

CHAPTER 19

Immigration and Diversity in Quebec's Schools: An Assessment

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— TIMELINE —

1969 First welcoming classes for students of immigrant origin introduced through the Commission scolaire de Montréal.

1977 Bill 101 adopted, requiring newcomers to attend French-language schools.

1978 Heritage language program (Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine à l'école publique—PELO) established.

1978 Couture-Cullen Agreement gives Quebec increased jurisdiction in immigration.

1981 *Quebecers, Each and Everyone*, Quebec's first action plan in intercultural relations, released.

1982 Grid for the elimination of discriminatory stereotypes included in teaching material across Quebec.

1985 Report by Committee on Québec Schools and Cultural Communities introduces term *intercultural education*.

1990 *Let's Build Quebec Together: Vision: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* outlines Quebec government's immigration policy orientation and Quebec model of integration and diversity relations.

Gagnon-Tremblay–McDougall Accord on immigration gives Quebec exclusive jurisdiction in selection of independent immigrants and in linguistic and economic integration of all newcomers to Quebec.

1994–5 Muslim girl wearing hijab expelled from public school in Montreal, generating wide public debate.

1995 Intercultural awareness enters into approval criteria for teacher education programs in universities.

1996 *Learning from the Past: Report of the Task Force on the Teaching of History* (the Lacoursière Report) recommends fostering openness to teaching international history and improving students' knowledge about contribution of Aboriginal peoples and cultural communities to Quebec's history.

1998 Major educational reform takes place in Quebec's education system, introducing new program for inclusion that is more open to diversity. Confessional school boards become linguistic school boards (although individual schools may remain confessional).

A School for the Future: Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education adopted, introducing diversification in reception services, providing guidelines for reasonable accommodation, and bringing intercultural education to all regions of Quebec.

1999 *Religion in Secular Schools: a New Perspective for Quebec* (also known as the Proulx Report) on place of religion in school forms basis of courses in ethics and religious culture, but its recommendations are not immediately ratified by Quebec government.

2002 Multani conflict over Sikh student Gurbaj Singh Multani wearing a kirpan in a Montreal public school.

2006 Supreme Court of Canada rules in Multani case, granting Sikh student right to wear his kirpan according to specific guidelines to ensure safety of his fellow students.

2007 Advisory Committee on Integration and Reasonable Accommodation in the Schools tables its report, *Inclusive Québec Schools: Dialogue, Values and Common Reference Points*

in November 2007, providing an overview of situation, defining guidelines for action, and instituting conflict resolution process.

Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (the Bouchard-Taylor Commission) created and public hearings held. There is much controversy between proponents of pluralism and integral secularism, and those favouring a return to a 'traditional' definition of Quebec identity.

2008 Bouchard-Taylor Commission presents its report.

INTRODUCTION

Regardless of the complexity of their ethnic relations, all immigrant-receiving societies share common challenges. Quebec is no exception. It must ensure the linguistic, social, and economic integration of newly arrived Quebecers while effecting major change in the host society itself. For the past 30 years in Canada (and in the United States), these two objectives have given rise to numerous, recurring debates in education milieus. For students of immigrant origin and their families, school is often the primary vehicle of social mobility; recognizing ethno-cultural diversity (in both schools and society) has become a crucial tool for ensuring equal opportunity. But the culture of tomorrow is being shaped and the identities and attitudes of our future citizens defined in the modern public school. It must therefore perform a delicate balancing act, determining the respective positions of various languages and cultural heritages, while emphasizing the common values of citizenship. Achieving this equilibrium is a difficult task that needs constant redefining.

The case of schools in Quebec is particularly revealing. For while Quebec society resolutely strives to be modern in its active commitment to immigration and in its search for a conciliatory middle path between assimilation and multiculturalism, it remains somewhat fragile. This fragility lends complexity to the challenges in the linguistic, academic, and social integration of newcomers. Indeed, exposure to diversity

is a more recent phenomenon in Quebec, at least for much of the francophone community, than in other North American contexts. All these factors make for remarkably dynamic policy formulation, program design, and social action, but they have also generated numerous tensions.

English-language schools are also characterized by cultural diversity in Quebec; however our focus here is on French-language schools, attended by 90 per cent of Quebec's students, including the vast majority of allophone students¹ and students of immigrant origin.²

MAJOR POLICY FRAMEWORKS

Immigration Policy and its Impact on Schools

Since the late 1960s, Quebec, more than any other Canadian province, has sought to play a major role in immigration, a shared jurisdiction between the federal and provincial governments under the Canadian Constitution. In essence, Quebec's interest in this area was motivated by the same factors that guided the development of its language policy: the assimilation of most immigrants into the anglophone community and the impact of this assimilation on the demolinquistic equilibrium in Montreal.³ But from the first, this early involvement was part of a nation-building

process, which often manifested itself in competition with that of the Canadian government and became more obvious over time. Gradually, a series of agreements culminated in the Canada–Quebec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens (the Gagnon-Tremblay–McDougall Accord), which enshrined Quebec's exclusive jurisdiction in selecting 'independent' immigrants (who account for 60 per cent of total movement) and over the linguistic and economic integration of all newcomers to Quebec.

Quebec's involvement in immigration follows principles fairly similar to those in Canadian immigration policy and is currently characterized by three goals.⁴ First, given the feared economic consequences of a demographic deficit and an aging population, Quebec is targeting a gradual increase in intake so that it will ultimately receive 25 per cent of total immigration to Canada. Currently, Quebec falls well short of that mark: in 2008, it received only 19 per cent of Canada's immigrants. However, with an average intake of some 40,000 immigrants over five years, for its population of 7 million, Quebec has a significant immigration rate compared with other jurisdictions (see Table 19.1).

Second, Quebec's selection policy attempts to balance competing selection criteria: the recruitment of French-speaking immigrants, the contribution of immigration to economic development, the promotion of family reunification, and the commitment to international solidarity. The combined complexity of these criteria has led to a highly diversified

immigrant population both in language skills and national origin. Indeed, within the selection grid, prior knowledge of French is not an eliminatory criterion, although currently over 60 per cent of admitted immigrants already speak some French. In addition, over 80 per cent of immigrants now come from regions other than North America or Europe. The five largest immigrant groups (from Algeria, France, Morocco, China, and Colombia) account for less than 35 per cent of all entrants, which explains the heterogeneity of most multi-ethnic classrooms.

Third, the primary goal of both the federal government's and Quebec's immigration policy is permanent settlement. Citizenship may be acquired very quickly (after three years), which contributes to the significant political influence of minorities in society generally, and in the education system in particular.

Successive waves of immigration have shaped the school population,⁵ which now comprises some 116,500 students (10.7 per cent of the total school population) whose first language is not English, French, or an Aboriginal language. Students of immigrant origin (i.e., those born abroad or with at least one parent born abroad), now number 206,125 (19.1 per cent) of Quebec's total school population.

While most immigrants typically settle in Montreal, Montreal-born francophones tend to move to the suburbs and often enrol their children in private schools. Consequently, in Montreal's public French-language schools, 46 per cent of students do not speak French as their first language and 51 per cent are of immigrant origin. In this respect, Montreal is on par with averages for large cities in Canada and the United States (see Table 19.2). In over one-third of Montreal schools, students of immigrant origin account for the majority of the population, and just under one in ten schools have an immigrant population of over 75 per cent.

Interculturalism and Intercultural Education: A Longstanding Normative Commitment

Once Quebec's francophone community had successfully reasserted its majority status and committed to increasing immigration, it was faced with the

TABLE 19.1: Gross immigration rates in six jurisdictions* (2007)

Country	Immigration as a Percentage of the Total Population
Canada	0.72
Quebec	0.59
United States	0.35
California	0.63
New York	0.70
Australia	0.67

* Measured solely on the basis of permanent admissions as a percentage of the total population.

TABLE 19.2: Percentage of students whose first language or language spoken at home is neither French (Quebec) nor English (rest of Canada and the United States) in five major North American cities*

Montreal French-language schools (2008)	Toronto English-language schools (2008)	Vancouver English-language schools (2008)	New York English-language schools (2008)	Los Angeles English-language schools (2006)
46.0%	52.2%	37.0%	41.8%	59%

*First language: Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver; Language most often spoken at home: New York; Students enrolled in the English Learners program during their schooling: Los Angeles.

challenge of defining a normative position vis-à-vis the growing pluralism in its public institutions and in civil society. Quebec interculturalism may be described as the quest for a middle path between Canadian multiculturalism and French Jacobinism. Canadian multiculturalism has been criticized for essentializing cultures and for isolating them from each other. Conversely, French Jacobinism, by relegating diversity to the private sphere, is not entirely compatible with the recognition of pluralism, an ideal widely embraced in Quebec.⁶

In the 1980s, following the publication of *A Cultural Development Policy for Quebec* and *Quebecers, Each and Everyone*, the government adopted an approach of intercultural rapprochement between individuals whose membership in clearly distinguishable groups was taken for granted. The idea was to create a culture of convergence, centred around a traditional but modern francophone culture, and enriched by the province's various ethnic groups, which are called 'cultural communities' in Quebec.

With *Let's Build Quebec Together: Vision: Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration*, adopted in 1990 (and still in effect), expanded recognition of cultural hybridity began to emerge. This document acknowledged both plurality as a fundamental aspect of Quebec culture, and the right of Quebecers of all origins to express their cultures 'within the limitations imposed by the respect for fundamental democratic values and the need for intergroup exchanges'. The policy statement expressly identified gender equality, respect for children's rights, non-violence, and Quebec's societal choices (including language rights) among the democratic values to be promoted. It also called for the

full participation and the equal contribution of all citizens, specifically those of immigrant origin.⁷

The *Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education*, published in 1998 by the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (MELS) followed a similar path.⁸ Intercultural education was defined as learning how to live together in a democratic, pluralist, French-speaking society. Ways to promote the normative recognition of diversity made up a significant part of the statement and were essentially governed by the same parameters set forth in 1990; protecting individual rights and Quebec's linguistic choices, and ensuring that institutions can operation smoothly. This document stands out for its complex treatment of the concept of culture. It urges that instead of essentializing differences, teachers should regard ethnic identity as only one among many factors influencing integration and academic success.

The 1998 policy statement specifically highlighted three key challenges in intercultural education: the first, integrating people of various ethno-cultural origins at all levels of employment in the education system; the second, providing training and professional development of teaching staff; and the third, implementing a pluralist transformation of the formal and real curriculum. This last objective was at the crux of most debates regarding the policy statement. Indeed, the tension between common values and the recognition of diversity is evident throughout the document, which underwent a mostly cosmetic rewrite in French, aimed at addressing the sensitivities of more nationalist segments of Quebec society.

Although the 1998 policy statement was adopted over a decade ago, the official discourse it promoted

has been neither questioned nor updated. Its principles still form the basis of MELS initiatives and have significantly influenced statements formulated by school boards with the highest concentration of students of immigrant origin. However, while the policy statement was meant to extend the recognition of diversity to milieus that do not experience diversity daily, progress has been limited. Over the past decade, only six school boards outside of Montreal have adopted a policy on intercultural education. These boards are generally in areas becoming increasingly multi-ethnic due to urban sprawl or to the regionalization of immigration.

PUBLIC DEBATE

Language and the Educational Integration of Immigrants

Before the enactment of Bill 101 in 1977, over 80 per cent of newly arrived immigrants chose English-language schooling, since English was the dominant language of business and French-language institutions were not especially open to cultural diversity. Thus, immigrant schooling profiles became the central focus of the language debate in the 1970s, which pitted proponents of mandatory French-language education for immigrants against supporters of free choice. Support for mandatory French-language schooling came massively but not exclusively from nationalist milieus, based on the rationale that fluency in French (the common language of Quebec), and a shared educational experience were vital to integration. Support for free choice in schooling came from practically all of the anglophone community and much of the immigrant population, based on objections to the coercive nature of the proposed legislation and on the argument that French could be learned just as well in the English-language school system or in bilingual schools.⁹

This round of Quebec's language debates was settled with the enactment of Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. The bill's main purpose was to make French the common language of public life. It also made attendance at French-language schools mandatory for all francophone and allophone students, while preserving the historical right of the anglophone community and anglicized immigrant

communities to attend English-language institutions. As a result, over 80 per cent of allophone students and over 90 per cent of students of immigrant origin now attend French-language schools. In fact, today the French school system in Montreal is more multi-ethnic than the English school system.¹⁰

In public debates over the integration of students of immigrant origin, the prominence of language issues, although still significant, has faded steadily since 1977.¹¹ From 1977 to the end of the 1980s, public concern focused more specifically on whether immigrant students were learning French and whether their families were actively or passively resisting attendance at French-language schools. Nonetheless, a growing consensus (corroborated by ministerial exam results) emerged during this period that young immigrant students were in fact becoming reasonably fluent in French. Moreover, changes in immigration, newly dominated by more francophile groups, such as Haitians, Vietnamese, and Latin Americans, helped to reduce resistance to attending French-language schools.

In the early 1990s, the focus of public debate shifted to the use of French and attitudes towards the language. Three issues were central to this debate: how concentrations of ethnic groups affected the linguistic environment in schools; whether students of immigrant origin were choosing to attend English- or French-language CEGEPs¹² (not governed by Bill 101 and therefore subject to individual choice) and the extent to which using French in schools would affect longer-term linguistic practices among allophones. Although numerous research studies and reports yielded mainly positive findings regarding these issues, attendant controversies remained heated until the late 1990s. During this time, a relatively large wave of young anglophone or anglophile immigrants arrived from South Asia and Hong Kong (following political changes in that region). Moreover, several prominent nationalist figures in Quebec continued to cite substantive indicators, such as which language was used in private life or whether CEGEP-level studies were pursued in French, as the only reliable predictors of future linguistic behaviour among newcomers.

In the 2000s, under the combined effect of an unprecedented wave of francophone immigration from North Africa and an international malaise

spawned by the events of 11 September 2001, the language debate faded in prominence. Issues around the culture and, especially, the religion of newcomers, captured media attention and generated public concern. Indeed, public apprehensions have not yet disappeared, particularly on the ground.

Cultural and Religious Diversity in Schools

For over three years now, Quebec has been involved in another heated controversy, this time over ‘reasonable accommodation’.¹³ The debate has centred around the place of ethno-cultural diversity within Quebec identity. The controversy was set in motion by a Supreme Court of Canada decision in April 2006 regarding a student who wore a Sikh kirpan to his public school (see Snapshot box). This incident spiralled into a crisis that encompassed a raft of other identity-related issues, many of which were expressed at the fall 2008 hearings of the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (the Bouchard-Taylor Commission), set up by the Quebec government to manage the crisis.¹⁴

As the process of adapting schools to diversity continued, two issues were broadly debated in

public by two distinct groups: one championing strict secularism (inspired by France) and the other a return to a ‘traditional’ Quebec identity. The pro-secularist group strongly opposed students and teachers wearing the hijab (the Muslim headscarf). After the major controversy in Quebec in 1994–5, (when a girl was expelled from her school for wearing a hijab), the consensus seemed to be that the hijab would be tolerated, within the guidelines defined by the Commission des droits de la personne et de la jeunesse, that equal access to school activities would not be compromised and that freedom of choice for students and their parents would be preserved. Indeed, at the Bouchard-Taylor Commission hearings in 2008, these guidelines were reiterated by official educational bodies, but were still largely absent from the briefs of ordinary citizens, who often drew direct connections between wearing the hijab and Muslim women’s putative oppression. Moreover, given the relative success in recruiting teachers and student teachers of all origins and religious persuasions, the question of whether teaching staff should be allowed to wear religious symbols was now central to current public debate. The Commission’s report, which expressed some openness to this position, attracted many negative comments.

SNAPSHOT

The Right to Wear the Kirpan

One of the events fuelling the debate around ‘reasonable accommodation’ was the Supreme Court’s decision of 2 March 2006 that authorized a Sikh student to wear his kirpan¹⁵ to a Quebec public school. The Multani decision was widely misunderstood and in some cases condemned outright. The events that triggered this controversy, the court decisions it generated and the subsequent place of religious diversity in schools that was envisioned thereafter had a profound impact on stakeholders in education and the public alike.

Gurbaj Singh Multani is a baptized orthodox Sikh (about 10 per cent of Sikhs in Canada are orthodox). As such, he strictly adheres to the tenets of the Sikh

religion and wears a ritual dagger, the kirpan, which symbolizes the purity of the faith and his commitment to defend it. Multani, 12 years old at the time of the incident, belonged to a predominantly anglophone community, but under Bill 101 attended a French-language school. Ethno-cultural diversity in this school, attended mostly by francophone students, was a relatively recent phenomenon. On 19 February 2001, the kirpan that Multani was wearing inside his clothes slipped out accidentally in the schoolyard. On 21 December 2001, as a reasonable accommodation of Multani’s religious convictions, the Commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeoys (CSMB) sent a letter



to his parents stating that he could wear the kirpan at school, provided it was sealed inside his clothing. This solution, widely applied across Canada, had been previously adopted following an Ontario Superior Court decision in the early 1990s. Multani and his parents accepted these terms. However, on 12 February 2002, the governing board of the school (wielding considerable decision-making power in Quebec), comprising predominantly francophone school parents, refused to approve the accommodation. The board deemed that wearing a kirpan violated the school's code of conduct, which prohibited carrying weapons and dangerous objects. On 19 March 2002, after much equivocation and internal tension, the CSMB's elected Council of Commissioners concurred with the governing board and rejected the initial accommodation for the kirpan. The family was asked to have their son wear a symbolic pendant or a non-metallic kirpan. On 25 March 2002, Multani's father filed a motion with the Superior Court of Quebec, requesting that this decision be declared void and of no effect. On 17 May 2002, the motion was granted and Gurbaj Singh Multani was allowed to wear his kirpan. However, in a dramatic turn of events two years later (in 2004), the Quebec Court of Appeal overturned the Superior Court's judgement, citing security issues and the importance of following common rules, such as reasonable limits on the right to express religious beliefs. Some considered this ruling to be an indicator of an emerging culture in Quebec courts in which the values of good citizenship were taking precedence over the culture of personal rights that (it was claimed) epitomized Canadian jurisprudence. In 2006, the Supreme Court of Canada reversed the Court of Appeal decision, upholding the original 2001 proposal that the student be allowed to wear his kirpan securely fastened inside his clothes, provided that Multani not surrender it at any time, that its loss be immediately reported to school authorities, and that school staff be authorized to verify that all of these conditions were being followed.

The Supreme Court decision belongs to a vast body of jurisprudence on reasonable accommodation that has been building since 1985. It is now recognized that when an apparently neutral standard or practice is

applied to all the people within an institution, it may, in some instances, infringe on equality or fundamental rights or freedoms of some individuals, including religious freedoms. In such cases, the courts have consistently sought compromises negotiated in good faith between the parties, called 'reasonable accommodations'. While such compromises may exempt a person from certain standards or practices, they must still ensure the smooth operation of institutions. It was not the concept of reasonable accommodation in itself that made the ruling in the Multani case significant, but rather that for the first time this concept was applied to a school as a service provider for students and their families. The judges of Canada's highest court were asked to reflect upon this accommodation's compatibility with the school's complex mandate of preparing future citizens for life within society. The Supreme Court rejected the CSMB board's argument that the kirpan was a symbol of violence, based both on a lack of proof and because it showed a lack of consideration for Canadian multicultural values and a disrespect for the Sikh faith. The Court reminded Canadians that schools are a place for meeting and dialogue and must be founded on principles of tolerance and impartiality. Since leading by example is the best way to promote respect for constitutional rights within a democratic society, the Court reiterated that institutions and teachers are therefore bound to respect students' rights and provide an education that is free of prejudice, bias, and intolerance.

While some politicians and editorial writers welcomed the nuanced reasoning of the Supreme Court ruling, it was nonetheless misunderstood and in some cases very poorly received by a vocal segment of the population in Quebec. Negative public opinion was divided into three camps. One camp recognized the legitimacy of reasonable accommodations in general, but disagreed with the Court's opinion that kirpans pose little danger. A second camp attacked the ruling as a classic example of the impasse created by the federal multiculturalism policy and its negative impact on Quebec. They noted that while in principle the Court recognized the importance of common civic values, in practice reasonable accommodation consistently

favoured the rights of individuals or specific cultural communities, thereby factionalizing society, even within schools, where, of all places, developing social cohesion should be paramount. A third camp took advantage of the decision to make overtly anti-immigration or discriminatory remarks, primarily in blogs and open online letters not published in newspapers, against some religious groups. The fact that the family of the Sikh student and the spokesperson of his community spoke only English also fuelled tensions by linking language issues to religious issues.

The shockwave created by the Multani decision led the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport to relaunch a series of measures aimed at recognizing diversity. These measures had been most intensely implemented during the 1995 'hijab crisis' (in which a girl was expelled from a public school for wearing a hijab), but were less actively implemented by the end

of the decade. Two measures were particularly noteworthy. First, a training unit for school principals on consideration for cultural and religious diversity was updated and a training campaign, led by a team of educational instructors has been implemented since 2008. Second, in the fall of 2006, the Ministère struck the Advisory Committee on Integration and Reasonable Accommodation in the Schools, comprising representatives from various areas of the education system, including school boards, parents' committees, professional associations, and unions. The Advisory Committee's report, submitted in November 2007, included an update that set the record straight on the frequency and nature of requests for accommodation. It also reiterated and strengthened existing guidelines for recognizing diversity, proposing some practical ways of fostering harmonious negotiations between schools and parents.

The chief focus for those championing a return to Quebec's 'traditional' identity was the threat they perceived in the new Ethics and Religious Culture Program. This program was the culmination of a secularization process initiated in 1998 that transformed confessional school boards into English- and French-language school boards. In the fall of 2008, it replaced the Catholic Religious and Moral Instruction Program, the Protestant Moral and Religious Education Program, and the Moral Education Program (the latter choice being the only alternative for non-Christian students up to that point). The new Ethics and Religious Culture Program was criticized for placing all religions on an equal footing and ignoring both the central role that the Catholic religion had played in the development of Quebec and its contemporary demographic weight. Traditionalist supporters also argued that teaching religion from a cultural perspective could constitute an infringement on the religious freedom of young children, who would be unable to distinguish the facts presented on various religions from the beliefs that their parents wished to instill in them.

On the whole, the briefs submitted and the positions taken publicly at the Commission's hearings

cast the role of the education system in transforming Quebec's identity in a positive light. Even the most apprehensive or negative participants at the Commission's hearings often mentioned that the 'children of Bill 101' bore little resemblance to them, since this new generation has lived and breathed diversity. Indeed, a number of young people spoke out at the hearings to remind their elders to practise more moderation in their assertions about other cultures.

PROGRAMS AND MEASURES

Reception Services for Newly Arrived Immigrants

In contrast to the model prevailing in the rest of Canada, which places students lacking host language proficiency directly into regular classes but provides ESL (English as a Second Language) support, Quebec has opted for a closed 'welcoming class' model. The first welcoming classes, introduced in 1969, reflected the view that the best way for allophone students to learn French was through a systematic and structured approach, not by merely exposing them to the language in regular classes (an approach that often



suffices when the target language is clearly dominant in society). Welcoming classes enjoy a reduced student/teacher ratio. The language learning program is well developed and includes a component on the life and culture of the host society. In outlying regions, if there are too few allophone students to warrant a separate class, they attend regular classes but receive FSL (French as Second Language) support. In 2008, some 18,000 students, over 85 per cent of them residing in Montreal, attended welcoming classes or were provided with linguistic support.¹⁶

Until very recently, heritage languages were not recognized as having any role in the various measures adopted for teaching French to newly arrived immigrants.¹⁷ However, since 1977, Quebec has been offering a heritage languages program, known by its French acronym, PELO (Programme d'enseignement des langues d'origine), for allophone students who have mastered French. The program was originally designed to reassure Quebec's older, established cultural communities that multilingualism was a valued complement to efforts in promoting the French language. Today, 14 heritage languages are taught to some 7,000 students, but the program is less popular than might be expected, owing to the resistance of public school teachers and to the schooling choices of highly committed allophone parents, who would rather enrol their children in private trilingual schools, partially funded by the government of Quebec. The program also suffers from a lack of focus. While research indicates that this approach is most effective when the host language is learned simultaneously with the heritage language, the PELO program is not available to new arrivals still attending welcoming classes, and it targets elementary school students, whereas problems in mastering French arise mainly at the secondary school level.

Further to the publication of the Quebec government's *Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education* in 1998, welcoming programs and other measures evolved significantly. Observers had noted that the 10 months that students were to spend in a welcoming class tended to be extended, which caused some concern regarding the social integration of newcomers into schools. Therefore, various innovative models have been explored in recent

years to help immigrant students make the transition from welcoming classes into regular classes. These models may involve partial immersion in regular classes tackling less linguistically demanding subjects, team teaching between teachers from welcoming classes and heritage language classes, or placing allophone students in regular classes with linguistic support. Experiments with developing students' linguistic heritages within regular classes are also being attempted, based on similar experiments by the European Language Awareness movement.

Adapting to Pluralism

In Quebec's elementary and secondary school programs, there are many points of entry for promoting intercultural, anti-racist, or citizenship education. These points may be found both in the general aims of the curriculum and in the detailed descriptions of targeted student competencies, of broad areas of learning, and of various academic subjects.¹⁸ The learning area entitled Citizenship and Community Life, which comprises the teaching of Geography, History, and Citizenship Education, has the greatest number of stated commitments to providing education on diversity. Moreover, all three of these subjects involve a common educational aim: 'openness to the world and respect for diversity'. Other broad areas of learning like Media Literacy, and Environmental Awareness and Consumer Rights and Responsibilities include elements related to intercultural education, such as awareness of the interdependence of all peoples and the consequences of globalization on the distribution of wealth, as well as the ability to recognize stereotyped media messages. There are also three targeted student competencies that contribute to intercultural education which must be taught in all programs: 'To exercise critical judgment', which teaches the recognition of prejudices and the importance of putting opinions in perspective; 'To construct his or her identity', which requires students to recognize their cultural roots and acknowledge those of others; and 'To cooperate with others', which encourages respect for differences, developing openness to others, and constructively embracing pluralism and non-violence.



Through the new Ethics and Religious Culture Program, students will also learn about major world religions such as Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism, and Sikhism, although the primary emphasis is on Christian and Aboriginal traditions. The program targets two complementary aims: acknowledging each student's sense of belonging or not belonging to a religious tradition; and promoting the sharing of values and involvement in co-operative projects in a pluralist society. Students learn to weigh ethical questions, demonstrate their understanding of religious phenomena, and discuss these topics with people who do not necessarily share their own beliefs.

For these ambitious programs to succeed, bias-free teaching material had to be produced to properly reflect diversity. Quebec's track record in this regard, though not without its flaws, has been improving.¹⁹ Beginning in 1982, an approval process for teaching materials was implemented to ensure that designs and depictions of ethno-cultural minorities were not discriminatory. By the late 1980s, minorities were included more in the materials' content and overt stereotypes had been eliminated. At that point, the qualitative treatment of diversity required that omissions and more subtle ethnocentric biases be addressed. Several studies conducted in the 1990s showed that although textbooks during this period generally promoted cultural diversity, they often folklorized various cultures and portrayed 'them' as outsiders to the target readership. In addition to underplaying the contribution of minority groups to Quebec society, the presentation of non-Western civilizations (especially the Muslim world) was stereotypical. Further to the implementation of the educational reform in 1998, no studies on the evolution of the treatment of cultural, religious, and ethnic diversity in teaching materials have been conducted. However, an examination of some of the history books in current use indicates that there are increased international perspectives on non-Western societies and cultures, and Quebec-based perspectives on Aboriginal cultures and groups of immigrant origin. A recent study also noted significant progress in depictions of Islam and the Muslim world, although the contribution of the Muslim community in Canada and Quebec is still insufficiently recognized.

Teachers also need training to be able to adapt fully to the new diversity in schools. In this area, reviews are more mixed.²⁰ Since 1995, MELs has made intercultural awareness activities an early requirement for teacher training programs and its framework of competencies for educators contains at least three activities that incorporate an intercultural or anti-racist perspective. The faculties of education at Montreal's two French-language universities have introduced several mandatory courses on ethnic diversity, inequality and discrimination, and developing adapted approaches to teaching. Other courses on teaching History or French to allophone students address these issues, although they are not the main focus. But there is a widespread consensus that current efforts are insufficient or, at least, that their impact on future teachers is not always conclusive. Some student teachers see no connection between these 'theme' courses and their other courses, which are focused on psycho-pedagogical or academic subject-related skills that they consider to be more important. Also, teaching competencies in intercultural matters may not always be adequately reinforced during internships within regular schools.

The MELs, school boards, various government bodies like the Commission des droits de la personne et de la jeunesse, and some community organizations also offer in-service training for teaching staff on topics such as intercultural communication, intervention in multi-ethnic schools, prevention of racism, relations with parents, and reasonable accommodation. However, none of this training is mandatory and it has been criticized for preaching to the converted, that is, to teachers already making major efforts to adapt to cultural diversity.

Other initiatives, aimed at increasing the representation of minority students in teacher training through university education faculties and later among future school teaching staff, are beginning to bear fruit.²¹ This positive development is partly due to the efforts of these bodies to update equal opportunity plans in recruitment and employment. It is also due to the retirement of many teachers and the growing presence of qualified francophones in recent waves of immigration, many of whom take up teaching when they encounter obstacles to practising the professions for which they were initially trained.



OUTCOMES

Linguistic Integration

Overall, three decades of concerted efforts in linguistic integration in Quebec schools have borne positive results.²²

In terms of students' command of the French language, a cohort study of youths who started secondary school between 1994 and 1996 found that students of immigrant origin had a success rate of 85.1 per cent in French, while the Quebec student body had an overall success rate of 89.6 per cent. Average marks were within the same range, at 73.4 per cent for youths born abroad and 76.2 per cent for Quebec students overall. But these findings should be considered with two caveats in mind. First, because this exam is administered at the end of secondary school, the participation rate for students of immigrant origin was 10 points lower than that of the student population as a whole. Second, success on the exam does not reliably indicate that students have mastered French at the level of complexity required for scholastic success, as indicated by other research on students' linguistic competencies and by the perceptions of teachers, who have identified many of these students' shortcomings.

As for language use in school, the impact of mandatory French-language schooling seems to be well established. A 1999 study conducted in 20 Montreal multi-ethnic elementary and secondary schools confirmed this fact, at a time when the socio-linguistic context was clearly less favourable than it is today. In the 10 elementary schools, observations of informal conversations indicated that French was used between 67.5 per cent and 99.7 per cent of the time (in six of these schools, it was used more than 90 per cent of the time). In the 10 secondary schools, despite the more complex linguistic situation, speaking French also ranked first, with use rates varying from 53.1 per cent to 98.4 per cent. Languages of origin aside, the relative strength of French over English also confirmed an overall trend towards the adoption of French. In elementary schools, the relative strength of French over English varied from 70 per cent to 100 per cent. For secondary schools, the respective rates were 59.9 per cent to 99.3 per cent. Overall, the level of French-language use observed

among students was much higher than expected, that is, higher than their parents' recorded linguistic behaviour (as reported in the Canadian census). Interviews with students also revealed that the most successful approaches to promoting French were those that complemented (and did not oppose) the competencies that students already possessed in other languages.

The choice of language of instruction at the CEGEP level has also been closely studied over the years, since some view it as an important predictor of future behaviour among young people. The statistics indicate a stepwise progression. In the late 1980s, the first allophone student cohorts educated entirely in French chose French-language CEGEPs in over 70 per cent of cases. In the years that followed, that percentage decreased each year, reaching 53.6 per cent in 1999. Since then, the percentage of allophone students choosing French-language CEGEPs has steadily increased, and by 2007 this figure had reached over 63 per cent. Currently, there is no consensus as to why students choose English-language CEGEPs. While some see cause for concern in this choice, viewing it as long-term predictor of language habits, others argue that it is chiefly strategic; young allophones who have acquired a command of French simply wish to acquire English-language skills in CEGEP, something they likely have not been able to do at secondary French-language schools, which are known for their under-performance in this subject.

As for the longer-term impact of French-language schooling, a study conducted by the Conseil de la langue française among a large sampling of anglophones and allophones aged 20 to 35 showed that French was used by 65 per cent of those who had attended French-language schools as the predominant language of their public lives, but by only 36.5 per cent of those educated in English-language schools. Moreover, these positive results did not include young immigrants whose first language was French and whose numbers are increasing. Census data from 2006 on the language most frequently spoken in the home indicate that French is more popular among foreign-born allophone youth in the 15–25 age bracket than it is in older age brackets.

Still, for those who believe that multilingualism will eventually lead to the dominance of English,²³

statistics on the substantial maintenance of languages of origin and the significant ongoing use of English may be read more pessimistically.

Equal Opportunities and Academic Success

The issues of equality of opportunity and of academic success have long been the poor cousins of the debate on the educational integration of youth of immigrant origin in Quebec. But after 2000, these issues gained prominence in public debates. At that point data became much more accurate, thereby qualifying formerly predominantly positive findings. Schools and communities became more aware of problems as many among the immigrant population (even those initially selected as highly employable) experienced downward social mobility. Indeed, 60 per cent of disadvantaged schools on the Island of Montreal are now multi-ethnic schools.

A recent study²⁴ indicated that, in relation to the school population as a whole, students born abroad or whose parents were born abroad entered secondary school with greater academic delay, which continued to accumulate, even when they started at the usual age of entry. They were less likely to obtain a Secondary School Diploma after five years (45.5 per cent versus 57.8 per cent) or even after seven years of schooling (57.4 per cent versus 69 per cent). Fewer of these students took ministerial exams and, as noted above, they had slightly lower success rates and averages in French, but their marks in History and the Physical Sciences were similar to those of the general student population and they had slightly higher marks in English. However, students in this group did seem to show greater resilience since they pursued CEGEP-level studies in proportions similar to that of the student population as a whole (52.8 per cent versus 54.8 per cent). Among the many factors influencing academic success, five were especially important: gender, whether a student was born in Canada or abroad, entry level in the school system, cumulative delay during schooling, and socio-economic status. As regards intergroup differences, the study also documented an especially dramatic situation among students from Black communities. After seven years of secondary school (which should last five years in Quebec), their graduation rate

was 17 percentage points lower than that of the overall population and, among students of West Indian origin whose first language was English or Creole, only four out of ten students graduated from secondary school. These data provide some insight into the prevalent feeling of alienation among this segment of the population, a feeling that found its expression in the 2008 riots that broke out in Montréal-Nord after a police blunder resulted in the death of a local youth.

After the publication of the aforementioned study and its wide dissemination within educational milieus and the communities concerned, a number of measures specifically targeting the Black community were implemented under the aegis of a MELS follow-up committee. Moreover, the government bodies responsible for implementing intervention strategies in underprivileged milieus are now analyzing the specific needs of ethnic communities and developing interventions that are adapted to their situations.

Intercultural Relations at School: Teachers, Parents, and Students

Promoting the recognition of diversity in Quebec schools has been challenging²⁵ and remains a work in progress. But noteworthy progress has been made, including the many initiatives designed to better adapt schools to their communities. In a survey of all Quebec's school principals, over 25 per cent stated that they had implemented various measures on their own initiative and reported over 1,000 successful examples of 'best practices'. The survey also showed that requests for accommodations have remained stable for the past three years and that schools are not as ill-equipped as previously reported, having acquired the necessary tools to cope with community and parental pressures. Thus, on average, 50 per cent of these requests were accepted, slightly less than 25 per cent refused, and alternative solutions were found in just over 25 per cent of cases. Significantly, despite widespread stereotypes, requests for accommodation do not come exclusively from newly arrived immigrants or Muslims. Two-thirds of these requests come from Christians and Jehovah Witnesses (many of whom are long-established Quebecers) and one-third come from Muslims.

Nevertheless, a number of stakeholders in education still harbour reservations about the impact of adapting to diversity. In the short term, they are worried about the potential conflicts between some of the accommodation measures taken and the requirements of the Education Act regarding school attendance, academic programs, or student safety. They are also questioning whether providing 'too much' accommodation could have longer-term consequences on sharing common values, creating social cohesion, or ensuring a broader inclusion of minority youth. In recent years, in Quebec as elsewhere, Muslims have become emblematic figures for many people's fears surrounding cultural and societal identity. The adaptability of Muslim families and students to sharing the common values promoted by the school system is therefore perceived by some as being problematic.

Meanwhile, although many teachers do address human rights and intercultural relations issues in their classrooms on an ad hoc basis, some research indicates that many others still resist introducing a full-scale intercultural perspective into the curriculum.²⁶ For example, according to a survey conducted across a large sample of francophone teachers in Montreal, Vancouver, and Toronto, their overriding objectives were to integrate students into the host and school cultures and to ensure their academic success. Thus, differences were often implicitly recognized by teachers, who adapted their teaching strategies to their students. But expressly acknowledging differences by making changes to programs and instructional content was a rarer occurrence. Anti-racist interventions mainly consisted of crisis management and ad hoc conflict resolution. Course material on racism tended to focus on events elsewhere in the world rather than the dynamics experienced within the province or within schools. It is true that many of these findings could be applied to any multi-ethnic society. But other research, analyzing the discourse of Quebec teachers of French-Canadian origin shows varying degrees of defensiveness related to their minority status in Canada and within North America and/or their concerns as a fragile majority (one that has fought long, hard battles to achieve linguistic and economic recognition, even within Quebec). Thus, adapting to diversity is seen by some teachers as a threat to 'traditional'

Quebec identity. Their discourse also conveys civic concerns and stresses the need to defend values such as gender equality and democracy.

Research among youth generally confirms this glass half-empty/half-full assessment. A 1995 survey, conducted among some 2,800 Montreal secondary school students, showed that they generally shared the values of 'liberal individualism' and 'democratic egalitarianism'. Primarily, these students identified as youth and maintained a critical distance from the values of their parents, notably in inter-ethnic relations. The students of immigrant origin felt strongly about being part of Quebec society, albeit less so than third-generation students. Similarly, a more recent study found that both groups converged more than they diverged in their opinions on priority social problems and their definition of citizenship. Where differences did exist, they were more likely linked to socio-economic status than to ethnic identity.²⁷

These positive trends do not mean that the blueprint (implicit among many proponents of Bill 101) to turn the children of immigrants into *Québécois d'abord et avant tout* ('Quebecers first and foremost') has actually come to fruition. Actually, many studies show that identifying as a Quebecer still ranks lower than identifying as a Canadian for most of these allophone 'children of Bill 101'. Some nationalist public figures believe that this trend reflects Quebec's ambiguous political status within Canada and can only be rectified if Quebec achieves its independence. Others view this situation differently. They contend that Canadian identity is positively linked with cultural and linguistic diversity, whereas a Quebec identity continues to be associated more exclusively with a French-Canadian heritage. Thus, many youth of immigrant origin who conduct their public lives in French, enthusiastically embrace many aspects of Quebec culture, and possess little knowledge of other Canadian provinces still tend to identify as Canadians first and foremost, an identity which they view as being more open and civic-minded and hence more apt to include them.²⁸ Whatever the case, any attempt to assess the impact of schooling on identity-formation processes would be presumptuous, given the multiplicity of influences on young people's identities and the fact that institutional change is still relatively new in Quebec.

LISE COUPAL: JUST AN ORDINARY TEACHER?

Lise Coupal in her classroom



Photographer: Michel La Veaux.
Les Films du 3 Mars.

Born in 1953 to a middle-class family, Lise Coupal grew up in Villeray, a working-class francophone neighbourhood in Montreal. From as far back as she can remember, she dreamed of becoming a teacher. Following her studies at CÉGEP Ahuntsic, she attended the Faculty of Education at Université du Québec à Montréal, where she earned her bachelor's degree in 1980. After working for a few years as a preschool teacher for 4-year-olds in a community setting, she joined the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal as a welcoming class teacher for immigrant children in 1988. When Quebec's confessional school boards became linguistic school boards, she began teaching regular classes with the Commission scolaire de Montréal.

Since 2000, Lise Coupal has taught Grade One at École Barthélemy-Vimont, one of Montreal's most multi-ethnic schools, where she plans to spend the remainder of her teaching career. Every year, Coupal says she relives the special magic of Grade One, the year when she believes the metamorphosis in students is most remarkable. She also feels that teaching in a multi-ethnic setting is easier than in a more homogeneous student population. Coupal particularly appreciates the respect that parents and children show the teachers, and the importance they ascribe to education.

Transforming a public institution like a school into a welcoming, pluralistic learning environment does not just happen from the top down. It requires patience and persistency from a host of front-line participants. Lise Coupal, also known as 'Madame

Lise' is a teacher who possesses both of these qualities, in abundance. In fact, when she and her 20 students starred in a film called *La classe de Madame Lise*, it won the 2006 award for best documentary at the Jutras (Quebec's modest equivalent of the Oscars). Here is our adaptation of what *La Presse* (North America's foremost French-language daily) had to say about Madame Lise's classroom:

The Incredible Madame Lise

In Lise Coupal's classroom, you won't find many Carolines or Jean-Mathieus. The desks in her class are occupied by students with names like Adnan, Noura, Furkans, Tajinder, Sumbbal, and Hatyum. Documentary filmmaker Sylvie Groulx followed this École Barthélemy-Vimont elementary school teacher and her class of about 20 first grade students throughout the school year in Montreal's Parc-Extension neighbourhood. In her film, *La Classe de Madame Lise*, she showed that when you learn your ABCs with Madame Lise, you also learn a great deal about different cultures.

'I've never had a White Catholic class with names like Bouchard or Tremblay,' says Lise Coupal. Seated in her classroom in front of some Lilliputian desks, this devoted teacher speaks with pride about her school, where cultures mix like the multicoloured lines on the students' little rulers.

'When Sylvie Groulx walked into the school yard she was impressed by the number of nationalities she found, all together in one place,' says Lise Coupal. She reaches into the closet and takes out an imposing calendar of the cultural and religious holidays celebrated by her students. École Barthélemy-Vimont brings together students of almost 80 different ethnic origins, who speak in 30 different languages.

The small film crew came to visit Lise Coupal's class about 30 times between September and June. 'After a while, the students and I forgot about the camera completely,' says Coupal. A very discreet cameraperson succeeded in capturing some precious private moments between the teacher and her students, who were experiencing difficulties.



'I knew when I came here that people would see my method and criticize it,' she says. 'But I decided to take the plunge just the same.' Although, as she says, she plays the role of nurse, psychologist, and mother for her students, her real challenge remains teaching French and reading. 'The biggest challenge comes when parents don't speak French,' she explains. 'In those kinds of cases, I ask their older brothers or sisters to be my interpreters.' Some of Lise Coupal's students go to school on Saturdays to learn their parents' languages, like Chinese. Others study Arabic, Vietnamese, or Spanish at noon hour.

'What I like about first grade is discovering reading. I have the privilege of being part of this important moment in their lives,' says Coupal.

It has been said that École Barthélemy-Vimont is one of the most underprivileged schools in one of

Montreal's most violent neighbourhoods. 'I don't believe that there is any more violence here than there is elsewhere,' says Coupal. 'That would be a distorted image of the neighbourhood.'

Coupal once turned down an offer to go teach elsewhere. After 18 years of teaching, she has difficulty understanding why young people become violent. 'When children come to my class they aren't violent. Why does it change when they turn 14 or 15? I often ask myself that question.'

When you meet her, it is easy to guess why Lise Coupal was chosen for a documentary film. Madame Lise is the ideal school teacher. Smiling, affectionate, strict but not disagreeable. With her, anyone would want to get an 'A' in every subject.

'Today' says Coupal, 'I have a great deal of difficulty hearing close-minded ideas about immigrants.'

CONCLUSION

Quebec's traditionally homogeneous French-language education system has undergone some radical changes over the past 30 years and continues to be shaped by public policies geared toward promoting French and openness to ethno-cultural diversity. The province has come a long way and now compares favourably with other immigrant-receiving societies. Nevertheless, many challenges lie ahead. Among other things, the marginalization of some ethnic groups, and most especially that of the Black community, must be better understood and actively prevented. Adapting to

religious diversity, still a source of tension for some, will also have to be further addressed. Quebec's educational system is relatively well positioned to meet these challenges, now that it can draw upon the major policy frameworks developed by the government and upon the expertise developed by many front-line participants. Still, given the current context, in which intercultural conflict is growing in many areas around the globe and in which globalization could jeopardize some gains (notably regarding language rights), only time will tell to what extent the theories of the optimists or of the pessimists will prevail.

QUESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION

1. To what extent should diversity be taken into consideration in schools?
2. What do you think are the main strengths and weaknesses of the measures taken in the integration of immigrant students and in intercultural education?
3. What results have been achieved in the integration of immigrant students and in intercultural education?
4. Do you think that Quebec's experience in adapting to ethno-cultural diversity is specific to the context and challenges of its society? How are Quebec's experiences similar or different to those in the United States or the rest of Canada?

NOTES

- Students whose first language is neither French nor English.
- Under Bill 101, in addition to the traditional anglophone community, English-language schools are also attended by students from Quebec's established communities of immigrant origin, the majority of whom are at least third-generation denizens. However, the transformation of English-language institutions (among other things, through the introduction of French-immersion schools), which took place in the wake of the new linguistic dynamics in Quebec, would clearly warrant further attention as a case study unto itself.
- See chapters 12, 13, and 14.
- Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés Culturelles, *Let's Build Quebec Together: Vision: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* (Montreal: Direction des communications, 1990); Marie McAndrew, 'Quebec Immigration, Integration and Intercultural Policy: A Critical Assessment', *Indian Journal of Federal Studies* 15, 1 (2007): 1–18; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, *Tableaux sur l'immigration au Québec 2003–2007* (2008).
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- Danielle Juteau, Marie McAndrew, and Linda Pietrantonio, 'Multiculturalism à la Canadian et intégration à la Québécoise: Transcending their limits', in Rainer Bauboeck and John Rundell, eds, *Blurred Boundaries: Migration, Ethnicity and Citizenship* (Aldershot: Ashgate / European Centre Vienna, 1998) 95–110; Daniel Salée, 'The Quebec State and the Management of Ethnocultural Diversity: Perspectives on an Ambiguous Record', in K. Banting, T.J. Courchesne, and F.L. Seidle, eds, *Belonging? Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada* (Montreal: IRPP, 2007), 105–42.
- For an overview of policy development and the surrounding debates, see Chapter 17.
- Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec, *A School for the Future: Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education—A New Direction for Success* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 1998); McAndrew, *Immigration et diversité*.
- J. Mallea, *Quebec's Language Policy: Background and Responses* (Quebec: CIRB, 1977); Marc V. Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990).
- Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, *L'effectif scolaire à temps plein et à temps partiel du secteur des jeunes (2003–2004 à 2007–2008) selon la langue maternelle (regroupée) et la langue d'enseignement, par région administrative et sexe* (Table 8) (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 2008).
- Marie McAndrew, 'La loi 101 en milieu scolaire : impacts et résultats', *Revue d'aménagement linguistique*, numéro hors-série, (2002): 69–83; G. Larose, *Le français, une langue pour tout le monde* (Montreal: Commission des États généraux sur la langue française, 2001); Marie McAndrew, 'Le remplacement du marqueur linguistique par le marqueur religieux en milieu scolaire', in Jean Renaud, Linda Pietrantonio, and Guy Bourgeault, eds, *Ce qui a changé depuis le 11 septembre 2001 : les relations ethniques en question* (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2002) 131–48.
- Between secondary school (which ends at about age 16) and university, Quebec's school system provides an intermediate academic institution commonly referred to as CEGEP (collège d'enseignement général et professionnel) where most students study between the ages of 16 to 18. CEGEPs are somewhat akin to US community colleges, although according to international standards, they do not constitute a form of post-secondary education.
- It is through this concept (now tainted by its overuse in the media) that Canadian jurisprudence has designated exceptions to be granted by public and private institutions to handicapped persons or members of minority groups, for whom apparently neutral or universal standards and practices effectively constitute a form of indirect discrimination.
- Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation* (Quebec: The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences [CCAPRC] 2008), final report available at www.accommodements.qc.ca/documentation/rapports/rapport-final-integral-en.pdf; Jocelyn McClure, 'Le malaise relatif aux pratiques d'accommodement de la diversité religieuse: une thèse interprétative' in Marie McAndrew et al., eds, *L'accommodement raisonnable et la diversité religieuse à l'école publique. Normes et pratiques* (Montreal: Fides, 2008), 215–42.
- A kirpan is a metal dagger with a curved blade. Kirpans vary in length, but may be several centimetres long and are carried in a scabbard attached to a belt worn over the shoulder.
- Marie McAndrew, *Immigration et diversité*; Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, *Statistiques de l'éducation : Enseignement primaire, secondaire, collégial et universitaire* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 2007).
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18. Ministère de l'Éducation, *Quebec Schools on Course: Educational Policy Statement* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 1997); Ministère de l'Éducation, *Quebec Education Program: Preschool Education—Elementary Education* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 2001); Ministère de l'Éducation, *Quebec Education Program: Secondary School Education, Cycle One* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 2004); Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, *Establishment of an Ethics and Religious Culture Program: Providing Future Direction for all Quebec Youth* (Quebec: Government of Quebec, 2005).
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21. Fasal Kanouté, J. Hohl, and N. Chamlian, 'Les étudiants allophones dans les programmes de premier cycle de la Faculté des sciences de l'éducation de l'Université de Montréal', in D. Mujawamariya, ed, *L'intégration des minorités visibles et ethnoculturelles dans la profession enseignante* (Outremont: Les Éditions Logiques, 2002), 183–201.
22. Marie McAndrew, 'La réussite éducative des élèves issus de l'immigration: enfin au cœur du débat sur l'intégration?', *Options CSQ* (2006): 109–28; McAndrew, 'La loi 101 en milieu scolaire'; Marie McAndrew, Mathieu Jodoin, Michel Pagé, and J. Rossell, 'L'aptitude au français des élèves montréalais d'origine immigrée: impact de la densité ethnique de l'école, du taux de francisation associé à la langue maternelle et de l'ancienneté d'implantation', *Cahiers québécois de démographie* 29,1 (2000): 89–118; M. McAndrew, 'Cégeps: des nuances s'imposent. Avant de conclure à l'échec de la loi 101, il y a tout un pas à ne pas franchir', *La Presse*, 25 January 2008.
23. Catherine Girard-Lamoureux, *La langue d'usage public des allophones scolarisés au Québec* (Quebec: Conseil supérieur de la langue française, 2004); Statistics Canada, *Le portrait linguistique en évolution, Recensement de 2006: Évolution de la situation linguistique au Québec*, 'Analyses' series, 2007.
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27. Michel Pagé, Marie McAndrew, and Mathieu Jodoin, *Vécu scolaire et social des élèves scolarisés dans les écoles secondaires de langue française de l'île de Montréal*, Research report (Montreal: Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'Immigration du Québec, 1997); A. Laperrière and P. Dumont, *La citoyenneté chez de jeunes Montréalais: vécu scolaire et représentations de la société*, Research report (Montreal: GREAPE, Université de Montréal, 2000).
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RELEVANT WEBSITES

CANADA RESEARCH CHAIR IN EDUCATION AND ETHNIC RELATIONS: www.chereum.umontreal.ca/

MONTREAL SCHOOL BOARD: www.csdm.qc.ca/csdm/index.asp

MINISTÈRE DE L'ÉDUCATION, DU LOISIR ET DU SPORT DU QUÉBEC (MELS): www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/

METROPLIS WEBSITE: http://im.metropolis.net/frameset_e.html

An international network for comparative research and public policy development on migration, diversity, and immigrant integration in cities in Canada and around the world.

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