways are also located transnationally. Both the immigrant communities and discursive and structural factors that affect them have to be understood in a global perspective linked to the national context. Thus, trans-national multicultural education must be global in scope. The expansion of scope from national to global is also important because often students from the majority group understand their counterparts from the minority group not on the basis of their presence in Canada but in terms of the images of their countries and societies of origin. Let me take two recent events and the response of Canadians to these events to make this point. In the aftermath of the deadly earthquake in Haiti last year the Canadians opened their hearts and wallets to help the

disaster struck people. In contrast, similar empathy was not observed when floods of biblical proportions devastated Pakistan. A reflection of these contrasts was also visible in the Canadian classrooms and universities. Most observers agreed that the reason why the Canadians did not feel the empathy for the people of Pakistan was because of the image of the country in relation to the war on terror. This image is also instrumental in the way that the majority group students relate to their Pakistani counterparts in the societal and educational settings.

Similarly, images of students from other groups are also, by and large, reflective of how their originating societies are understood globally through media images, among other sources. The current multicultural education models and practices have little space that could reveal similarities and differences at the global intersections of power and oppression. A global focus will facilitate to foster empathy among the student teachers and at the societal level.

c) Social justice orientation

The trans-national model of multicultural education is based on the normative claim that, as citizens of the world, we have certain duties and responsibilities that in principle extend to all human beings anywhere in the world. That all human beings irrespective of their race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, global location have a certain moral right to respect and social justice. Such a perspective helps students in analyzing the complex and multilayered issues that need collective responses to achieve justice at the global level. At the same time it also helps students in understanding distant causes of issues related to difference and diversity at home, and helps them come up with socially just and equitable solution within local context.

d) Trans-disciplinarity

Trans-national multicultural education cannot be straitjacketed into rigid disciplinary confines. Trans-national multicultural education is predicated on transdisciplinarity. In order to move away from an exclusive focus on culture as the space for contestations and negotiations between different individuals and groups and to focus on multiple discursive and structural formations it is important that students connect the exegesis of global financial, political, ecological and other discourses to issues of diversity and difference at home. For example, multiculturalism cannot be taught in isolation from the issues of ecological crisis facing the world. The environmental crisis faced by people across the world is an outcome of the anthropocentric humanism that is central to the leading ideologies of modernity and enlightenment.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, one of the reasons for the failure of current multicultural education in leading to the creation of equality or better understanding of difference and diversity is a result of the outdated multicultural education being used in teacher education programs. The current multicultural education is narrowly focused on culture (in the national context) as the categorizing principle. It merely aims to manage diversity in society and within classrooms.

There is a need to develop a trans-national multicultural education with an explicit multifocal, multidisciplinary and a global worldview grounded in the notion of social justice. It must help students to question deeper global inequalities by challenging normative and descriptive premises of global unjust policies and practices that are often reflected at local levels.

A trans-national multicultural education will have the prowess to provide an educational experience, which is liberating in the true sense, as it calls for a broad-based understanding of multi-layered issues that create inequality and 'otherness' and the need to create a democratic citizenship encompassing the globe making connections at various levels involving all countries, uniting in a major thrust: citizens of the world.

Thus, what is needed is a trans-national multiculturalism based on a trans-disciplinary approach, which deals with issues of equity and justice at both local and global levels. Along with the study of historical injustices it is important to understand the wrongs that are being perpetrated today. Such an approach empowers students, as they understand that they have the power to correct unjust practices.

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GOOD INTENTIONS GONE AWRY: LIMITING TOLERATION AND DIVERSITY THROUGH BILL 44

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ABSTRACT

This article is an examination of the newly enacted *Alberta Human Rights Act.* A number of concerns will be highlighted that give rise for consternation both on a practical and theoretical level. The intent of the *Alberta Human Rights Act* to provide more protections against discriminatory behaviour in public institutions is undermined by section 11.1, which both places a duty on schools to inform parents when issues of religion, human sexuality, and sexual orientation are discussed and allows parents to exempt their children from participating in those discussions. It further creates a complaints procedure whereby teachers may be held accountable by the Alberta Human Rights Commission to defend their cases.

INTRODUCTION

The *Alberta Human Rights Act* aims to reduce discriminatory practices—in particular, discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation—in public institutions across Alberta.[1] The preamble to the *Alberta Human Rights Act* includes the following statement:

> WHEREAS it is recognized in Alberta as a fundamental principle and as a matter of public policy that all persons are equal in: dignity, rights and responsibilities without regard to race, religious beliefs, colour, gender, physical disability, mental disability, age, ancestry, place of origin, marital status, source of income, family status or sexual orientation.
>
> (Alberta Human Rights Act)

Much of the Act reflects this inclusion and attempts to reduce inequalities, particularly those related to sexual orientation. For this reason it is both inconsistent and disconcerting that Section 11.1 is added to the Act, which states:

> A board as defined in the School Act *shall provide notice to a parent or guardian of a student where courses of study, educational programs or instructional materials, or instruction or exercises, prescribed under that Act include subject-matter that deals primarily and explicitly with religion, human sexuality or sexual orientation.*
>
> (Ibid, Section 11.1).[2]

The justification for this Section is to provide transparency between schools and parents when controversial and sensitive issues are discussed. Yet, in its transparency it creates a number of practical challenges and concerns, and, at a more theoretical level, challenges some of the fundamental aims and purposes of public education. I will briefly raise the practical challenges with enforcing the parental opt-out clause and how it has significant implications for teachers in addressing issues of religion, sexuality, and sexual orientation. However, the main focus of this article examines the broader implications of this clause in terms of the fundamental aims of public education around issues of toleration and inclusion within a democratic context.

THE PRACTICAL CHALLENGES

Religion, human sexuality, and sexual orientation arise in the conversations of children in myriad ways. Arguably,

teachers have a duty to respond to situations as they occur; to ignore a situation when something arises would seem both odd and negligent. Herein lies the difficulty. Section 11.1 requires that teachers receive prior consent before addressing issues of religion, sexuality, and sexual orientation. Failure to do so may result in the teacher being held before the Human Rights Commission if a parent makes a complaint.[3] The new legislation attempts to mitigate such unplanned, incidental situations by including the following subsection:

> *This section does not apply to incidental or indirect references to religion, religious themes, human sexuality or sexual orientation in a course of study, educational program, instruction or exercises or in the use of instructional materials.*

(Ibid, Section 11.3)

Despite the attempt to protect teachers from incidental moments that are initiated by students, this subsection does little to distinguish between moments of informal and formal teaching. The difficulty is that should a teacher address the issue in a substantive way, it is unclear whether and when the incidental or indirect reference becomes a formal, planned teaching moment. The teacher has to make a choice. The first is to make a judgment call and state that her acknowledgement of an arising issue remains an incidental moment and will not receive a formal complaint from a parent. The second is to refrain from addressing the issue until she has notified the parents. In adhering to the latter option, the teacher loses the 'teachable' moment when the children initially raised the issue.[4]

Most would agree that teachers cannot foresee all possible conversations that will be initiated by children, including those of a sexual or religious nature, and that this as an unavoidable part of the teaching profession. Also unavoidable is the possibility that a parent could make a formal complaint with a teacher for addressing an issue related to religion, human sexuality, or sexual orientation without their prior consent and make a complaint based on Section 11.1 of the Act. This creates a difficult scenario for teachers, who will feel compelled to terminate the discussion for fear of potential legal repercussions. This results in a classroom chill on teaching certain 'taboo' topics. As Honourable Member Mason, Opposition member of the Alberta legislature, points out:

> *… even if the Human Rights Commission makes reasonable interpretations of the act when charges are brought, it will have a profound effect on the education of our children because teachers will never know*

> *what it is that they can talk about if issues relating to sexuality, sexual orientation, or religion come up spontaneously in a classroom outside of their lesson plan. So they will adjust their behaviour accordingly. You could call it self-censorship.*

(The 27th Legislature Second Session, Alberta Hansard, May 13, 2009, Issue 41e, 1163)

The fear of reprisal and being brought before a human rights tribunal creates undue tension for teachers in classrooms and, in not knowing where the reasonable parameters of discussion may be extended, causes greater self-censorship. How religion or human sexuality are addressed in the curriculum in areas of science, history, politics, and English, to name a few, will have an adverse effect on students' understanding of the society in which they live.

FUNDAMENTAL AIMS OF EDUCATION CHALLENGED

The daily challenges and obstacles that Section 11.1 places on teachers and schools are notable. On a more fundamental level, the repercussions of implementing this Act undermine some of the primary aims of education in liberal pluralist societies, namely, fostering personal autonomy and developing the civic attitudes necessary in civil society. The fostering of personal autonomy is compromised in that every individual should be exposed to a diversity of perspectives in order to be able to make informed judgments about how they wish to lead their life. Denying them of this process has negative repercussions from a societal perspective in that it compromises individuals' ability to deliberate and live together amongst other members of society who may have vastly different lifestyles and perspectives. Let us address each issue in turn.

The autonomy argument focuses primarily on the concern that parents may not want to expose their children to alternative ways of life that are counter to their upbringing. Allowing parents to have the primary say in a child's upbringing may limit significantly their exposure to alternative values, beliefs and experiences. This includes challenging the assumed beliefs and values of one's own family, and deciding for oneself whether that is the way they wish to lead their life.

A primary aim of education is to provide a multitude of opportunities that both support and challenge one's assumptions. Harry Brighouse argues:

> *Autonomy-facilitation requires a modicum of discontinuity between the child's home experience and her school experience, so*

that the opportunities provided by the home (and the public culture) are supplemented, rather than replicated, in the school.

(Brighouse, 2006, pg. 22.)

For Brighouse, the role of schools is not just to support and extend the family's belief system, but to provide opportunities for deliberation of different perspectives, particularly those that are incongruent with one's own family values. Children's critical judgement and informed decisions rely on the ability to understand and pursue various experiences that may not be afforded to them within the family unit. Levinson more boldly states that:

… it is difficult for children to achieve autonomy solely within the bounds of their families and home communities – or even within the bounds of schools whose norms are constituted by those held by the child's home community. If we take the requirements of autonomy seriously, we see the need for a place separate from the environment in which children are raised, for a community that is defined not by the values and commitments of the child's home, whatever they happen to be, but by the norms of critical inquiry, reason and sympathetic reflection.

(Levinson, 1999, p. 58)

It is not a mere preference that children be exposed to different experiences in order to secure autonomy, but a necessity. This exposure must take place in a school that challenges the established values and norms of the community. While it is not the state's role to assimilate and inculcate certain values that may be hostile to particular communities, the state ought to expose children to ideas, particularly when it concerns their well-being relating to their human sexuality and sexual orientation.[5] If we consider a person who is homosexual in a closed religious community, the lack of understanding and acknowledgement of different sexual orientations will fundamentally impede on that particular individuals' freedom. Lest we be too quick to protect community values, we ought to attend to those individuals in communities that may be marginalized, oppressed, or abused.

Participation in varied experiences and alternative ways of living helps to ensure children's capacity to live as independent adults later in life. If left to parents, children will have differing levels of exposure and opportunities. While schools will not level these differences, providing a school system that attends to a range of experiences will

reduce the potential for inequalities. If a primary aim of education is to promote autonomy in children, then arguably it is essential that a school system be developed that supports this aim. The Alberta Education Commission for Learning Report clearly states these aims in its preamble:

[E]ducation is the most important investment we can make as a society. Our education system not only shapes individual students' lives, it shapes the very nature of our society. A strong and vibrant public education system - a system that values each and every individual, instills positive values, and builds tolerance and respect - is critical to develop social cohesion and the kind of civil society Albertans want for the future.

(Alberta Commission for Learning, 2003, p. 4)

If the goal of Alberta Education is indeed to foster these aims, then Section 11.1 is in direct contravention in its allowing of parents to exempt their children from lessons dealing with religion, human sexuality and sexual orientation. In order to ensure children's ability to make informed judgments and choices about how they wish to lead their lives, both in the present and in the future, it seems misguided to assume that all parents will provide sufficient exposure to alternative lifestyles, or conversely, that parents should have the right to limit the exposure to such essential topics (albeit potentially controversial and sensitive) under the guise of protecting their personal belief system.

Rather than broadening discussions to include discussions about religion, human sexuality, and sexual orientation, the *Alberta Human Rights Act* reduces this possibility. It takes a regressive step towards developing dispositions of inclusion and toleration for individuals in a pluralistic society, and reduces the ability of students to make informed judgements about how to lead flourishing lives as adults.

DEMOCRATIC DISPOSITIONS

Not only should schools serve the purpose of helping children to develop their autonomy, it also has the duty to foster civic virtues that are necessary for the sustainability of a vibrant political society. The vitality of a democratic state depends on, "an education adequate to participating in democratic politics, to choosing among (a limited range of) of good lives, and to sharing in the several sub-communities, such as families, that impart identity to the lives of its citizens" (Gutmann, 1987, pg. 42). Amy Gutmann argues that developing civic virtues in children

is not a mere ideal or preference, but is vital if we are to preserve and foster democratic sovereignty. Letting parents and families cultivate such virtues is problematic because the human tendency is to have natural biases towards certain preferences and orientations which ultimately lead to creating prejudices in their children. Schools have the ability to provide a political education that can impart to all children the civic virtues necessary to participate in and shape the political structure and stability of society as future adults and citizens.

As institutions, schools are integral to preserving the political culture necessary for a liberal democracy to thrive. Understanding and participating in a political culture is not something one just comes to know; it encompasses certain habits, skills and dispositions that each individual must be inducted into in a meaningful way. Eamonn Callan makes this point when he states that public institutions play a vital role in the way that we induct individuals into the larger political sphere:

> …it is a shared way of public life constituted by a constellation of attitudes, habits, and abilities that people acquire as they grow up. These include a lively interest in the question of what life is truly and not just seemingly good, as well as a willingness both to share one's own answer with others and to heed the many opposing answers they might give; and active commitment to the good of the polity, as well as confidence and competence in judgement regarding how that good should be advanced; a respect for fellow citizens and a sense of common fate with them that goes beyond the tribalisms of ethnicity and religion and is yet alive to the significance these will have in many people's lives.

> (Callan, 1997, p. 3)

Taken together, this encompasses a demanding type of education, not left to chance by parents. It requires a logical and coherent political education, deliberately considered and developed in children not through mere osmosis or exposure, but through active and deliberate thought processes and engagement about civic virtues and the political structures in society. It is not simply a dilemma between parental choice and civic education, but parental choice and the basic individual interests of the child. "Success in state-sponsored civic education depends crucially on the broad diffusion of public virtue and understanding throughout the citizenry and across the major cleavages of interest that might divide some groups

from others" (Callan, 2006. 266). Schools have a duty to develop particular dispositions that will foster the ability of individuals to deliberate, critically engage, and respect those who may have drastically different moral, religious or political viewpoints.

Discussions about religion or human sexuality are integral to the way in which people live their lives. Potentially removing these debates from the classroom minimizes the way in which individuals are able to address substantive pressing issues that are relevant in society. Furthermore, discussing the different perspectives and values inherent in religion and human sexuality provides an educational opportunity for teachers (and schools) to critically debate and model the approaches needed to address such issues as future citizens.

If educators are sincere about developing a sense of justice in children, limiting discussion or avoiding potentially contentious issues seems antithetical to fostering attitudes of inclusion and toleration. Learning how to contend with substantive issues such as religion and human sexuality that are present and real in students' day-to-day lives is something schools should address and confront rather than shy away from. To be a good citizen also requires inculcating a notion of respect for oneself and for others. In addition, learning how to critically and rationally debate the merits and complexities of issues of human sexuality and religion is central to the development of a sense of justice and the skills and habits it requires. Section 11.1 places unwarranted authority and decision-making in the hands of parents. Unfortunately, such parental discretion not only has repercussions for the children of those parents but for the stability and cohesiveness of civil society.

CONCLUSION

The newly enacted *Alberta Human Rights Act* has inadvertently pushed back the rights of children (and citizens) in real and troubling ways. By catering to the demands of parents who want more control in their children's schooling, a number of concerns arise that compromise both individual students' well-being and teachers' ability to address relevant discussions initiated by children. Section 11.1 creates a chill in the classroom by curtailing discussions related to religion, human sexuality, and sexual orientation. It gives parents incredible discretion in their ability to exempt their children from *any* discussion related to religion and human sexuality, at the expense of those particularly at risk within their families' closed belief systems, and, even more detrimentally, of those living in sexually abusive domestic situations. Furthermore, the new legislation limits the ability of children to have access to information and issues that are

timely, relevant, and essential to their personal decision-making needs. It further compromises individuals' ability to understand, acknowledge and respect others who may have drastically different perspectives than their own. In its attempts to concede to greater parental discretion, the Alberta provincial government has compromised human rights both on an individual and societal level.

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School Act, R.S.A. 2000, c. S-5, s. 39(1)(a).

FOOTNOTES

[1] Vriend v. Alberta (1998) addresses the problematic nature of previous legislation in Alberta that did not attend to sexual orientation. The Supreme Court of Canada determined that a legislative omission can lead to a Charter violation; in this particular case the dismissal of a lecturer at a private religious college due to his sexual orientation. Vriend successfully argued that his dismissal was in direct violation of s.15 of the Charter.

[2] It might be argued that this legislation overlaps the pre-existing legislation found in the *School Act* regarding parental consent; however, two fundamental differences exist. The first is that the new legislation places the burden on teachers to inform parents when religion, human sexuality or sexual orientation lessons are to be taught. Previously, the burden was on the parents to make a written request to schools.

The second difference is the procedural changes in which a complaint can be made differ greatly between the *School Act* and the *Alberta Human Rights Act* in that the teacher will be held accountable before the Alberta Human Rights Commission. This is troubling given that the Alberta Human Rights Commission receives, investigates and carries forward complaints, which may then be adjudicated by a Human Rights Tribunal, which is not fully independent of the Human Rights Commission. The blurring of roles within the Commission's role as an advocate for human rights and an arbitrator for complaints through the tribunal process undermines people's protections toward fair due process.

[3] For a more expansive perspective on the problematic legal aspects in the way individual teachers will be held accountable before the Human Rights Commission rather than through the normal legal processes, please see: Sheldon Chumir Foundation in Ethics in Leadership (2008) *Toward Equal Opportunity for all Albertans: Recommendations for Improvement of the Alberta Human Rights Commission.* Report written. Accessed February 2, 2010. http://www.chumirethicsfoundation.ca/files/pdf/Toward-Equal-Opportunity_SCF.pdf

[4] The author already has heard of a parent threatening to make a formal complaint against a teacher who had taught the prescribed curriculum that was to talk about the extinction of mammoths. The parents complained that in doing so, the teacher was advocating an evolutionary perspective that was against their religious beliefs. The incident never went to a formal complaints procedure, but the teacher did have to justify her actions in stating that she was not promoting a particular secular belief, but that it was part of a larger component found in the prescribed curriculum.

[5] Due to the limits of this article, I cannot fully expand on this point. See:

Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics. (2002). *Family violence in Canada: A statistical profile 2002.* Catalogue, 85-224-XIE. Government of Canada, Ottawa.

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RACIAL POLITICS AND DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS: EDUCATION FOR LIBERATION IN AN INESCAPABLY DIVERSE POLITY

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ABSTRACT

Political power and ethnoracial, cultural, and/or religious identities often interact such that clear patterns of political empowerment and exclusion emerge along demographic lines. One could try to eliminate the interaction itself, either by eliminating minority race identity within mainstream politics via assimilation, or by eliminating mainstream politics from the activities of minority raced individuals via separation. I propose that public schools pursue neither of these approaches. Rather, schools should teach a kind of Du Boisian "double consciousness" to all children, majority and minority alike, in order to promote the coexistence of individuals' ethnoracial and civic identities via multiple perspective-taking and power analysis. By learning to recognize the particularity of their own perspectives and access to power, including the ways in which their ethnoracial and cultural identities help shape those perspectives and powers, young people will be better equipped to recognize and fight against ethnocultural bias in the civic sphere.

Political power and ethnoracial, cultural, and/or religious identities often interact such that clear patterns of political empowerment and exclusion emerge along demographic lines. These patterns need not be linked to explicit or even intentional discrimination. Rather, they may be reflections in the contemporary civic and political spheres of long-standing historical inequalities that continue to permeate social structures and relationships despite legal and other reforms. How should these patterns of difference be treated in the civic and political spheres? What implications do they have for political and civic educators? In this essay, I explore these questions in the context of the United States, which suffers an unjust, antidemocratic, and strikingly tenacious civic empowerment gap along lines of race, ethnicity, and class (Levinson 2010). Although the United States offers a unique context in many ways, I believe that the reflections that follow also have broader applicability.

Given the many ways in which mainstream political power and race/ethnicity unjustly interact, some people have proposed that the interaction itself must be eliminated, either by eliminating minority race identity within mainstream politics, or by eliminating mainstream politics from the activities of minority raced individuals. The first approach is assimilationist.[1] From the assimilationist perspective, ethnoracial minorities are most likely to achieve equality by competing as equal individuals in the political and economic playing field. "The issues are honor, dignity, respect, and self-respect, all of which are preconditions for true equality between any peoples. The classic interplay between the aggrieved black and the guilty white, in which the former demands (and the latter conveys) a recognition of the historical injustice is, quite simply, not an exchange among equals" (Dawson 2001: 288, quoting Glenn Loury). Rather than making claims as a raced person or on behalf of a ethnoracial group, individuals are exhorted to "cast down your bucket where you are" (Washington 2004: 129) and master the knowledge and skills necessary for success within society as it currently exists. This approach may be seen in many U.S. "no excuses" schools like KIPP, where they explicitly teach kids to adopt white, middle class cultural norms, and language. Success in these schools is

likewise measured by students' capacities to gain entry into and succeed in traditional high-status, usually majority-white secondary and higher education institutions.

The second approach is separatist: in African American thought, where it has been most developed within the United States, it takes the form of black nationalism in political thought and Afrocentrism in educational practice. From this perspective, ethnoracial minority group members should create their own autonomous political and economic institutions rather than try to integrate into those mainstream institutions controlled by whites, since the latter is inevitably doomed to failure. Black nationalist philosophies, of which there are many (Dawson 2001), tend to be reflected in schools that teach an Afrocentric or other ethnoracially- or culturally-specific curriculum. Afrocentrism takes nearly as many forms as black nationalism (Binder 2002). In general, however, students learn that blacks have historically been a great and self-sustaining people and they can and should continue this legacy of collective achievement and self-determination. Collaboration and coalition-building across ethnoracial lines is usually discouraged in favor of ethnoracially separate empowerment.

I propose that public schools pursue neither of these approaches. Rather, I would encourage us to take on the description of the problem—and the proposed solution—that W. E. B. Du Bois provides in the opening essay of *The Souls of Black Folk.* It is worth quoting at length:

> [T]he Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, -- a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness, - an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

> The history of the American Negro is the history of this strife, - this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He would not Africanize America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro soul in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of Opportunity closed roughly in his face.

> This, then, is the end of his striving: to be a co-worker in the kingdom of culture, to escape both death and isolation, to husband and use his best powers and his latent genius. (Du Bois 1996 [1903]: 5)

Full-scale assimilation is the death that Du Bois rejects. Political separatism is the isolation that he also rejects. In their stead, he pleads for the achievement of a "better and truer self" that represents a true "merger"—or perhaps simultaneity—of individuals' ethnoracial and civic identities. Neither need dominate or eliminate the other. Rather, they can coexist and even inform one another. It is possible to be truly American *as* an ethnoracialized being, and to be truly an ethnoracialized group member in part *through* one's political and even patriotic engagement.

What does this mean in pedagogical practice? Although translating principles into pedagogies is never a simple one-to-one correspondence, some educational implications stand out. First, young people should be taught to recognize the particularity of their own perspective, including the ways in which their ethnoracial and cultural identities help shape those perspectives. This is an important lesson for all young people to learn, including majority group members, as they are most likely to be unaware of diverse perspectives and to view their own identities and experiences as the unquestioned norm. They do not suffer the "double consciousness" of which Du Bois speaks. In Du Bois' eyes, of course, this is basically a good thing; double consciousness is a hardship that could ideally be overcome in a reformed, egalitarian society. But even in a society that permitted the achievement of "a better and truer self," Du Bois "wishes neither of the older selves to be lost." There is a value in recognizing that one's identity has *both* ethnoracial and civic components (and many other elements besides), and that how one both "measures one's [own] soul" and takes the measure of the world will likely be different from how others make the same assessments. These are reasons for majority and minority group members alike to learn how to take multiple perspectives and to develop the inclination to do so. Ideally, this will reduce

the need for minority double consciousness, as "American" will no longer be taken as synonymous with "white."[2] It will also potentially spread such consciousness to whites, insofar as they become conscious of their own limitations of perspective and their own subjection to the gaze and judgment of others.

The skill and habit of multiple perspective-taking serves many salutary civic functions. In addition to helping students recognize that their own civic identity isn't any more "normal" or "natural" than others'—in other words, that there's not just one way to be "American" or to be patriotic, say—students' capacities and inclination to take multiple perspectives also equip them to recognize and fight against ethnocultural bias. They may be more willing and able to hear testimonies that conflict with or shed new light on their own experiences. They may also be more willing and able to listen for the content of individuals' claims, rather than being distracted by the clothing their fellow citizens are wearing, the colloquialisms they use, or the color of their skin. Citizens' development of the skills and habits of multiple-perspective taking can also mitigate some of the other sources of ethnoracial civic inequality I discussed earlier. Majority group members who are skilled at taking multiple perspectives may find it easier to recognize, comprehend, and take seriously the beliefs and norms espoused by minority group members—both when their context makes common norms seem unfamiliar (such as when Muslim headscarves inspire anxiety while nuns' habits do not), and when truly different norms are asserted that majority group members would prefer to reinterpret into something more familiar.

One important additional way in which these skills and habits of perspective-taking can be taught in a civic and political context is to teach power analysis. Power is often invisible to those who have it; it is so naturally woven into the fabric of their existence that those with power are able to exercise it unintentionally and even unconsciously. Consider the powers that derive from being well-dressed, exuding a confident air, speaking the majority and/or elite language fluently, being a member of the majority group, knowing professionals who have unpaid summer internships to offer, having the financial security to take a promising unpaid internship instead of a job bagging groceries, being contacted by political campaigns looking to secure votes among a powerful demographic, having one's views represented on local and national media outlets, or living in a community that is producing rather than bleeding jobs. These sources of power and opportunity are usually invisible to those who wield them, while they are painfully evident to those without similar access. Many also have a significant ethnoracial component. If students are taught to recognize and analyze these kinds and sources of power, therefore, they may similarly come to understand and respect how and why others' interpretations of the world differ meaningfully from their own.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] James Baldwin eloquently rejects this ideal when he laments that, "White Americans find it as difficult as white people elsewhere do to divest themselves of the notion that they are in possession of some intrinsic value that black people need, or want. And this assumption—which, for example, makes the solution to the Negro problem depend on the speed with which Negroes accept and adopt white standards—is revealed in…the unfortunate tone with which so many liberals address their Negro equals. It is the Negro, of course, who is presumed to have become equal" (Baldwin 1962: 94).

[2] See (Lee 2005) for an account of the pervasiveness of the equivalence of "White" with "American" among first- and second-generation immigrant Hmong youth.

PLURALISM AND SEGREGATION: THE DUTCH EXPERIENCE

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ABSTRACT

In this article the authors describe the plural nature of the Dutch education system and discuss how the many options combine with constitutional rights to facilitate and maintain a highly segregated school system. They express caution about expecting segregation to wane when choice and parental freedom remain carefully guarded values.

The Dutch Constitution prescribes that public *(openbare)* schools must be secular: they cannot have a denominational or a general Christian character, though they can address philosophical, religious, and social values. Public schools are all expected to follow the same curriculum, while more freedom is allowed to non-public schools to pursue a distinctive approach. Genuinely denominational education, or education based on other philosophical principles, can only be provided in privately-run schools. Privately run schools are given a great deal of latitude in deciding upon their own didactic approaches, deciding how attainment targets will be reached, cultivating a distinctive school climate, deciding which pupils to admit on the basis of religious adherence, or hiring personnel likely to uphold the particular mission of the school. But the public-private distinction is misleading because the state accepts the responsibility to maintain a diverse system of schools, which is expressed in *broad recognition and equal funding of private initiatives.* This has made it possible for Hindu and Islamic schools to receive state support on the

same grounds as those which apply to Catholic, Protestant and Jewish schools. The same government responsibility extends to secular private schools, which are based on specific educational philosophies such as Montessori, Steiner, Dalton, and Jenaplan. All schools that receive state money must follow attainment targets; meet enrolment regulations, teacher qualifications, and salary requirements; use Dutch as the language of instruction; publicise academic performance; and finally, submit to periodic inspections. Failure to meet acceptable standards can result in school closure (as recently happened with a secondary Islamic school).

The Netherlands can be characterised as a facilitative state (James, 1989; Van der Ploeg et al., 2000), one in which a plurality of educational choices are on offer. In principle, any number of different school options is free and available to all; indeed, freedom of education (including free parental choice) is seen as a sacred right in the Netherlands. At least since the Constitution of 1848 there has formally been considerable liberty to establish non-public schools, though

it was not until 1920 that this became an affordable option for most. By this time, a historic compromise (1917) had been reached between the different religious and political communities in the Netherlands, resulting in full state funding for privately-run schools (Ritzen, Van Dommelen, & De Vijlder, 1997). In the subsequent decades, a unique system known as 'pillarization' *(verzuiling)* governed the choices available to most people, with Catholics attending Catholic schools, reading Catholic newspapers, using Catholic hospitals, listening to Catholic media, and so on. The same was true of Reformed, Socialist, and other groups.

After 1970, a variety of social developments led to changes in the pattern of Dutch pillarization (Karsten & Teelken, 1996). The most prominent developments in the period were increased secularization on the one hand, and the influx of migrants from different cultural and religious backgrounds on the other. These two developments have yielded seemingly contradictory tendencies in Dutch education policy. For example, increased secularization has not resulted in the de-pillarization of educational organizations. Despite the fact that a majority of the Dutch population claims to not belong to a religious denomination, private education's market share has remained almost constant. Indeed, while *verzuiling* is a relic of the past, its legacy remains hugely influential and its impact is still felt (Dijkstra, Dronkers & Hofman, 1997; Dronkers, 1995).

Nevertheless, secularization *has* led to a redefinition of the identity and vested interests of religious schools. At the school level, the redefinition has led to the further liberalization of the schools' religious character. In fact, some studies (Vreeburg, 1993; Karsten, Meijer & Peetsma, 1996) have shown that already by the 90s, the religious identity of most Protestant and Catholic schools had worn very thin. Nowadays, in mainstream Catholic and Protestant schools, there remain few traces of specifically religious elements either in entry requirements for pupils or in the selection of personnel.[1]

But the 1970s also witnessed a sea change in religious diversity. This came about with the growing presence of migrant workers with non-Western backgrounds, especially Hinduism and Islam, but also through the increasing popularity of the New Age movement. With this increasingly diverse religious representation came new demands from parents to organize schools on the basis of educational liberty as defined in the Dutch constitution. Since the late 1980s, several dozen Islamic and Hindu schools have been established, joining other minority groups, including Jews and Evangelicals.

Yet several events in the past decade have led to dramatic changes in the attitudes of the public toward (some) religious schools. Most of these are related to incidents of religiously-inspired terrorism; the large percentage of unassimilated immigrant populations; the debate over Islamic schools; and the rise of populist movements such as *Lijst Pim Fortuyn.* Taken together, there is a growing number of persons who would have the state fund only the "common" secular state schools, which provide a 'neutral' curriculum and are equally accessible to all. The argument behind this plea is that in a society as culturally and ethnically divided as the Netherlands, it is necessary to use the school as an instrument for integration, which can (1) teach children of different ethnic, religious, social, and cultural backgrounds to live peacefully together and to respect each other; (2) instill in them the basic values of democracy and the rule of law; (3) and create equal opportunities for all. Those making this argument propose that the Dutch system move in the direction of the French system of the *école laïque* ("public school") or the American system of common (public) schooling.

Nowadays fewer parents select a school on the basis of religious conviction; in its place parents talk about a 'match' between the home and the school value, or criteria such as 'quality instruction' and a safe learning atmosphere. Even if other reasons factor in, such as the ethnic or socio-economic composition of a school, most are loath to express these motives openly. Whatever the case, a plurality of educational options – religious and non-religious – both facilitates and maintains high levels of segregation. The proportion of school segregation in the Netherlands, even in mixed neighbourhoods, is one of the highest in the industrialized world (Ladd & Fiske 2009; Musterd & Ostendorf 2009; Vedder 2006). Yet as we have shown, it would not be inaccurate to say that the Netherlands has *always* been "segregated," especially along religious and ideological lines, though united under a common political system. Yet until the arrival of non-white immigrants made some of these divisions clearly visible, this fact was seldom publicly acknowledged. Moreover, the extent to which segregation reflects real social inequities has never been more real. Many of the very same phenomena associated with urban segregation elsewhere also occur in Dutch cities: among particular ethnic minority groups one sees far lower educational attainment rates among parents; much higher rates of unemployment; higher incarceration rates for young men; higher poverty rates; lower rates of teacher retention in schools with higher concentrations of poor pupils; an absence of positive role models, etc.

While segregation patterns have been known for quite some time, concerted efforts to 'correct' neighborhood or school segregation and their effects began long after patterns were firmly established. In different cities throughout the Netherlands, a number of different strategies to curb segregation have been tried. Short-lived voluntary experiments on the local level include a bussing

scheme in Gouda, or a one-subscription moment for all parents in Zaandam. Both, however, have been abandoned as concerns about effectiveness were repeatedly cited. More recent attempts endeavor to achieve an ethnic or socio-economic 'balance' with respect to the student composition in a school (one usually strongly favoring the white majority).

However, other approaches attempt to offset the *effects* of segregation. In the Dutch context there traditionally have been two such responses. One is to use weighted student funding. This roughly describes increased per-pupil spending for students with greater educational needs. In the Netherlands, it has meant that school boards may be allocated funds on the basis of the number of families with social disadvantage; children from certain backgrounds in principle receive as much as twice the per-pupil funding as other children. There is wide discretion with how the money is actually spent; schools for instance may try to attract more specially trained staff to work with children who are more difficult to teach. This can make an important difference.

But weighted student funding is not a panacea. First, though it may mitigate some of the effects of segregation, weighted student funding does not *prevent* segregation from occurring. Second, it tells us very little about the actual amount spent on a child's learning. Schools use weighted student funding in various ways, and it remains difficult to determine precisely how and what the relevant effects are. Third, weighted student funding does little to address the problems associated with inequitable conditions of school choice in the first place, and as a policy instrument its effects in compensating for social disadvantage are ambiguous at best. The fact remains that schools on which more money is spent has done little to close the so-called 'achievement gap'.

The second, and more controversial, response has been to restrict parental choice. For example, the Dutch Labour Party has been calling for a restriction of parental choice in Amsterdam, and other initiatives were implemented in Nijmegen in 2009. Applied in its narrowest sense, restricting parental choice simply means that children must attend the school in their catchment area. But restricting parental choice also has not worked for several reasons. First, unless governments resort to the improbable task of assigning one's place of dwelling, nothing will prevent determined parents (of whatever financial means) from moving elsewhere. Poor parents may be less able to move than wealthy parents, but provided there is sufficient and reliable information available about school quality, determined poor parents also find ways to avail themselves of other options. Second, freedom of educational choice is a constitutional right in the Netherlands and again, those

with information and the means will opt out for reasons they are not obligated to disclose. Districts also must take the concerns of parents seriously, especially their middle class parents, whom they are loath to alienate. Indeed, efforts to restrict parental choice, while perhaps well-intended and sometimes necessary, pose a number of legal as well as ethical problems, and those who seek to move policy in this direction risk exacerbating segregation rather than ameliorating it by provoking a reaction from more advantaged families who may be tempted to abandon the school system altogether.

Two alternatives presently pose a (slight) challenge to the existing educational system. The first is homeschooling. While the number of homeschoolers in the Netherlands is incredibly small (.001% of total school attending age children), demands are slowly growing[2], following trends occurring in Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom and elsewhere. The second and more formidable option is a private elite education. Traditionally there is, despite school choice and diversity of supply, no significant elite school sector. It is required that primary and secondary schools receiving public funds be not-for-profit. But the early and strong selection at age twelve made the growth of extremely selective secondary schools (e.g. gymnasia) and tracks possible, virtually precluding for-profit elite schools. That is now changing. While there are only a few for-profit schools (representing less than 1% of total enrolments) their popularity is growing, especially for wealthy students who failed in regular state subsidized schools.

As we have seen, not only do pluralism and segregation appear to go hand in hand, but the response to segregation appears inevitably to be one of unease. Integrating schools is believed by many to be a solution for a host of societal problems. Integration arguments typically focus on inequality and maintain that disadvantaged (and usually ethnic minority) children who remain behind in segregated urban schools (due to 'white flight' but also various urban planning policies and self selection) lose out on the benefits their middle class peers take with them. These include the opportunities to interact with, and learn from, children who have more social capital. This objection has two parts; first, there are important *peer-effects,* which mean that children can learn at least as much from each other as they do from their teachers, and that the presence of children from middle-class homes in the classroom boosts achievement of less advantaged children. Second, the presence of more middle class children in the school, the argument goes, translates into greater overall parental involvement, and these benefits accrue to all children.

What can be said about these claims? Well, given both institutional and self-selective grouping practices, but also individual preferences, we know of no evidence

that supports the claim that *classrooms* – beyond the age of eight or nine – are very heterogeneous with respect to social background or ability level, *no matter how integrated the school is.* In the Netherlands, for instance, children are 'tracked' for different types of secondary education as young as twelve, largely on the basis of a single test *(citotoets)* score and teacher recommendations. Even in comparatively more 'flexible' school systems, similar patterns occur. To the second point that the involvement of middle class parents translates into benefits to the school climate as a whole, we know of no evidence corroborating the claim that schools are generally responsive to parental input beyond that which concerns one's own child. Parents with more middle-class clout certainly know how effectively to navigate the system to benefit their own child, for instance by pressuring school principles to assign their own child to a different teacher, to challenge decisions made on the basis of a test, or to simply switch schools when things do not go their way.

Suppose, however, that there was compelling evidence for the benefits of integrated schools or classrooms. Even if this were the case, a number of difficulties remain. First, the best efforts to channel resources into disadvantaged schools as a way of combating inequality, e.g., using incentives to attract talented teachers to high-need schools. Without more systemic changes to the climate and core purposes of the school, we would not likely avert continuing inequalities. Second, at a minimum, it remains hugely controversial whether this social aim – integrating schools in order to improve the chances of the less advantaged – trumps constitutional rights Dutch parents have to select an education they deem best for their own child. Third, most efforts to curb segregation trends concentrate on the composition of the student body rather than the importance of a well organized school with high expectations, strong leadership and a caring ethos.

Many schools within the Dutch education system promise parents these very characteristics. Many of these are religious schools (e.g., Jewish, Hindu, Catholic, Islamic), but many others are schools with alternative learning approaches (e.g., Steiner, Dalton, Jenaplan, Montessori). Many of these schools have good reputations for academic quality, but what most parents who choose them find attractive is the fact that the school works to maintain a special ethos and a set of values that cohere nicely with what parents espouse in the home. The benefits of having a plural education system are clear: more options are on offer for all parents from which they may choose. But the challenges of a plural system are equally real, for in offering parents more options we should not expect segregation to dissipate.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] Exceptions include more orthodox-leaning Protestant and evangelical schools.

[2] At the present time (February 2011), at least one hundred Orthodox Muslim parents are seeking permission to homeschool, even though their requests are not likely to be granted in the present political climate.

A MANIFESTO FOR TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSPARENCY IN THE AGE OF WEB 2.0

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ABSTRACT

Technological transparency - the idea of understanding how systems, processes, and related mechanisms within society work - can help individuals progress beyond the mere use of technologies towards developing critical perspectives. In this paper, we highlight and advocate the importance of technological transparency in Canadian curricula by providing examples from a spectrum of technologies that we describe using the terms "open" and "closed." Further, through examples of technologies as well as a scenario from a graduate classroom where education for technological transparency was employed, we discuss how "openness" relates to knowledge production processes. To conclude, we call attention to the importance of criticality in education and discuss potential roadblocks promoting technological transparency and educational change.

INTRODUCTION: TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSPARENCY FOR THE 21st CENTURY

In *The School and Society,* one of his first significant educational works, John Dewey emphasized the need for people to understand the basic mechanisms that underpin society. He argued that the rural dwellers of 19th century America, when compared to the inhabitants of Dewey's industrial Chicago, had possessed a better understanding of the technological processes that surrounded them. The inhabitants of rural America, Dewey claimed, understood how things were made, who in their communities was involved in the process, and the implications this production process had for the lives of workers and consumers. This idea of developing an understanding of how things work is what we refer to as "technological transparency" (Waddington, 2010). Dewey thought that this knowledge and in-depth understanding of prevailing technologies would afford individuals the opportunity to become agents in the technological processes when necessary and to be aware of how systems, structures or mechanisms around them function.

In this paper, we advocate the teaching and promotion of an updated version of technological transparency within educational curricula in Canada. Through technological transparency, individuals will be able to progress beyond the mere use of technologies towards developing a holistic, critical perspective. We will highlight the importance of technological transparency by providing examples from a spectrum of technologies that we describe using the terms "open" and "closed." We will also locate some example technologies on this spectrum and explain how openness can relate to knowledge production processes. We will conclude with an example detailing how education for technological transparency was employed in a graduate classroom in the Educational Technology program at Concordia University.

TECHNOLOGICAL TRANSPARENCY AND AGENCY

How is technological change usually understood? A dominant view within the field of educational technology suggests that technology evolves "automatically" as society evolves, and that technology changes as a result of how collective needs are conveyed/understood. Such an understanding acknowledges technological change, but it does not necessarily address the mechanisms or reasons that spur such change or the consequences of these changes. We contend that such limited knowledge tends to promote apathy—it furthers the impression that systems, structures and processes cannot be changed—or, rather, that we do not care to change them. We come to believe that we, individually, are removed from technological processes.

A curriculum that emphasizes technological transparency, however, can turn this sense of apathy towards agency. The knowledge gained from understanding the ways in which technological processes work can

result in critical perspectives that change the relationship between individuals and the respective technologies. As an example, consider modern meat production. As individuals become aware of the unsettling mass production processes and the environmental, social, and ethical implications, their perceptions and demands may change. This change, however, is not always welcomed, nor does it, in all cases, provide the impetus for urgency.

When one develops an understanding of a technological process like meat production, there are, effectively, three choices as to what we can do next with this understanding. First, one could agree with the overall processes—one could agree that factory farming yields cheap, good quality meat. A second alternative is to become disquieted by the how the processes work and begin an active search for an alternative. A third potential reaction to technological transparency could be outright resistance to understanding and subsequent learning of how the processes function: "This meat production stuff is disgusting—I just don't want to know!" By remaining blind to the intricate inner workings and social consequences of technologies, one can remain within the comfortable confines of technological opacity.

It is the second outcome that can lead to an attempt to effect structural change. Within the capacity to act as an agent of change, there is the possibility of embarking on a quest to seek alternatives. Once a technological process becomes transparent on a large scale, people may start exploring alternative practices. A significant example of this is the extraction of fossil fuels from Canada's tar sands (a region in northern Alberta known for its rich and abundant supply of heavy crude oil). As a result of increased knowledge of the environmental ramifications of this type of oil production, alternatives to fossil fuels are being explored with greater vigor. Those who understand the process of oil production may choose to seek alternatives and consider themselves to be agents of change.

One can see why technological transparency may be a worthwhile overall pedagogical goal. However, a more difficult question is how this goal can be put into practice in terms of educational technology. In order to begin to hint at an answer to this question, we analyze technologies on a spectrum ranging from "open" to "closed." We argue that open technologies are particularly powerful tools for facilitating technological transparency and reinforcing user agency. Closed technologies, by contrast, can remove this flexibility and render the user apathetic.

DEFINING OPEN AND CLOSED TECHNOLOGIES

Open technologies are technologies that allow the user (a) to understand how the technologies function on both a surface and a deeper level and (b) to become involved in their overall construction, design, and management. It is this "openness" that allows for the possibility of agency. Wikipedia is one of the best examples of an open technology—it allows for content to be completely user-generated and allows multiple users to collaborate to create artifacts of knowledge. Although users do not have control of the overall design of the environment, they are the main force behind the development of the objects that populate the environment. If a user disagrees with specific content on Wikipedia, she knows that, given the nature of the environment, she has the agency to try to change it.

Closed technologies are those where the end user is not encouraged (a) to understand how the technology works or (b) to participate in its design and/or evolution. This, from our perspective, results in an indifference towards making changes in the technology. The user accepts it as technology that "just works." The mechanisms necessary for change to occur, whether they are open channels of communication between users and designers or in-depth structural information about the technology, simply do not exist. Closed technologies are, in our current framework, entities where the single choice left to users is whether they wish to use a tool or not. Some knowingly accept that it cannot be changed and happily use the tool as it was designed, resulting in continued apathy towards promoting change to the technology itself. The Nintendo Wii is an excellent example of a completely closed technology—you can neither modify the Wii's software configuration nor can the hardware be (legally) modified. This has the advantage of making the technology easy to use, but it is unlikely to stimulate interest in the way that the technology itself functions.

THE SPECTRUM OF OPENNESS AND KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION PROCESSES

While the notion of technological transparency was originally concerned with individuals understanding how technologies work, it can also be viewed as a factor in the knowledge production process. We hypothesize that when individuals understand the processes at work behind knowledge production, it can have a profound effect in inspiring them to modify or create knowledge of their own.

Open and closed technologies are both capable[2] of facilitating the creation of new knowledge; however, they are different with regard to the processes through which new knowledge is produced. Knowledge production technologies like Wikipedia that are open have transformed people's conceptions of the knowledge production process. Furthermore, technologies like this have allowed for the valorization of new knowledge (which traditionally may not have been considered worthwhile) and have contested the very nature of knowledge production.

With regard to the validation of new knowledge, Wikipedia has provided the public with access to an abundance of cultural stories and folklore from around the world—indigenous knowledge, silenced stories of injustice, or even traditional stories for children—information which many of us would not have had readily available access to in the past. One such example is a story from the Abenaki peoples of Eastern Canada (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abenaki_mythology). In this story, Tabaldak, the creator of humans, also created and empowered two beings, Gluskab and Malsumis, who represented the dichotomy of good and evil. Though this story is not new knowledge for everyone (especially the Abenaki people), it is now accorded a level of accessibility and legitimacy that was previously impossible.

The ability to create new knowledge has also meant a great shift from the traditional knowledge production process. It is no longer strictly hierarchical, where the expert is the sole arbiter of worth and is able to dictate to the novice. In a technology like Wikipedia, any new information that is brought forward will usually be given some consideration for inclusion in the overall knowledge base. This very shift to inclusion has changed the foundations of what has been traditionally perceived as knowledge production. Within successful open technological frameworks, knowledge production becomes a participatory endeavor, thereby contributing to the democratization of digital spaces. The knowledge that is produced within open technological frameworks challenges the authority of expert knowledge. Individual expertise is validated and users gain a sense that they have an equal opportunity to be or become an expert and to disseminate their ideas worldwide.

Notably, even if a user's contribution is eventually rejected, the decision about the rationale for rejection will usually be relatively democratic and transparent. Each Wikipedia entry features a "Discussion" tab on which the edits are discussed, and there is also a "View History" option that allows the user to view how the article has evolved. These options allow both creators and consumers of the article to view which information is contested and to see how the knowledge has accreted (or has, in some cases, disappeared) and been validated over time. This allows the Wikipedia user to see inside knowledge production processes, which demystifies knowledge production and which may, consequently, empower the user to become a contributor in his/her own right. In general, we contend that information that is produced through collective processes within open spaces can empower individuals to be both effective users and creators of the knowledge related to the technology in question.

However, although open technologies offer the arguably beneficial opportunity to be both knowledge users and producers, their design does pose some challenges. For example, the lack of templates and specific guidelines supporting the development of some open designs may challenge their development and long-term survival. MySpace, for example, allowed creators to have complete control over the design of their personalized webspace. Though this may have provided a certain degree of creative license, MySpace decreased in popularity in part because of the user's own muddled and complex designs which led to navigation and usability issues. In contrast, although it was a more closed technology, Facebook gained popularity through its cleaner, far more structured, less changeable environment. It usurped MySpace's crown and quickly consigned it to the dark depths of the digital abyss.

In sum, we maintain that users and creators who are aware of how open knowledge production technologies function have developed substantial new possibilities for agency. They can choose to use the tools to create new knowledge, intervene in existing processes, and criticize the means of production of knowledge. In a closed technological structure, by contrast, the production processes are opaque and users are left with a limited degree of agency—agency to use the tool or not.

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS: LESSONS FROM A CLASSROOM

Given the fact that we favor the use of technological transparency, we endeavored to structure a class activity that would promote the use of an open technology. Learners enrolled in a graduate course on online communities in Concordia's Educational Technology program were required to modify a Wikipedia page detailing the topic of "Community of Practice" (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Community_of_practice). They received minimal instruction regarding the process of knowledge production, were left to search and retrieve their own knowledge base and were encouraged to develop the artifact as a collective.

The information the students posted was not only vetted by the instructor and their in-class peers, but they also received extensive comments from other sources, mainly reviewers of Wikipedia entries. As is to be expected in a classroom activity, the students were comfortable receiving feedback from their instructor and peers, but they were, however, hesitant and surprised upon realizing that their work was stimulating much discussion by contributors to the Wikipedia page (see a summary of the discussions on http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talk: Community_of_practice). Once the students began interacting with these reviewers—exchanging comments, agreeing/disagreeing with changes made to their work—they quickly began to realize that their work extended beyond a class assignment. They would often return to class enthusiastically remarking

on what the online community had to say, and eventually developed a more rich understanding of how Wikipedia entries were created and modified. To us, this indicated a growing sense of engagement with the knowledge production process.

Through the use of an open technology, the students developed an understanding of the mechanisms involved in creating and modifying knowledge and information; they saw themselves as proponents/agents within the knowledge production process. Additionally, the external comments received altered the work significantly—the discussion on their Wikipedia entry led to the students generating content that would not have been created if they had been left to their own devices.

WORKING TOWARDS TRANSPARENCY

We believe one of the most important outcomes of education is the development of the power to think critically. More than 100 years ago, Dewey noted that, in order for students to become critical consumers of knowledge and effective actors in social contexts, they needed to understand how technological processes function. Technology education through a technological transparency lens can propel and reinforce these skills; this knowledge and know-how can lead to a sense of agency. Students are constantly exposed to new ideas and technologies, and education through technological transparency will allow them ask such questions as "How was this technology developed?", "Who was involved in the production process?", "What implications does such a tool have for society?" and "Does this process need to be changed, and how can I get involved in changing it?" Understanding the answers to these questions may lead to the development of agency—students will be able to decide for themselves whether they are willing to accept a particular process, or whether they want to change it and look for alternatives.

Today, the problem of technological opacity that originally concerned Dewey has grown substantially more severe. The pace of technological change has accelerated, and globalization has increased both the opacity and complexity of production processes in unexpected and disquieting ways. As a result, the need for transparency is clearer and more pressing than it has ever been. In this paper, we have argued that engagement with new, open knowledge production technologies offer a particularly powerful way of educating for technological transparency. The wave of technological change that originally concerned Dewey was industrial, but the change that we are undergoing now is related to information. It is still important to understand industrial processes, but a close look at the processes underlying information technologies may be even more critical. Our example of using Wikipedia in the classroom offers one promising example of how to do this, but there is still a great deal of work to be done in terms of designing curricula that facilitate technological transparency. Designing and executing these curricula will not be easy—it is challenging and labor-intensive to teach (or, for that matter, to learn) for technological transparency. However, creating more critical citizens is an important goal, and worthwhile educational change often requires sailing into the wind.

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FOOTNOTES

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[2] Microsoft technologies, for example, are usually closed, but they have nonetheless helped create a great deal of new knowledge.

MULTICULTURALISMS IN TENSION

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ABSTRACT

In her introduction to this special volume of *Canadian Issues,* Ratna Ghosh highlighted a theme that is picked up and developed—in interestingly diverse ways—by many of the contributing authors. "Multicultural education is not a static concept," she writes. "It is changing in interesting ways." As the essays in this volume attest, the interesting ways in which the concepts of multiculturalism and multicultural education may be mined for new insights and reconstructed and reinterpreted to shed new light on old insights is far from being exhausted. My primary purpose in this concluding essay is to reflect on some of the lessons that might be gleaned from the various contributions to this volume as we look to the challenges facing diverse societies beyond the 40th anniversary of Canada's Multicultural Policy. In particular, drawing mainly on the essays that comprise this volume, I aim to trace some of the ways in which we might fruitfully view multicultural education as that which liberates.

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES OF MULTICULTURALISM: SEGREGATION OR INTEGRATION?

The essays that comprise this special volume of *Canadian Issues* explore the promise and potential of multiculturalism as a basis for liberatory education. Several of them also examine the problems of multiculturalism as itself a potential force of oppression. In doing so, the contributors bring an impressive assortment of theoretical perspectives to bear on a wide range of practical educational and social problems. The range of views, issues, perspectives and attitudes towards multiculturalism and multicultural education is complex and multi-faceted. Nevertheless, one way of making sense of the contributions is to note that, taken collectively, they simultaneously reflect and address a broad crisis that afflicts public education in just about all multicultural, nominally liberal and educational societies around the world.

The crisis can be described in terms of conflicting views of the educational role of the contemporary democratic state. In contemporary democratic societies, the legitimacy of public education has traditionally depended on a broadly shared faith in the school's role as the institution for developing a sense of civic loyalty and solidarity, thereby providing the social glue that holds together diverse religious and cultural groups that comprised the nation state. For contemporary educators who continue to share this faith the state, through its instrument the public school, is a force of liberty and enlightenment; indeed, its influence can and should be extended to emancipate enslaved and oppressed people around the world. Nevertheless, as several contributors to this volume correctly note (see, in particular, Adeela Arshad's essay), faith in the nation state, under pressure from centrifugal forces of both increasing pluralism and global neoliberal economic forces, can no longer be assumed as a source of legitimacy for the ideals of multicultural education in liberal-democratic societies. This is to say the least. Accordingly, absent the material conditions that once enlivened the nation-state as a potential site of collective prosperity, mutual service and individual freedom, those who would defend the public school as an instrument of democratic progress lack a secure foundation upon which to construct an inspiring and coherent defense of this ideal. The resulting crisis of confidence in what David Blacker refers to as democracy's need for "moral roots" represents one side of the conflict I have in mind.[1]

The other side is represented by those who regard the public school, and the nominally liberal-democratic state that sponsors it, as an object of mistrust. Far from being an agent of emancipation, the modern democratic state is regarded as an agent of colonization, entrenched racism, and rampant consumerism. From this perspective, the educational institutions sponsored by the democratic state are agents of oppression, designed to erase indigenous, immigrant, and racial identities and affiliations by manufacturing students' emotional commitment to the nation.

Ayaz Naseem's contribution to this volume provides a helpful conceptual map, which provides a finer grained image of the deeper political and ideological sources of the ideological tension that underwrites this contemporary crisis of public education. Naseem distinguishes six conceptual perspectives of multicultural education that derive from different and often competing political stances. His discussion emphasizes the ideological and educational differences between these perspectives. Nevertheless, in light of the conflict described above, each of the six views appears to fall on a different side of a single major faultline. On one side, there are the liberal and left-liberal perspectives. Liberal multiculturalists are said to "place immense trust in the workings of the liberal democratic state," including courts and (presumably, though Naseem does not explicitly say so) public schools, to equalize social, economic and political opportunities for individual members of all cultural groups. On the other side of the divide, critical, anti-racist and anti-oppressive multiculturalists[2] provide a series of "counter discourses" to liberal multiculturalism.

These counter-discourses are intended first of all to highlight the many ways in which apparently benign and culturally "neutral" political principles, institutions, identity constructions, and valued forms of knowledge in fact reflect hegemonic, white, bourgeois, unequally gendered, and otherwise oppressive social and cultural formations of a privileged, dominant, politically, culturally and economically powerful, liberal majority. While such politically radical forms of multiculturalism sometimes carry their own positive (as well as critical) educational agendas, the liberatory potential of these agendas, as Naseem acknowledges, tends to be viewed as severely truncated under existing liberal institutional structures. Since prospects for radical institutional and structural appear remote at best, the limited liberatory educational potential of various radical multiculturalisms appears to be a regrettable fact of life for the foreseeable future.

This rather bleak diagnosis is reflected in Diane Gérin-Lajoie's judgment in her contribution to this volume, that multicultural education today "appears to have lost its critical side" (p. 25). Echoing Naseem and other contributors to this volume, Gerin-Lajoie suggests that contemporary multicultural education is dominated by a liberal approach that emphasizes folklore and the fatuous celebration of superficial cultural differences while neglecting deeper issues of equity, power relations and social justice. But according to critical, anti-racist and anti-oppressive multiculturalists, this is precisely the outcome we should expect when multicultural education is conducted under

the auspices of liberal values and institutions. It is perhaps tempting, in our darker moments, to conclude from this that such sentiments present a strong challenge to the very possibility of a genuinely liberatory multicultural education.

Nevertheless, insofar as this grim conclusion reflects a loss of faith in multiculturalism as a liberatory educational ideal, proponents of all the various perspectives of multicultural education have, as Naseem notes, powerful reasons to rethink their approaches and to engage in meaningful "conversations on pluralism and multiculturalism... [in order to] redefine the landscape by posing questions and challenging the normative set of assumptions and prescriptions that other perspectives advocate" (p. 12). Engaging merely in separate and distinct "research programs" is effectively to surrender multicultural education as an ideal.

Ayaz Naseem gestures in the direction of this point near the end of his essay when he wisely notes that for multiculturalists of various ideological and theoretical stripes, "the space is open to conversations and contestations" and it is here that multicultural education retains the potential to advance the cause of a peaceful and just "settlement" of cultural tensions.

When read in this light, numerous contributions to this volume illuminate pathways by which educational theorists might contribute critically and productively to opening spaces of educational liberation that traverse ideological and theoretical boundaries. Consider, for example, how Meira Levinson's suggestion in her essay for combating racism in American schools might "engage" with anti-racist critiques of multiculturalism such as that passionately advanced by George J. Sefa Dei in his chapter.

Dei explicitly adopts critical, anti-racist and anti-oppressive conceptual resources to propose a radical reinterpretation of official multiculturalism policy and practice. Although Dei frames his argument as a defense of "official multiculturalism", his essay puts a great deal of emphasis on the deficiencies of existing multicultural policy: "official multiculturalism has been ineffective in addressing broader questions of structural racism, social oppression, domination and marginalization of peoples in society. The policy has failed to address profound issues of power... and its implications for knowledge construction" (p. 16). Thus, at least at some points in his argument, Dei is at pains to stress the view that multiculturalism, "in tacit ways, comes to appropriate and obscure important discussions about privilege, systemic power and about the way in which particular bodies come to be identified within these moments" (p. 16). Yet, although Dei admits

he is "not a big fan of multiculturalism," he is also inclined to rally critical, anti-racist, and anti-oppressive scholars to its "spirited defense," since without an official recognition of the value of diverse "cultures, histories, and identities, and experiences" diversity will wither and an ascendant conservative and sometimes xenophobic assimilationism may win the day.

Levinson proposes that schools should teach white and black students to understand themselves from both minority and majority perspectives–what she refers to as a "kind of Duboisian 'double consciousness." In contrast to Dei's critical, anti-racist, anti-oppressive semi-defense of official multiculturalism, Levinson's proposal is eminently liberal in its optimistic commitment to eradicating or reducing racial inequality and injustice through liberal educational institutions–public schools. Nevertheless, can we not detect a strong acknowledgement of critical anti-racist insights in her proposal as well? Levinson proposes that liberal teaching include a serious commitment to acknowledging and critically evaluating students' "racialized identities" through a consideration of how these identities are formed and reformed through an analysis of social and political power structures. These themes must resonate at least to some significant extent with Dei's critical anti-racism, which emphasizes "the meanings and implications of race and racial constructs… [along with] learning about the experiences of living with racialized identities and understanding how students' lived experiences in and out of school are implicated in youth engagement and disengagement from school" (p. 17). Nevertheless, educational theorists and practitioners must plug their ears to such resonances if they insist on too strict ideological divisions along the lines of liberal/critical or liberal/anti-racist, etc.

The point I wish to emphasize here is that by looking for convergent themes in the contributions of scholars who appear to begin from radically different theoretical starting points, we can begin to see how scholarly debates about multiculturalism and multicultural education might engage more productively across disciplinary, ideological, and theoretical borders. My claim here is not at all that such engagement will ultimately reveal these differences to be trivial and superficial. Nor is my suggestion that ideological differences should be glossed over. Clearly there are and probably should continue to be profound differences for a variety of good reasons. But surely attention should also be paid to those points at which theorists from radically different perspectives appear to converge. In this respect, it seems to me that a close consideration of essays

like Levinson's and Dei's might reveal how liberal and critical multiculturalists might engage productively over shared concerns.

Levinson, like Dei, is deeply concerned that "political power and ethnoracial, cultural, and/or religious identities often interact such that clear patterns of political empowerment and exclusion emerge along demographic lines" (p. 82). As a result, both seek to identify educational measures that might address such injustices. Where might productive engagement occur?

I have suggested, through a brief examination of two contributions to this volume, that the essays in this special issue of *Canadian Issues* can be seen as not solely involving the separate research endeavors of scholars from different and isolated scholarly traditions and "paradigms". I would suggest that reading the various essays in this volume in this light illuminates numerous illustrations of the ways in which liberal and radical perspectives on multiculturalism converge in acknowledging and resisting the dangers of those versions of multiculturalism that lack sufficient attention to issues of racism, oppression and social justice more generally.

EDUCATION, INTERCULTURALISM AND REASONABLE ACCOMMODATION IN QUEBEC

Section II of this special issue contains a number of contributions that focus on issues of multiculturalism as they arise specifically in the Quebec context. Here the focus is on the concept of interculturalism–Quebec's version of multiculturalism–and the concept of "reasonable accommodation" as outlined in the Bouchard-Taylor Report. Many of the essays in this section attend closely to issues of educational policy and practice that have emerged from recent reforms to the Quebec Education Program (QEP). In line with international trends, the goals of the QEP are spelled out in terms of student and teacher "competencies." Ronald Morris's essay provides a thoughtful and clear overview of the content and aims of the Ethics and Religious Culture (ERC) component of the QEP. He also provides a lucid response to some of the grievous misunderstandings that have underwritten much of the controversy surrounding the ERC since its formal adoption as a compulsory course in all Quebec schools, public and private, in 2008. Notably, the orientation of the ERC strongly converges with prominent themes in multicultural education. The ERC is structured around two overarching objectives–promoting 1) mutual recognition and 2) the pursuit of the common good. Taken together, these objectives are meant to "take into account diversity,

and contribute to further enhancing community life and to encouraging the construction of a truly common public culture, that is, to sharing the underlying principles on which community life in Québec is based." In line with international trends, these goals are spelled out in the form of three basic "competencies"–ethical reflection, knowledge of religious culture, and the capacity for dialogue. Ultimately, the ERC amounts to a course in what can aptly be labeled "intercultural civic education." [2]

Essays by Marilyn Steinbach and Denise Lussier address concerns about student and teacher competencies in intercultural societies. Lussier develops a conception of language education as a vehicle for what she terms students' emerging "intercultural communicative competence." Steinbach argues that if intercultural education policies are to succeed in Quebec, then teachers require more than simply knowledge and awareness of cultural diversity; they require the development of "intercultural competencies", which involve shaping teachers attitudes and behavior patterns to reflect intercultural values and norms. For those interested in better understanding how debates about multiculturalism are being addressed in Quebec's school system, these essays offer clear and accessible primers to some of the key issues.

Marie Mc Andrew's paper on "reasonable accommodation" brings the significance of conceptual tensions and theoretical faultlines discussed earlier back into sharp relief. The issue of reasonable accommodation emerged as a crisis in Quebec in March 2006, when Canada's Supreme Court overturned a Quebec Court of Appeal ruling that a local school board was justified in banning a Sikh student from wearing his ceremonial "kirpan" to school. A series of other high profile cases—for example, a decision to exclude men from a pre-natal class on the basis that some Muslim women in the class felt uncomfortable–added fuel to the fire of public anxiety. In February 2007, a public commission on reasonable accommodation, headed by philosopher Charles Taylor and sociologist Gerard Bouchard, was formed to officially address the issue of reasonable accommodation. The Bouchard-Taylor Report makes worthwhile reading on a number of accounts, including its careful and very accessible coverage of current accommodation practices in Québec institutions.

Nevertheless, Mc Andrew's essay draws an a variety of sources besides the Bouchard-Taylor Report to explain and evaluate the usefulness of reasonable accommodation as a means of promoting more inclusive, diverse and equitable schools. These sources include an examination of a series of legal judgments following the adoption in 1982 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (which the

province of Quebec has not signed) and scholarly debates about reasonable accommodation in schools. In the course of her discussion, Mc Andrew addresses critiques of reasonable accommodation from politically radical multiculturalists who have charged that reasonable accommodation is a tool of soft assimilationism and critiques by conservative "civic integrationists" who are alarmed at what they consider to be tendencies towards communitarian self-segregation and social fragmentation. Ultimately, however, Mc Andrew's analysis tends to reinforce the point that a variety or combination of theoretical perspectives is needed to make sense of the complexities of concrete examples of reasonable accommodation, just as they are in the case of multicultural education.

Of particular interest is Mc Andrew's notion of reasonable accommodation as a process of "reciprocal adaptation". In this sense, reasonable accommodation in extra-legal contexts like schools requires "dominant society members" (such as school authorities and teachers) to adapt their practices in ways that welcome and genuinely include newcomers; at the same time, newcomers are expected to gradually moderate their identities, where necessary, in order to better reflect the values and cultural expectations of the host society. One important element of this notion of reciprocal adaptation that Mc Andrew does not explicitly address is its inherently asymmetrical nature. Sociologically speaking, the power relationships that govern the process of reciprocal adaptation are likely in most cases to be more or less heavily oriented toward the demands of the dominant host culture. At this point, as Mc Andrew recognizes, concerns of critical, anti-racist and anti-oppressive multiculturalists are especially illuminating. When sociological asymmetry is unchecked by countervailing forces in multicultural societies, the process of social integration favors patterns of identity formation that are distorted in favor of the racialized, gendered and class based assumptions and expectations of the dominant culture.

Nevertheless, such distortions need not always obviously be oppressive even when sociological asymmetry exists, as it always does. As Mc Andrew points out, reasonable accommodation reflects a commitment to three distinct goals—respect for diversity, genuine equity, and the promotion of social cohesion. The need for a degree of social cohesion in diverse societies means that processes of social integration or "reciprocal adaptation" can never be completely equal. Sociological realities favorable to certain patterns of cultural, identity and community formation, and less favorable to others, are inevitable. But so long as the goals of respect for diversity and individual rights, and

genuine equity, are upheld then the realities of moderate sociological asymmetry needed to secure social cohesion need not be a source of injustice or cause for moral regret on the part of members of the dominant society. Liberal multiculturalists emphasize the crucial normative importance of principles of justice—mutual respect, individual autonomy and political equality—as important checks and constraints on the assimilationist tendencies of policies of social cohesion. Importantly, though, radical multiculturalists provide necessary theoretical and political tools for ensuring that these checks are robustly enforced in practice. Ultimately, Mc Andrew's account of reasonable accommodation provides a useful example of how liberal and radical insights might be combined to better understand and evaluate policies that democratic societies employ in the pursuit of a more socially just multiculturalism.

A just multicultural society must provide real and substantive measures by which cultural and racial minorities, immigrants, the disabled and others can both exert genuinely transformative influence on the cultural patterns that shape the shared public culture of multicultural societies and where they can, within legal limits, avoid such patterns if they wish. McAndrew explicitly acknowledges the latter point when she notes that reasonable accommodation allows for "ethno-specific institutions" and for people who wish to live their lives "largely at the margins of the dominant society." However, her analysis is less forthcoming when it comes to measures that might be taken to provide a stronger voice for newcomers and minorities in the process of "reciprocal" (but asymmetrical) social adaptation and integration. Nevertheless, a suggestion near the end of her paper may provide a useful lead regarding one way in which such issues of voice and influence might be promoted. According to Mc Andrew, "public authorities should give greater support to NGOs who help in the establishment and integration of newcomers, or who represent religious minorities, so that while NGOs inform their clientele or members of their rights, such organizations may also help newcomers to develop a sense of *identity moderation"* (p. 49).

One reason I find this suggestion promising, especially if the NGOs in question are staffed and run by members of racial and cultural minorities, women of color, and people with successful experience integrating into Quebec culture, is that the process of identity moderation may avoid both the danger of "identity essentialism" that Naseem associates with liberal and left-liberal multiculturalism, and also the danger of identity assimilation or exclusion that occurs when soft and hard versions of conservative culturalism gain prominence in the official institutions of the dominant society. In this respect, perhaps providing greater support and influence to NGOs has the potential to foster a more genuinely reciprocal adapation for minorities and newcomers than is otherwise possible. Additionally, to the extent that such potential exists, NGOs might provide a buffer that insulates educational and other modes of social integration from at least many forms of power inequality that critical, anti-racist and anti-oppressive multiculturalist theorists rightly demand we attend to.

CONCLUSION

My comments in this essay have concentrated on the theme of finding productive ways to integrate multicultural perspectives of different ideological stripes without denying their differences. The papers that make up the third and final section of the volume, which focuses on applications of multicultural theory to particular issues of educational policy and practice, provide several rich and concrete illustrations of this theme. Adeela Arshad's paper outlines a proposal for revising multicultural education programs in ways that adjust for globalizing realities and cosmopolitan ideals. Her proposal usefully examines the need for such revisions due to the shifting and, she argues, radically diminished political, economic and educational significance of the nation state. Dianne Gereluk provides a compelling challenge to Bill 44, the recent amendment to the Alberta Human Rights Act establishing a parental opt-out clause that applies when schools address subject matter related to religion, human sexuality and sexual orientation. The contribution from Michael S. Merry & Sjoerd Karsten outlines numerous challenges and obstacles to social integration and equality raised by the Dutch system of generously funding a wide variety of religious and non-religious "private" schools from which parents can choose. Kamran Shaikh, Amna Zuberi, and co-authors introduce a Deweyan account of technological transparency that evaluates particular technologies according to a scale from "open" to "closed". Interested readers will find that these essays provide ample illustration of the creative tension that is possible when theorists are willing to cross theoretical boundaries.

As a whole, the fine essays that make special volume of *Canadian Issues,* including those I have not been able to discuss here, show how liberal and critical multicultural perspectives can be brought to bear to critically evaluate, enrich and revise existing policies by insisting that they align themselves with principles of social justice in diverse societies. Ultimately, this is the fundamental value of an integrated perspective on multiculturalism and multicultural education.

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FOOTNOTES

[1] For present purposes, I leave aside a sixth category identified in Naseem's essay — conservative multiculturalists. I do so not because this perspective is unimportant or lacking in influence. Far from it. Rather, my reasons for ignoring it here have to do with the fact that the overarching commitment to assimilationism of conservatives, in the sense Naseem intends, leaves the impression that they are not aptly described as proponents of multiculturalism at all. This impression is reinforced, for example, by recent high profile events in which conservatives like German Chancellor Angela Merkel have explicitly rejected the very notion of multiculturalism in favor of an aggressively nationalist and particularist, though historically suspect, form of assimilationism. See the essay by Claudia Ruitenberg in this volume for an interesting discussion of the Merkel case.

[2] The conception of intercultural civic education is elaborated in a paper I have co-authored with David Waddington, Bruce Maxwell, Marina Schwimmer, and Andree-Anne Cormier (Waddington, et al., forthcoming).

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