A National Identity in Transformation

- Reconciling Minority Nationalism with Immigration in Quebec

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the situation for immigrants within the context of minority nationalism. With the help of theories on nationalism and multiculturalism, a case-study has been conducted on the case of Quebec. The material used consists of academic books and journals, as well as primary sources from the Canadian government and the government of Quebec.

Quebec has had a major influx of immigrants and is actively seeking to integrate these into the Quebecois nation. Doing so has meant a transformation of the predominant articulations of a national identity which stressed the ethnic background of French Canadians, to a focus on territory and language. Through a policy of interculturalism and linguistic policies, the aim is to integrate immigrants into a pluralistic, Francophone society unified by French as the language of public communications. It will be argued that Quebec has come a long way towards a more inclusive notion of nationhood. However, the focus on language and the collective goal of survival of Francophone Quebec unavoidably mean promotion of the dominant culture.

Key words: Quebec, minority nationalism, multiculturalism, linguistic policy, immigration.
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1 Introduction

Nationalism and the demands of minority groups for autonomy are popular themes in political science research, as well as in the media. In many countries that we think of as stable nation-states there are minority groups who define themselves as separate nations, with more or less outspoken demands for self-determination. However, the processes of globalization have resulted in the arrival of an increasing number of immigrants to many areas where such groups have traditionally formed a majority. The common denominator with minority nationalism and immigration is that they bring a challenge to the nation-state. At the same time, these phenomena can contradict each other. A large number of immigrants to areas where a minority group has dominated interrupt the homogeneity that is often put in the frontline of identity constructions and political demands (Kymlicka 2001:62f).

Canada and the debate concerning Quebec is an especially interesting example to this problem. Parallel to the historically embedded division between Francophone and Anglophone populations and to the marginalization of indigenous groups, the country has been characterized by a very heterogeneous population with different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. As a response to an ethnically diverse population, a policy of multiculturalism has been given a central position in the Canadian nation-building project, and the celebration of diversity is claimed to contribute to a specific Canadian identity. This, however, poses a problem for those who see Quebec as a nation of its own. By portraying Canada as a mosaic where Francophone Quebec is equal to other minorities, little room is left for nationalist demands (McRoberts 2001:703-707).

With the exception of native groups, which have been strongly marginalized, Quebec has long differed from other Canadian provinces in that it has had a fairly homogenous, French-speaking majority. Globalization has had an impact here as well though, as the demographic map is transforming through immigration. Interestingly, this has taken place at the same time that the Francophone-nationalist movement has gained more and more political power. Rejecting multiculturalism, the government of Quebec has adopted a policy of interculturalisme where the French language is portrayed as the core of a national identity that everyone can have access to, regardless of ethnic and cultural background (Oakes 2004:541).
1.1 Formulation of Problem and Statement of Purpose

Since minority nationalism and immigration are both central political dilemmas in a globalized world, it is relevant to study how these function when put into the same equation. The purpose of this paper is to approach this problem by studying a case where both issues have dominated recent political debates. Traditionally, the nationalist movement of Quebec has claimed to represent a people of a certain ethnic descent. However, a decrease in fertility rate combined with an increase in immigration has resulted in policies and a political discourse claimed to be more civic in nature and thereby, it is argued, more welcoming to people of other ethnic backgrounds.

The main question of this paper therefore concerns the situation for minorities in Quebec in the shadow of an on-going nation-building project. This is, of course, a very wide issue and a number of different actors, processes and political levels could be studied. For practical reasons the following analysis will be narrowed down to the political discourse, with a focus on the policies of the provincial government. “Minorities,” in this case, refers to people who have immigrated and who are of a different ethnic or cultural background than the French or the British.

In order to answer the overall question regarding the situation for minorities in Quebec, the analysis will be structured around three interrelated questions. The first is intended to pin down the general problem of reconciling minority-nationalism with the arrival of immigrants. This will be followed by a second question, analyzing the official response. Finally, the last question has been added to the analysis in order to provide a somewhat more concrete illustration of how the combination of minority nationalism and immigration has worked out in Quebec, by looking at an issue that has gained a lot of political and public attention.

- Is the predominant articulation of the Quebecois national identity open to people of different ethnic backgrounds?
- How does the official policy on immigration in Quebec relate to the Canadian policy of multiculturalism?
- How does the policy of educational language in Quebec illustrate the consequences that the predominant articulation of national identity and the policy of immigration in the province have for inhabitants of different ethnic backgrounds?

1.2 Method and Material

In approaching the general problem of reconciling minority nationalism with immigration, this analysis will be structured as a qualitative case study of Quebec, a place where both these issues have had considerable impact on society. However,
most case studies also include a degree of comparison in order to reach better validity when identifying causal factors (Esaiasson et al 2003:119-20). In the following discussion, some attention has been paid to Federal Canada. Apart from providing background information, doing so is also necessary in order to explain the certain context of a minority nation. On many accounts, looking at immigration levels and policy programs concerned with integration, Quebec and Canada are showing a growing resemblance. However, there is a great difference in the impact that Quebec’s concern for survival as a minority nation has on the political discourse. Thus, although what follows is not a comparative study of Canada and Quebec, a certain focus will be put on both these cases in reference to each other.

Studying and narrowing down such an abstract concept as national identity is, naturally, a complicated task as the phenomenon is very much open to individual interpretation. However, it is the concern of this paper to study the general trends, rather than the minor details. In doing so, two different types of sources will be used. The case of Quebec and its relation to Canada has been subject to extensive research, resulting in a large body of academic journals and literature of which some will be used to set up the analysis. Second, primary material from the government of Canada and the provincial government of Quebec, such as policy statements, legal provisions and action plans, will be included. Alternatively, newspapers as well as material taken from political parties could have been used in order to capture the public opinion. Considering the limited amount of pages, an intentional focus will be put on the official policies, which explains the selection of primary material.

The primary intention of this paper is not to test the validity of a certain theory. Thus, although playing an important role, a theoretical framework has been chosen guided by its relevance to the specific case. Consequently, the following can be defined as theory consuming analysis (Esaiasson et al 2003:40-1).

Finally, something should be said about the time-frame. During the last fifty years or so, Quebec has undergone profound societal changes that are of great significance to these questions. For that reason, although the main concern of this paper is the current situation, some reference will be made to the recent historic development.

1.3 Outline of the Study

The paper will begin in chapter two with a discussion on relevant theories. The analysis that follows will be broadly structured around the three questions that have been posed in the introductory part of this paper. Thus, in chapter three the nature of a Quebeçois national identity will be addressed. In order to better capture this question, the chapter will be initiated with a brief overview of the ideological and political development towards more outspoken demands for a Quebeçois nation-state that has taken place since the 1960’s.

Chapter four will be divided into two parts. The first section aims to discuss the Quebeçois response to the Canadian policy of multiculturalism, whereas the
second will discuss the dilemma that the linguistic legislation of Quebec constitutes. However, it needs to be remembered that these questions are all interrelated and therefore it follows that the attempts to clarify and, to the extent possible, provide answers to one of these cannot be seen as separate from the other. Thus, the paper will be completed with a concluding discussion in chapter five with the purpose of highlighting the inextricable links.
2 Theoretical Framework

As this analysis is intended to connect some political issues generally studied separately, there are a number of different theories and concepts of relevance to be drawn from the field of political science. The aim of this chapter is therefore to tie together some of these in order to create a framework through which this problem can be approached. Theories on multiculturalism, as well theories on nationalism, in this case referring to minority nationalism, will be included. Because the specific case that will be studied is Quebec, where the language problem has been given a central position in the political debate, some emphasis will be put on language in theories of multiculturalism and nationalism.

One aspect these theories have in common is a constant referral to identity and identity constructions. The idea of nationhood and of national identities is in many ways seen as something natural that is not reflected upon, at the same time that it is constantly reproduced in everyday life (Billig 1995:7-8). Identity is also an integral part of multiculturalism as this line of theory deals with diversity and differences set around a number of cultural practices and beliefs that shape how people perceive themselves and others (Parekh 2000:1-3). Although identities in this paper are not understood to be fixed, but rather socially constructed, what these theories show is the significance that the tendencies to think in terms of cultural and national identities have for the citizens’ understanding of their roles in society.

2.1 Nationalism

2.1.1 Nationalism and the National Identity

This paper rests on an understanding of national identities and nations as socially constructed concepts, which has been argued by Benedict Anderson in his discussion on imagined communities. As Anderson shows, the idea of a nation arose at a certain point in history. Rather than merely serving as a form of political organization, it appeals to fundamental needs of belonging and has become central to the formulation of collective identities (Anderson 1983).

To claim that national identities are socially constructed is not to say that they are not important or that they are perceived as less real by those who are included in them. Rather, the formulation of a national identity has the function of tying together millions of people, for whom it is impossible to all know each other, and of
creating an emotional bond between past and future generations. It becomes the base for a feeling of community and belonging, and makes people gather around a collective self-image (Parekh 2000:230-1). The idea of nationhood draws upon the mechanism of a collective memory that works as a significant factor of identity construction. In many cases, the notion of a shared past serves as the most powerful marker of belonging displayed in the idea of a nation (Griffin 1984:20-1). National identities are often illustrated through myths and stories about a common origin, and the fact that many believe in these turns the nation into something concrete. Furthermore non-national social relations take place within the framework of the nation, and therefore make the life of the individual depend on the survival of that nation (Özkirimli 2000:222-4).

However, it is important to remember that national identity is not a fixed concept. Different individuals, although they may identify some common values, may have different ideas on what constitutes the nation. Consequently, the general self-representation of a group of people identified as a nation may change somewhat as time goes by (Seymour 2000:229).

In contemporary theory, the term nationalism is usually treated as a political phenomenon, albeit connected to the social, cultural and economic development. Through nationalism, the idea of collective identities forms the basis for political organization (Farrands 1996:7). However, nationalism and national identities are about more than politics. As Billig argues, the idea of national belonging has become such a common feature of the contemporary world that it is rarely questioned. Instead the concept of the nation-state is repeatedly reproduced in everyday-life through such ordinary symbols as the use of a national flag and the division of the news into national and international. Such symbols become more or less unnoticed markers of belonging (Billig 1995). Problems may arise, however, when people feel this is somehow being threatened. Feelings of insecurity as a result of the changes in a globalizing world, for example, is held to enhance the need for individuals to identify themselves with a community that think of others in terms of exclusion. Claiming that national stability and unity is at risk may in this context be a possible negative response to, for example, increased immigration (Kinnvall 2004).

2.1.2 Ethnic and Civic Nationalism

The prospects for a stable multicultural society are often deemed better in societies which represent a civic form of nationalism as opposed to so called ethnic nationalism. As the name implies, a shared ethnicity is a significant characteristic of a nation from the point of view of ethnic nationalism, whereas civic nationalism is based on seemingly more neutral values and institutions, such as constitutional rights. Although few, if any, nationalist movements can be strictly described as either civic or ethnic in nature, an overall distinction between these ideal types of nationalism can be summarized by looking at their view on identity formation. What constitutes ethnicity has been defined differently by different theorists but there is an agreement that membership in an ethnic nation is based on *ascriptive*
criteria where the individuals share some given (rather than chosen) characteristics, that contribute to the perceived collective identity. Hence, the ethnic identity is the basis for political organization of a nation (Keating 2001b:3-9).

In arguing for the importance of ethnicity in any theory of nationalism, Connor claims that the idea of kinship and a common ancestry explains the psychological bond of the nation. The ethnic identity, as defined by Connor, can be celebrated by cultural features such as language or religion, but these phenomena as such do not constitute ethnicity. Instead ethnicity, the idea of a common ancestry, is what makes the nation unique and explains the difference between a group of people that think of themselves as a nation and of a group that can be defined as a minority (Connor 1994:74-5, 100-3).

The high emphasis on ethnicity in Connor’s analysis is criticized by Oomen who identifies the central criterion of a nation as the fusion between language and territory, making the ethnic component less central. Thus, it is not ethnic origin per se that creates a feeling of community, but the belief that the people have a moral right to a homeland. In order for this feeling to remain, the people need to be able to communicate with each other. According to Oomen, a common language can be an efficient tool for consolidating a nation. By linking the language to a specific territory, over which a group of people makes a moral claim, the basis for communication is provided and at the same time a common life-style can emerge. Problems arise, however, through the tendency of stating that there is an eternal attachment between a certain group of people and a language. Such interpretation of the meaning of language constitutes an obstacle to abandoning the unsustainable idea of the nation as a homogenous group (Oomen 1997:45,198-203).

In contrast to an ethnic nation, membership in a civic nation is based on an acquired identity manifested in common values, practices, institutions and social interactions. The typical case generally referred to when discussing civic nationalism is United States, where the foundation of nationhood is to be found in the doctrine of the constitution, as opposed to in the ethnic background of the people. In theory, the fact that the national identity is not based on a myth of common descent, a civic nation is open to everyone regardless of ethnic origin although the focus on civic values does not necessarily guarantee peacefulness or tolerance. Most nationalist movements, however, make use of both ethnic and civic arguments depending on the context. The former are in many ways more effective in the way they appeal to the emotions of the people who see themselves as part of a certain ethnicity, whereas the latter are potentially more inclusive and thereby able to reach out to a higher number of people and to acquire international recognition (Keating 2001b:3-9).

2.1.3 Minority Nationalism- Introducing the Concept

A special case of nationalism is represented by national minorities, also defined as minority nations. The term minority nationalism requires an understanding of a nation as a group that is not necessarily represented in a state of its own. While such groups may differ greatly in the type of demands forwarded, their key com-
ponents can be identified as identity and territory. According to Keating, “It is the relationship between the felt identity or ‘ethnicity’ and territory that creates the issue of nationalism, with sometimes one being stronger, sometimes the other” (Keating 2001a:22-3). The difference between nationalist conflicts and ethnic conflicts that cannot be defined as nationalist is therefore the question of territory and which state this belongs to. Even so, it is important to remember that the level and type of self-determination sought varies between different groups as well as internally. Apart from political demands of this kind, a minority nationalist group may to different degrees emphasize cultural or economic issues. In the case of cultural demands, a perceived need to ensure the survival of a language is often voiced (Keating 2001a:25).

The different demands forwarded by minority nations are based on the understanding that they cannot survive as a culture without a certain control in areas such as education, language, government employment and immigration. In order to exercise this type of control, there needs to be a political body of power, controlled by the minority nation, through which processes of decision-making can take place. The reason why integration into the dominant culture is so heavily resisted by minority nations, sometimes even to the point where it leads to violent conflicts, is that these groups have through the past developed a distinct society that is very much alive and functioning. Thus, in comparison to other minorities, these groups resist nation-building from the dominant society more strongly because their own language and traditions are already institutionalized in a number of areas (Kymlicka 1998:30-1, 33).

2.1.4 Minority Nationalism and Immigration- From Ethnic to Civic Values?

According to Kymlicka, minority nationalism is often described as particularly ethnic, even xenophobic in nature, and therefore more problematic for the integration of immigrants. Instead he argues that, despite the fact that people who affiliate with a national minority often feel threatened by the arrival of immigrants, there are many cases of minority nationalist groups who have adjusted to the new situation by redefining themselves in more civic terms (Kymlicka 2001). The argument is supported by Keating who claims that this has in fact been the case with many of the movements of what he calls “new minority nationalisms,” that is, minority nationalist groups of the modern era where globalization processes have transformed society and the citizens so that exclusive notions of identity are no longer dominating (Keating 2001b:63).

By moving away from an ethnic model of the nation, stronger opportunities are given for the new citizens to integrate while still maintaining their cultures and traditions. In referring to the case of Quebec, Kymlicka points to how decreasing fertility rates in combination with increasing immigration have caused minority nations to transform their self-conception to be more inclusive, so as to strengthen their position towards the state. Integrating immigrants into the minority-nation is seen as necessary in order to avoid being outnumbered by newcomers who choose
to learn the language of the dominating culture, and who have less reason for supporting nationalist demands. Yet to succeed in this, Kymlicka argues, a minority nation may have to implement some more drastic policies, that may be considered illiberal, than what would be necessary for a majority nation. Integrating immigrants into the nation by making language the symbol of nationhood may, for example, require strict regulation in order to guarantee that immigrants (and “original” members as well) actually learn and use the language of the minority nation (Kymlicka 2001).

However, even if legislation of this kind would be accepted as legitimate, the possibilities for a minority nation to be defined as a hundred percent civic could be questioned. As mentioned above, nationalist movements often make use of both arguments that are more ethnic in nature and those which are more civic. Furthermore, whether or not any values celebrated through nation-building are ever completely “ethnically neutral” can also be discussed. Language is a clear example to this. Historically, both language and ethnicity have been two central and mutually reinforcing values in nationalist ideology. For example, Hobsbawm argues that the concept of nation often was seen as analogous to race, and the national language therefore came to symbolize people of a certain ethnicity. (Hobsbawm 1994:177-84).

Ascribing language a uniquely civic value, which is often done in discussions on linguistic forms of nationalism, is problematic as the attention often paid to language in a nationalist discourse clearly has to do with more than its communicational values. This line of argument is also forwarded by Oakes who claim that language can work as an inclusive component through which immigrants and the old members of a minority nation can integrate, but that it cannot be completely de-ethnicized. Promoting a national language unavoidably means promoting the mother-tongue and by extension the culture of the dominating group. In ethnic models of nationalism a national language is often used to show the bond between people who are connected by a number of criteria believed to make up a collective identity. Even if she applies more of a social constructionist approach to identities and nationhood, Oakes argues that a national language totally disconnected from its cultural value becomes meaningless and a very hollow foundation for a national identity (Oakes 2004).

While it seems arguable that minority-nations can emphasize civic values to open up room for people of different backgrounds, altogether erasing ethnicity from the equation does not seem realistic. From such a perspective, spreading the language to immigrants may lead to fear of linguistic decline. Hobsbawm points out that arguments claiming that the language needs to be protected from foreign influence, comparable to arguments on racial purity, can often be heard (Hobsbawm 1994:182).

Furthermore, these steps do not offer a solution for convincing those individuals who still believe ethnicity is integral to nationhood. What this points to is the dilemma on how, and possibly even if, immigrants should be encouraged to integrate into the nation without being forced to abandon their traditions and cultural practices. This problem is central to the discussion on policies of multiculturalism which will be the topic of the following section.
2.2 Multiculturalism

2.2.1 The Politics of Difference

Some states, Canada being one of the more famous examples, have responded to a diverse population by adopting a pluralistic policy of multiculturalism. Parekh summarizes multiculturalism to be “...about cultural diversity or culturally embedded differences.” (Parekh 2000:3). Multiculturalism as a political and ideological strategy responds to diversity by celebrating and welcoming the existence of more than one cultural community into the same society. Such a strategy draws upon the realization that people can not only be discriminated through politics or economic oppression, but also through cultural marginalization. Culture is thus not separated from politics. Instead, the respect for one’s culture needs to be assured in order for the principle of equal citizenship to be fulfilled (Parekh 2000:5-8).

In practice, the policy of multiculturalism means that there is only a minimum requirement for the citizens to participate in the official political culture (Delanty 2002:169). The profound dilemma in a multicultural society is how to find a balance between the need to create societal unity and stability necessary for society to function, and the need to respect all citizens by recognizing different culturally derived values and practices. From the perspective of multiculturalism, finding such a balance is not feasible if an assimilationist view of the nation, where minorities are not free to choose the extent to which they wish to adopt a common national culture, is applied (Parekh 2000:196-7). Furthermore, multiculturalism proposes that a democracy strictly structured around individual rights, disregarding cultural identities altogether, fails to recognize the unequal starting points of different individuals due to their cultural or ethnic belonging. The approach of classic liberalism, where the individual as an equal citizen, protected by civic rights, is in the centre tends to ignore this. Hence, multiculturalism is often referred to as politics of difference or politics of recognition. The message here is that cultural differences have to be recognized in order for problems of discrimination and exclusion to be overcome, and for universal equality to be achieved (Taylor 1994). The demands for recognition have resulted in a higher emphasis on primary collective rights in multicultural societies. That is, rights that are exercised by a certain collectivity at large, or by individuals based on their belonging to that collectivity. Acknowledging such rights means facing the dilemma of deciding which rights should or should not be granted to a certain group (Parekh 2000:213-9).
2.2.2 Criticism against Policies of Multiculturalism

Recognizing that minority groups are structurally disadvantaged and may need protection is a complicated issue. The challenge in terms of integration is to encourage all citizens to be politically active in a all matters of concern for society as a whole, and not just when it comes to group-specific issues (Williams 2003:6). Multiculturalism as a policy has been criticized for a number of reasons but the one of most concern here is the charges that it tends to overemphasize differences, therefore preventing both integration and national unity. The critics argue that rather than highlighting differences, one needs to emphasize the commonalities so as to promote understanding (Juteau et al 1998:102-3).

By rejecting multiculturalism, Miller argues the fact that national identity is not a fixed concept, but that its values and points of referral can change over time, makes an inclusive national identity the best option for creating trust and unity between different cultural groups. A national identity which is pluralist in nature offers the best instrument through which citizens of different ethnic backgrounds can make claims on one another for justice and equal treatment. According to Miller there has been a tendency in policies of multiculturalism to disregard the fluidity of ethnic identities and to treat these as more genuine than national identities, which are seen as imposed. Such an approach fails to capture the psychological bond that a national identity constitutes in creating a feeling of community. From the perspective of an immigrant, feeling as a member of the nation is critical for the integration and welcoming into society. The argument Miller stretches is that policies on multiculturalism tend to fix individuals into essentialist cultural categories. These categories prevent integration by ignoring the need for national unity (Miller 1995: chap5).

This type of criticism is countered by Young who charges Miller with mistaking politics of difference for what she defines as “identity politics”. As the name implies, by identity politics she means a politics based on peoples’ group affiliations as constituting the basis for collective identities, manifested in the political arena. In fact, collective identities of these kinds often form the basis for the formulation of collective goals, such as concerns for educational curricula or official language policies, in multicultural politics. However, such an idea fails to recognize the different positioning of individuals within different social groups, as well as the fact that individuals can identify with a plurality of groups simultaneously. The dilemma is often referred to when policies of multiculturalism are criticized for disregarding the inequalities women, to give one example, may suffer within the context of a cultural or ethnic community. Quite the opposite, the goal of a politics of difference is not to divide people into fixed categories, but to realize the connection between the identity of the individual, and the opportunities for equality, is dependent on his/her relationship to a number of different groups (Young 2000: chap 3).

What must not be forgotten in this debate is the goal of multiculturalism, as mentioned above, to come to terms with structural problems of exclusion and inequality. Young argues that in order for a democratic society to function, a thicker meaning of inclusion is needed which not only refers to citizenship but that en-
encourages different groups to participate in the political discourse and voicing their needs. Such an approach also means acknowledging the structural inequalities faced by different individuals (Young 2000:119).

2.2.3 Multicultural Education and Language Rights

Parekh argues that, for a multicultural society to function, an educational system which pays respect to different ethnic or cultural traditions needs to be implemented. This means abandoning the Eurocentric perspective which has been dominating in countries such as the United States, where the aim of public education has been formulated as creating national unity and fostering students into good citizens. For unity to come about, the educational system needs to recognize that the students are not only members of their political communities but also of cultural and ethnic ones. Thus, in order for the students to find a bridge between multiple belongings they need to understand the history, language, social structures, and cultures of these different communities (Parekh 2000:224-230).

A central issue of how to organize education in a multicultural society is that of language. Again, the question at stake here is how to create unity while still respecting differences. Oomen argues that a medium of communication is crucial for a participative polity to function. The strategies have differed in different states, however. Some have worked to assimilate the linguistic minorities into the dominant culture by actively working to eliminate minority languages. Other strategies have resulted in the marginalization of minority languages as these have not been included in formal institutions, such as the education system. A third approach has sought to recognize the co-existence of all languages with a critical minimum of speakers. Oomen gives only a vague answer to the question of which strategy is best used and concludes that this depends on the empirical situation. However, he does argue that rather than attaching symbolic values of nationhood to an official language, it should be regarded as cultural capital for a society to advance. (Oomen 1997:198-203).

While this is not an argument against multilingual states, it does point in favor of those who stress the importance of encouraging immigrants to learn and actually use the dominant language. Such an approach risks falling in the trap of over-emphasizing the instrumental values of language and overlook the value language has for self-identification though. According to Réaume, treating language merely as a tool of communication overlooks the intrinsic value it has to its speakers. One’s mother-tongue is integral to personal identity and has a cultural value due to its function as a marker of belonging. As a consequence, any attempt to create national unity through a public language must guarantee recognition of those languages spoken by minorities. A passive approach that allows people to practice their languages in the private realm is not enough here. What is needed, provided there is a minimum amount of speakers to a language, are government resources being devoted to assure the equal recognition of these languages with the language of the majority. Promoting unilingualism as a means to assure societal unity
runs the risk of having the opposite effect, as the marginalization of minorities is clearly counterproductive if social cohesion is the goal (Réaume 2000:268-272).
3 Quebec- Building a Nation

The past century brought a number of great changes to the people of Quebec. Rapid industrialization and economic expansion started a process of reforming political and social institutions, shifting the power-ratio from the Anglophone minority to the new Francophone elite. The development also had a significant impact on the nationalist discourse as a new formulation of a Quebecois national identity emerged. Having gained acceptance by a large number of people, this identity is still undergoing a transformation and adapting to the demands from groups of different ethnic backgrounds.

3.1 Moving towards a Nationhood- A Brief Overview

3.1.1 The Institutionalization of Quebecois Nationalism

In 1995 the gravity of the claims of a Quebecois nationhood became evident as the quite spectacular results of the second referenda concerning the possible separation of the province from Canada showed that 49.2 of the voters supported sovereignty, with 50.8 per cent against (Oliver 1999:83). Although the problem can be traced in history all the way back to the arrivals of the French and the English settlers, it was not until the late 1950’s, early 1960’s that an understanding of Quebec as a nation of its own really gained ground. During this period Quebec was in the midst of a transformation from a traditionally rural society where the Catholic Church had been one of the major holders of power, into a more urbanized society with a new educated Francophone middle-class that confronted the Anglophone elite and the church. Because of the great ideological changes, as well as changes in political structures, this period is now remembered as the Quiet Revolution (Eller 1999:323-7, McRoberts 1993:128-139).

The new nationalists of the revolution differed from their predecessors in their emphasis on French Quebec rather then French Canada. The idea of Francophone Quebecers sharing a specific identity separate from the Canadian, or even the French Canadian, identity was increasingly accepted inside Quebec. Furthermore, the nationalist movement of this time had adopted a view of the nation for which political institutions and interventions by the Quebec state were central. The result was a centralization of authority and power from the church and the private sector.
to the provincial government, which gained more control and influence in the field of education, health, welfare and electrical utilities (Ibid).

One major issue of conflict in Quebec has been the strong divide of the labor-force following the line of language. Whereas the majority of the Francophone population traditionally was to be found in the lower part of the wage-scale, the higher positions were held by Anglophones and enterprises were controlled by British and Anglophone capital. The Anglophone hegemony was later upheld by the integration of immigrants into the Anglophone sector. This divide was uncontested by the Catholic Church whose major interest was the preservation of religion among the Francophone segment of the population. The social modernization of the 60’s, however, resulted in an expanded bureaucracy dominated by the new Francophone middle-class, turning language into a political issue (Guindon 1988:64, 82). As the following analysis will show, the status of the French language continues to dominate the contemporary political discourse.

The extent to which the rapid institutionalization of a Quebecois identity has been the cause of political turmoil is indicated by the fact that demands for sovereignty have even been forwarded through acts of terrorism. The violence reached its peak with the October crisis of 1970’s when the Canadian army was sent to the streets of Quebec after the kidnapping of a British diplomat and a provincial minister (Warren 2003:82-3). Although the situation calmed down considerably, the success of the secessionist Parti Québécois, PQ, has caused world-wide attention as it was an unique event for a party to use the internal democratic process to challenge a liberal western democracy (Guindon1988:60). The party, which first gained power in 1976, attracted the support of a large number of Francophones through its demands for increasing provincial authorities and effective legislation that would guarantee the survival of the French language. Using its governing position the party has on two occasions, in 1980 and in 1995, initiated a referendum on the sovereign status of Quebec (Oliver 1999:71-2, 83).

3.1.2 Bi-national Canada or one Nation-state?

A fundamental obstacle to reconciliation between those who want autonomy or even secession for Quebec, and those who see Quebec as a part of Canada can be summarized as a difference in ideology. Several authors recognize as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian politics the disagreement on whether Canada is a bi-national state, consisting of two founding nations, or one nation distributed over thirteen provinces and territories, possessing equal powers (e.g. Kymlicka 1998:147-53, McRoberts 2001). In addition to these two perspectives, there has emerged at least a third approach, illustrating Canada as a multi-nation state, as the aboriginal peoples have been increasingly able to organize themselves and demand recognition as separate nations (Ibid).

In 1982, a process referred to as the patriation of the Constitution, i.e. the process of gaining sovereignty over the Canadian Constitution from the British Parliament, resulted in the Constitution Act, including the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Having vetoed the reform, Quebec was overruled as the act
was adopted by the other provinces. As a result, Quebec lost in both status and jurisdiction in the field of education and language. In trying to compensate Quebec, later reforms attempted to include a special clause, recognizing Quebec as a “distinct society”. This also served the purpose of quenching demands for secession (Chevrier 2003:122-4). The adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in the 1980’s had caused significant changes in Canadian political culture. Liberal values and the support for individual rights as a guarantee of the principle of equal citizenship became popular. For many, the new charter, together with policies of multiculturalism, provided a sense of nationhood open to everyone on equal grounds. The idea that Quebec or aboriginal peoples should not follow the same rules as other citizens has therefore been strongly rejected by many Anglophone Canadians (Chevrier 2003:140-1). Furthermore, special rights for some citizens are accused of reflecting a disloyalty to Canada and fellow Canadians (Kymlicka 1998:148).

In Quebec, on the other hand, the idea that Canada was a constitutional arrangement between two founding nations motivated the demands for legal recognition of Quebec as a distinct society. Although this was never enacted, the asymmetric nature of the Canadian federation, where Quebec has more autonomy than other provinces, constitutes a dilemma that the Canadian government has failed to solve. According to Kymlicka, the federal government has avoided addressing the national claims from Quebecers, as well as aboriginal groups, by formulating constitutional proposals in intentionally vague words, while using the constitution as an active tool for a nation-building project that contradicts the demands of national minorities. The failure to recognize this dilemma adds on to a feeling that Canada is unable to respond to the needs of Quebecers (Kymlicka 1998:147-53).

3.2 Quebec Nationalism: Striving for an Inclusive Nationhood?

3.2.1 A National Identity Shaped by the Ideology of Survival

Although far from every French-speaking Quebecker is in favor of secession, it could be argued that the idea of a specific Quebecois identity has a very strong position. Several authors claim there is a strong agreement inside Quebec that there exists such a thing as a Quebecois nationhood (e.g. Seymour 2000:243, Keating 2001a:23). This does not only become evident when looking at the political arena, but it is manifested in a number of ordinary things which can be interpreted to be of the kind of symbolic value Billig would refer to as flagging of a national identity (Billig 1995). Looking at a simple thing such as license plates of cars, one will find written the provincial motto “Je me souviens,” (I remember).
The past experiences Quebecers are meant to remember when seeing these words help explain the emotional draw of a national identity. Collectively remembering a history, in this case characterized by examples of humiliation, creates an emotional bond and a sense of community between the people which others cannot be part of (Griffin 1984:19-20). Thus, anyone who walks down the street in Quebec will be reminded of the presence of the Quebec nation every time a car passes by, just as they will be reminded every time they see the Quebec flag. More than that, this seemingly simple slogan reflects the specific situation of a minority nation fearing the taking-over by a dominant culture and gives an indication to why survival as a nation is so important.

The role a feeling of cultural dominance has played in activating minority nationalism was reflected by the rhetoric of the nationalism in the sixties which found an inspirational source in the process of decolonization and the American civil rights movement. For example, a famous book-title from this time refers to Francophone Canadians as “The White Niggers of America”, making direct comparisons to the experiences of afro-Americans (Oliver 1999:67). Different historical events of defeat and humiliation were also recaptured by the nationalist movement to formulate the exclusiveness of the Quebecois national identity. One example of this is the direct use by some nationalists of references to the British conquest of Quebec. The collective memory of defeat created a bond between the people and underlined an ethnic understanding of the nation that not only excluded the Anglophone population but also pictured it as opponents (Stevenson 2004:918).

The reason why separatism becomes an attractive policy alternative for some is its very basis in the idea that the survival of the nation is at risk. As Griffin argues, the memory of the past is not only an integral part of the Quebecois identity, but it is also serves as a motivational force for action. History has become the basis for the values around which people organize their lives, and the fact that there are a number of experiences which Anglophone Canada does not share has resulted in different value-systems. What the separatist movement of Quebec has put words to is therefore the feeling that cultural survival is integral to survival of the Quebecois nation (Griffin 1984:19-21, 45).

In the case of Quebec, the ideology of survival has resulted in a particular geopolitical language that Adams defines as the small-nation code, where recognition has been pursued through active participation in foreign policy discourses. While the ideology of survival has resulted in a very strong symbolic language of “Us” and “Them,” the cosmopolitan tendencies of Quebec politicians have been shown by the active defense of minorities in other countries, whose experiences are seen as similar to those of the Quebecois. Although partly motivated by self-interest such activities are significant as they show a feature of cosmopolitanism, contradictory to the isolationist strategy one might have expected (Adams 2004:768-9).
3.2.2 A National Identity in Transformation

Although an ideology of survival has greatly influenced the self-understanding of Francophone Quebecers, this is not necessarily to say that the general understanding on what constitutes a Quebecois nationhood is fixed. Shared experiences are central to the notion of a collective identity, but the ways in which these are emphasized may change. Whereas the nationalists of the sixties made references to the British conquest, the recent debate has to a larger degree highlighted the legacy of the Quiet Revolution. Portrayals of the revolution as a specific Quebecois event where society underwent a great deal of successful reforms give pride and inspiration. Furthermore, they have been used by Parti Québécois to legitimize their demands. Referring back to the revolution, as opposed to earlier historical events, is more in accordance with the official aspirations to transform the concept of Quebec national identity in more inclusive terms, by emphasizing civic values (Stevenson 2004:922-3).

The changes brought by the Quiet Revolution was a first step in the direction towards a more inclusive formulation of national identity, as the focus started shifting from the ethnic identity of French Canadians to territorial claims. The emphasis placed on a Quebecois citizenship, an issue that gained great attention especially during the 95 referendum, has meant an important second step. Though this has yet to be formalized, the notion of a citizenship has been adopted by the authorities in Quebec as a way to include immigrants in the national project (Oakes 2004:542-7). Today, an ageing population caused by declining birth-rates is a great problem. For the Quebecois nation and the French language to survive in North America, the government has realized it is dependent upon the acceptance and integration of immigrants into Francophone Quebec (Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l’Immigration 2004).

While survival of the French language continues to play a central role in this project, it is increasingly portrayed, not as a marker of ethnic identity, but as a means of communication through which a feeling of community can arise. Strict linguistic regulation has been adopted in order to establish French as the official language of public communication. For a long time, linguistic policies formed part of a broader policy of “culture de convergence.” The idea was for linguistic minorities to converge towards the culture of the francophone majority. Although these ideas were not easily abandoned, today the official discourse portrays French as a key to civic participation (Oakes 2004:542-7).

A second rationale behind the rhetorical shift can also be identified. Claiming control over territory by arguing that the nation consist of people of a certain ethnic descent opens up possibilities for indigenous groups or Anglophones inside Quebec to make similar demands. Thus, today the ideal image of the Quebecois identity that politicians and intellectuals in Quebec is often presenting is that of an ethnically diverse nation unified by the institutions of the Quebec state, common values, a shared language and territory (Keating 2001b:85-90). Interestingly, following this line of argument some parallels could be drawn to the federal approach of handling demands from Quebec by stressing the inclusive nature of public institutions.
3.2.3 Moving, but in what Direction?

The degree to which there is a change of discourse is indicated by Latouche’s observation of Parti Québécois, the very party leading the separatist-movement, as taking on a prominent role in redefining the concept of national identity (Latouche 2001:180). An interesting tendency considering the same party blamed the loss of the 95 referendum on money and “ethnic votes”, accusing immigrants of siding with the Anglophones (Oakes 2004:542).

One could of course suspect these changes of being merely rhetorical, reflecting the pressure of showing political correctness, rather than reflecting true commitment. Be that as it may, it does seem that these ideas are gaining increasing support, being reflected in a number of policies and institutions. Seymour even argues that there is, in theory, no contradiction between the way most Francophone Quebecers think of Quebec nationhood and the inclusion of the Anglophone community of Quebec into that nation. What is important is the political and sociological community of a people within the same territory. The reason why secession has gained so much support, he argues, is that many Quebecers have seen it as the only option as the nation-building project of federal Canada has refused to acknowledge the existence of Quebec as a nation within a nation. Anglophones inside Quebec, on the other hand, often oppose the idea of a Quebec nation based on the misunderstanding that they would not be welcomed into this (Seymour 2000:235, 240-4, 253).

On the other hand, celebrating other values than ethnicity as a central feature of a national identity does not automatically erase structural exclusion. According to Keating, Quebec nationalists have shown a patronizing tendency in their treatment of minorities, expecting passive support from these groups rather than full inclusion (Keating 2001b:89). The image presented of Quebec has tended to disregard the experiences of other minorities, especially indigenous groups, within the province. Thus linguistic and ethnic minorities have objected to claims of Quebec as a distinct society on the basis that their demands for recognition are being excluded from the debate (Adams 2004:775).

Furthermore, the aspect of time should be taken into consideration as well. Although the last decade brought considerable changes, the development should best be described as a work-in-progress. National identity is a fluid concept, capable of reevaluations and reformulations. However, we need to question whether fifty years is enough to altogether erase ethnicity from the idea of a collective identity so strongly connected to collective memories and concern for survival. The fact that expressions such as “francophone de souche” (Francophone in origin) are still commonly used does reveal the strong mental ties between language and ethnicity (Oakes 2004:547-8).

The difficulties in providing a uniform answer to the question of whether or not the predominant articulation of a national identity is open to people of different ethnic backgrounds seem obvious. Attempting to do so makes it necessary to take into consideration the type of policies at use, the topic of the following chapter.
4 Multiculturalism, Language-Policy and Multicultural Education

The unique demographic setting of Canada has resulted in the challenge of developing a policy for the co-existence of everyone within the same territory. Although highly debated, the adoption of a policy of multiculturalism has been complimented by many authors for having clear integrative advantageous (i.e. Kymlicka 1998, Parekh 2003).

However, multiculturalism has proven an insufficient response to the demands forwarded by Quebec to be recognized as a distinct society. Today, the pattern of immigration to Quebec resembles the Canadian situation, and so, in rejecting the federal policy of multiculturalism, the provincial government of Quebec is faced with the dilemma of developing an alternative strategy for integration. The policy response has consisted of a high emphasis on linguistic policies, aimed to integrate a population of which 25 percent is of a different ethnic background than the French (Ghosh 2004:550).

4.1 Policy-Choices in a Multicultural Setting

4.1.1 The Canadian Policy: Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework

Although the multicultural characteristics of Canada are being increasingly celebrated as a marker of a national identity, the initiatives to adopt a policy of multiculturalism, starting in the 1970’s, came out of necessity as the unequal distribution of power was challenged from different directions. In part, multiculturalism was a direct response to the threat the nationalist movement of Quebec was perceived to pose to Canada, as the liberal government realized the need to implement a new political strategy (Ghosh 2004:550). The idea to unify a population threatened with internal break-up through a policy of multiculturalism also forms part of a broader policy of nation-building by being presented as a Canadian invention to accommodate the pluralism that makes up the Canadian identity (McRoberts 2001:703).

The stated objective of the Canadian policy of multiculturalism is an inclusive and equal citizenship through which citizens can participate and integrate into the Canadian society, while at the same time keep their identities and cultural ties.
The celebration of diversity is regarded as an asset in promoting equality and increasing cultural understanding. At the same time, individuals should be free to choose the extent to which they wish to affiliate with different communities through the guarantee of individual rights (Canadian Heritage 3). Responsible for the policy of multiculturalism at the federal level is the Department of Canadian Heritage, whose stated mission is to work “Towards a more Creative and Cohesive Canada” (Canadian Heritage 1). The department works within a national, as well as an international, legislative framework, of which the most significant part is the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, introduced in 1971 and passed in 1988 (Canadian Heritage 2). Article 3(b) specifically formulates the connections between a Canadian identity and politics of multiculturalism by stating that it is the policy of the Canadian government to “recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada’s future” (Canadian Multiculturalism Act).

When first introduced, the new policy was described as a policy of “multiculturalism within a bilingual framework” (Kymlicka 1998:55). In 1969 the status of the French language had been strengthened through the introduction of the Official Languages Act, recognizing English and French as the two official languages of Canada. The act can be interpreted as a first attempt to separate bilingualism from biculturalism. As some authors have noted, the wording of the act escapes directly confronting the issue by stating equality between two languages rather than between two linguistic communities (Juteau et al 1998:97-8). The move to recognize two official languages should, it was argued, not be seen as an attempt to assimilate minorities into an Anglophone nor a Francophone community. Thus, the policy of multiculturalism had the objective of disconnecting the idea of official languages from the idea of official cultures (Kymlicka 1998:55-6).

Official bilingualism and multiculturalism as characteristics of the Canadian identity can also be found in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, adopted as a part of the Canadian constitution in 1982. The charter, while stating the rights for official language minorities, that is, Francophones outside of Quebec and Anglophones inside Quebec, to receive education and public services in their mother-tongue also claims in article 27 that it “…shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians” (The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms).

4.1.2 A Disputed Canadian Mosaic

The process of creating a legislative framework for addressing the multicultural character of Canada reveals a situation of ideological confusion and disagreements which has not been solved. It can be argued that much of the nationalist sentiments in Quebec stems from the federal refusal to acknowledge the Francophone population as a distinct society. Rather than presenting Canada as a bi-national state of two founding peoples, which has been the predominant under-
standing of the country by Francophones, the new policy is accused of treating the Francophones as a minority equal to any other minority. The portrayal of Canada as a cultural mosaic, in which everyone constitutes an equal part of something larger provides a specific Canadian identity. Thus, in addition to the direct refusal by the federal government to define the Francophone population as a distinct nation, the policy of multiculturalism indirectly undermines demands of a Quebecois nationhood (McRoberts 2001).

Taylor argues that what federal Canada and a large part of the Anglophone segment of the population have failed to understand in the debate around Quebec, is the underlying reasons why linguistic preservation is needed. As a society, Francophone Quebec is concerned with a collective goal of survival. Although survival of the language is recognized as the key factor, what is at stake is more than safeguarding the French language through the implementation of linguistic regulation. Policies also need to assure the survival of a community, so that in the future there will be people who will exercise their rights to use the French language. Thus, formulating the equal status of French to English is not enough. The problem is that strong collective goals such as this are inconsistent with a liberal ideology that emphasizes individual rights as the only way to equality, and see collective goals as harming the rights of individuals who feel differently. The ideological track of Quebec on the other hand, can be interpreted as more towards a view of liberal society where a collective goal of the majority does not have to be a threat to those who do not share this goal. From this point of view, as long as diversity is respected through minority rights, the collective goal of the Quebec Francophone movement is not illiberal (Taylor 1993:91-2).

From the perspective of the Quebec problem, it is interesting to notice how article 3(h) of the 1971 act recognizes as a goal the preservation and enhancement of minority languages, at the same time as the official status and use of French and English should be strengthened (Canadian Multiculturalism Act). Although such clauses guarantee a preeminent position of French and English which has been criticized for failing to give equal status to other linguistic minorities, from the direction of Quebec it has been interpreted as an insufficient response to the needs of the Francophone society. The bilingual language policy of Canada expresses a principle of linguistic dualism, where the languages of two groups are given a higher status motivated by their historic role as the founding peoples. This implies a connection to two linguistic communities. On the other hand, the liberal heritage of the British tradition clearly shines through in documents such as the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In expressing a liberal view on citizenship claims that collectivities, such as cultural communities, can exercise certain rights are disregarded (Coulombe 2000).

Coulombe argues that the 1971 Multiculturalism Act can be regarded as “…a clumsy attempt to address the conflict between official bilingualism and multi-ethnicity” (Coulombe). While at the same time giving special status to French and English, the Multiculturalism Act attempts to emphasize the existence and importance of cultural communities. However, by denying that the connection between official languages and official cultures this is seen as a direct rejection of the dualist model (Coulombe 2000:284-5).
4.1.3 Quebec Policy of Interculturalism- Pluralism within a Franco-phone framework

While the Canadian policy of multiculturalism makes clear references to a Canadian identity, the collective goal of cultural and linguistic survival of the Quebec nation is an underlining theme in the policy program for the integration of immigrants, set up by the Quebec government.

Through a number of agreements with federal Canada, the government of Quebec has negotiated through a fair share of control over immigration. The passage of the most recent document, the Canada-Quebec Accord Relating to Immigration and Temporary Admission of Aliens, effective since 1991, not only gives Quebec exclusive responsibility for the selection of permanent immigrants, other than refugees and relatives, but also responsibility for the reception and integration of these into the Quebecois society (Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l’Immigration 2004, Chevrier 2003:149). Therefore, the provincial government has adopted a plan for integration of immigrants into the Quebecois society under the name of “Interculturalisme”. According to Oakes, the Quebecois model has a dual function in that it has a more outspoken integrative objective of fostering a common public culture for minorities and the majority than what is the case with the Canadian model, while at the same time striving for linguistic and cultural diversity. The starting-point for this was the founding in 1981 of a Quebec immigration ministry, Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l’Immigration, which published the first plan of action for the “cultural communities” of Quebec in the same year (Oakes 2004:541).

The goal of the Interculturalism, as stated in the latest revision of the plan of action is “To ensure the full participation of Quebecers from cultural communities in the development of Quebec”. While expressing the need to accept immigrants as a response to an ageing population, the action plan illustrates the strong emphasis on the French language and a Quebecois identity and sets up five different pillars for success. Two of these are of a more instrumental nature, referring to the importance of job integration and the commitment of the different regions and metropolitan areas. The remaining three, however, strongly reflect the dualist motive of promoting a public culture while at the same time celebrating diversity. The first pillar “An immigration policy true to Québec’s needs and values” pays respect to the positive value of immigration to society, and the moral responsibilities of Quebec in receiving immigrants. In the third pillar “Learning French: a gauge of success” referral to French as a central feature of the Quebecois identity is made, underlining the importance of language-learning services. Finally, the fourth pillar focuses on the need to prevent discrimination and increase communication between different cultural communities under the heading of “A Québec proud of its diversity” (Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l’Immigration 2004).

Although the Interculturalism model is not formalized in a legal act of its own, comparable to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, the emphasis on French is supported by legislation that make French the only official language in Quebec. Of the many immigrants arriving in Quebec every year, about half are so called inde-
pendent immigrants of whose selection the provincial government is in control. According to Chevrier, the selection of these is guided by estimates of who is likely to integrate well (Chevrier 2003:149). A read of the Action Plan confirms this argument, as the needs of the Quebecois society are a central theme (Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l’Immigration 2004).

4.1.4 Choosing a Different Path?

In the Quebecois model, emphasis on two official languages made in the Canadian version of multiculturalism has been replaced with the celebration of French as one the official language of public communication, and the key to integration into the Quebecois *culture*. The exclusion of English from this former model can perhaps be motivated by the fact that the conditions for the survival of French have been far from equal to those of English, not even in Quebec (Coulombe 2000:291). However, as far as culture goes, the difference is highly relevant for this paper. It has already been argued that the Canadian policies of multiculturalism strengthen a nation-building project, as the many references to a Canadian identity indicate. Nonetheless, the legislative framework also denies the existence of an official Canadian culture. Even though the Quebecois model describe the common culture of Quebec in pluralist terms, open to diversity, the fact that the existence of an official culture is defined reveals the ideological differences previously discussed (Juteau et al 1998:99).

On the other hand, while revealing the political and ideological clash between federal Canada and Quebec, the two policy models, many authors argue, function in very similar ways (McRoberts 2001:704, Juteau et al 1998:100-2, Kymlicka 1998:67-8). By implementing these policies, both governments are moving away from assimilationism as the method for handling the relationship between majorities and minorities. Furthermore, both programs are based on the realization that there are structural obstacles to equality which do not vanish with the formal introduction of equal rights (Juteau et al 1998:101). In that they are both concerned with the accommodation of diversity within the framework of a democratic state, both systems follow some basic principles, or limitations, in order for citizens to strive in the same direction. The guiding principles of Quebec can be identified as the following: French as the language of public life, respect for liberal-democratic values and the respect for pluralism. With the exception of language, where both French and English are recognized, the Canadian model sets up the same principles. The great difference is that Quebec has been more articulate in expressing these. (Kymlicka 1998:66-8).

What is interesting to note here is the tendency of both Quebec and federal Canada to use policies for a multicultural society as a strategy for nation-building. However, Anglophone Canada is in majority position whereas Quebec has a realistic concern for linguistic and cultural survival. As the following section will show, such concerns have a profound impact on the outlook of these policies, leading to stricter regulations.
4.2 Linguistic Policies and Multicultural Education-Strengthening the Position of the French Language

4.2.1 Linguistic and Educational Policies in Quebec

Although the predominant articulation of a Québécois national identity has undergone a number of changes, the central position of French as a marker of belonging has remained (Keating 2001b:103). The main responsibilities for education in Canada are attributed to the provinces, which follow a model of provincial-local power-sharing between the provincial ministries of education and the municipal authorities (Ghosh 2004:547). Therefore, the system of education has played an important role in the strategies of Quebec nationalism, and comparatively strict linguistic regulation has been adopted.

In Quebec, recognizing French as one of two official languages of Canada has been considered insufficient to change the economic discrepancies between the Anglophone and the Francophone population. Consequently, in 1974 the National Assembly of Quebec adopted legislation which made French the official language of Quebec. Although designed to enhance the use of French, the adoption of Bill 22, as it was called, did not prevent parents from choosing English as the language of instruction for their children. The fear that Francophones would soon be a minority in Quebec as well, as immigrants tended to learn English, and a general feeling among Quebecers that the quality of French was poor, were some of the arguments of the Parti Québécois government to push for stricter legislation (Chevrier 2003:131-2).

The result, the 1977 Charter of The French Language, commonly referred to as Bill 101, has been the cause of much controversy. More than stating the status of French as the official language, this bill explicitly regulates the use of French in a number of areas related to public communications. With the exception of federal institutions, the Charter has direct consequences for actors all over society, from private enterprises to schools. A number of appeals to the Supreme Court of Canada, as well as investigations undertaken by the United Nations Human Rights Committee have led to some reformation, although the overall strategy of positioning French as the only language of public life remains (Chevrier 2003:133-42).

The consequences for the education system have been major, with the Charter regulating privately funded schools as well as public ones. Parents are no longer given the choice between English or French as the language of education for their children in pre-school, elementary school or secondary school. However, there are some exceptions made for indigenous groups, the Anglophone community and temporary residents. Indigenous children in Quebec therefore have the right to be educated in an Amerindian language. The Anglophone community is protected by the right for Canadian citizens who have gone to school in Canada, and who re-
ceived their education in English, to place their children in English schools. Furthermore, the Charter states that siblings to a child who is educated in English has the right to English as language of instruction, as well as every child who started his/her education in English before the law was adopted in 1977. A parent who received education in English in Quebec does not have to be a Canadian citizen to have the right to place the child in an English class. Finally, some exemptions are also made for children of diplomats or employees of international organizations, as well as children of temporary residents hired by foreign or Canadian business firms, who are given a choice between English and French (Charter of the French Language: chap 8).

Above all, immigrants have been affected by the new policies concerning language of instruction. Whereas as many as 85 per cent of all children in Quebec who spoke a first language other than French and English attended English schools in the school-year of 1971-72, in 1994-95 the numbers were down to 21 per cent. Statistics from the school year of 2000-1 show that 90.2 per cent of immigrant children received their education in French. Consequently, as a means to integrate immigrants into the language and culture of the majority, these regulations have been considered successful (Chevrier 2003:147). However, the fact that the Anglophone community attends a separate school system has led to a continued segregation of Francophones and Anglophones (Keating 2001b:107).

4.2.2 Reconciling Diversity and a Collective Culture through Language

When looking at the language issue in relation to immigration in Quebec, an interesting dilemma materializes. As we have seen, the historic marginalization of French-speaking Canadians has led to the emergence of a national identity which portrays Francophone Quebec as a distinct society, whose culture is dependent on the survival of the French language. In order for Quebec to survive, however, the status of French as the language of public communication has to be guaranteed and actively promoted. What the nationalists in Quebec have realized is the need to use the same policy tools, such as control over immigration and education, as federal Canada uses in a process of nation-building (Kymlicka 1998:34). As a result, a point of criticism against Bill 101 has been that collective rights of the Francophone community have been given precedence over the individual rights of non-Francophones (Ghosh 2004:557). The dilemma this points to is how to strengthen the French language without marginalizing immigrants the same way as Francophones have been marginalized within the Anglophone context.

In referring to multicultural education, Ghosh argues that although the interculturalism program of Quebec has led to a number of positive changes in the educational system, responses to the needs of ethnic minorities are limited to the context of minority nationalism. The strong emphasis on national survival has meant that the merits of multicultural education have not been measured autonomously. Even though important reforms have been made, so that education now should follow the pluralist-but-Francophone ideology of the interculturalism
model, some important steps remain. One problem is that ethnic minorities tend to get caught in the middle of the conflict between Anglophones and Francophones. The fact that many Francophone Quebecers see themselves as victims of linguistic discrimination has led them to systematically neglect the problems faced by other minorities within this context. As a result, there has been a great disproportion between the changes made in the system of language learning as opposed to other important parts of intercultural education (Ghosh 2004:559-61). The problem is indicated by the observation made by Juteau et al, that the Interculturalism program has been less concerned with racism than the Canadian model (Juteau et al 1998:101).

Whereas the value of the French language to the identity of the people in Quebec is officially recognized, less respect is paid to the role a strong knowledge of one's mother-tongue plays for linguistic minorities. In the second chapter of the Charter of the French Language, to take one example, fundamental language rights are stated, but these only mention the right to French. Although the societal contributions of ethnic minorities are recognized in the preamble, there is no mention of such a thing as rights of minorities to be educated in their mother-tongue, other than the exceptions accounted for in the above (Charter of the French Language). Nor is any reference to first language learning made in the Interculturalism action plan (Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l’Immigration 2004). The similar message is to be found in the Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, adopted in 1975, the most significant legal document concerned with minority rights. Article 43 of this document states that “Persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group”. Important to note is the emphasis on private usage, as opposed to the public recognition of French. It should be added, however, that article 41 has an important function in terms of education, stating the right for parents to have their children “…receive a religious or moral education in conformity with their convictions, within the framework of the curricula provided for by law.” (The Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms).

4.2.3 Expanding the National Identity through Educational Language

The dual emphasis on the French language as a symbol for a collective identity and on the merits of pluralism as a profound idea of the interculturalism model is clearly formulated in the Charter of the French Language. What is also reflected is the process of transforming the national identity, so as to open up for immigrants. The preamble of the Charter defines French as the language through which the people has articulated its identity. While respecting Anglophone institutions, the contributions of ethnic minorities and the rights of aboriginal peoples to preserve and develop their own language and culture, the document states that French should be made “…the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business” (The Charter of the French Language: Preamble).
At the time of the Quiet Revolution, immigration served a political function of upholding the Anglophone community. The fact that knowing English provided greater opportunities on the job-market, inside Quebec as well as outside, resulted in the vast majority of immigrants learning English instead of French. Guindon argues that from the point of view of immigrants, this did not constitute a great dilemma until language became such a hot political issue (Guindon 1988:86). In fact, concerned with the linguistic purity of Francophone schools, pre-1960’s provincial governments had actively encouraged the children of immigrants to attend Anglophone schools (Keating 2001b:106).

Linguistic policies serve an important instrumental purpose of strengthening Francophone Quebec by integrating the new-comers into the Francophone segment of the population. Although the question of how successful integration is has been a charged issue, a shift from English to French as the language of immigrants is taking place (Keating 2001b:106). It can be argued that these changes reflect a positive outcome of reformulating the national identity in more inclusive terms. Kymlicka in fact claims that a majority of immigrants in Quebec are acceptable to the laws concerning educational language as they see the benefits in terms of integration. The argument of interculturalism that immigrants should learn French so as to enhance participation and create a more inclusive society is supported (Kymlicka 2001:71). Initially, the language reforms were strongly objected to by some minority groups, such as the Italian community of Montreal. Having to learn a local language would affect the economic opportunities of these children, and the possibilities for them to move within Canada. As the English language has gone through a great symbolic shift, from the dominant language of economic and political power to a minority language in Quebec, the policy has been increasingly accepted (Larrivée 2003:173, 183-5).

Nevertheless, it seems that the possibilities for ethnic minorities to be received as members of the Quebec nation are conditional on the willingness to learn French, and to a certain degree also adapt to the mainstream Francophone culture. Although the model of interculturalism and the Charter of the French Language illustrate French a language of public communication, one should not forget that the majority of the speakers stem from a fairly homogenous group of people with a common culture. As Lundberg points out, the Francophone population in Quebec is comparatively more homogenous than the Anglophone population of Canada (Lundberg 1995:57). Although learning French opens up doors for immigrants into the Francophone community, policies to implement French as the public language of communication are not ethno-culturally neutral. Oakes argues that “…language is inextricably linked to ethnicity.” Ethnicity, on the other hand, is not equivalent to culture, but the concepts are mutually reinforcing as people tend to make a connection. The fact that the promoted language is represented by a people sharing certain cultural values and traditions cannot be disregarded. In Quebec, the link is even stronger as French functions as the strongest bearer of a Francophone identity. Attempting to erase this link would mean severely limiting the opportunities for French surviving as a language in North America (Oakes 2004:549-51). In fact, the connection between culture and language is openly made by the Quebec government who, in its action plan for intercultural educa-
tion, while acknowledging the value of French to cross-cultural relationships, argues the necessity to “…foster pleasure in using the French language as a vehicle of culture and means of creation” (Ministère de l’Éducation 1998:7). Considering that French is being presented as a language of public communications, these recommendations seem quite far-reaching. To make references to a Quebecois culture and identity, albeit presented as inclusive in nature, unavoidably means promoting the preferences of the dominant group.
5 Concluding Discussion

During the last fifty years or so, the predominant articulations of a national identity of Quebecers have gone through considerable changes. Concerned with the survival of a community and of a language which is in considerable minority position on the North-American continent, the emphasis on a collective identity has moved from its original focus on the ethnic descent of French-Canadians to the territorially-based national identity of Francophone Quebec. Both forms celebrate the French language as the locus of a collective identity. However, as globalization has entered the scene, language is given a new meaning with the objective of adjusting the national identity in more inclusive terms so as to provide equality for everyone, regardless of ethnic, cultural or linguistic background.

Modern Quebec is a secular society whose provincial government exercises a fair degree of political power in a number of areas. As a result, the government has had access to a number of policy-making mechanisms and has actively used these in a process of nation-building, designed to prevent the incorporation of Francophone Quebec into a Canadian nation. The Canadian policy of Multiculturalism has been rejected, with the argument that it fails to recognize Quebec as a distinct society and the collective goal of its citizens of cultural and linguistic survival. In developing a policy of Interculturalism, not all that different from Canadian multiculturalism, and with the implementation of strict linguistic legislation, the government has intended to establish the French language as the common public language, with the help of which ethnic minorities can integrate into the pluralist society of Quebec.

It has been the argument of this paper that Quebec nationalism has come a long way in redefining the terms so as to create a more inclusive society, open for people of different ethnic backgrounds. However, expanding a national identity through language does not altogether erase the ethnic connotations. Although civic values are stressed, French is still the language of a group of people, sharing a certain history for which ethnicity and culture has played an important part.

Furthermore, even if the predominant articulations of a national identity in Quebec in theory could be said to be open to everyone, access to nationhood for immigrants seems highly dependent on the willingness to adapt to the Francophone culture. One could argue that this is no different from Canada or any other state known for a more civic model. Although Canada has two official languages, the fact is that on most accounts English is dominating. Consequently, in both societies the existence of official languages implies some sort of emphasis on a dominating culture. However, the strong emphasis on a collective goal of survival of a Quebeois culture, civic in value or ethnic, does represent a difference and reflects the special context of a minority nation. Although it has not been the topic of this paper, the special situation of those groups, most notably the Inuits and the
First Nations, whose collective goals are directly contested within the context of minority nationalism, should provide some interesting future research.

In interpreting the outcomes of this study, it needs to be remembered that the objective of multiculturalism is not simply to open up for integration between different groups, but to make sure that everyone is equally recognized in society, regardless of cultural, social or ethnic identification. In Quebec however, concern with this risks being treated as secondary to the collective goal of the Franco-phone society.
6 References

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Appendix 1: Excerpts from the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, July 1988

WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada provides that every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and benefit of the law without discrimination and that everyone has the freedom of conscience, religion, thought, belief, opinion, expression, peaceful assembly and association and guarantees those rights and freedoms equally to male and female persons;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes the importance of preserving and enhancing the multicultural heritage of Canadians;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada recognizes rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada;

AND WHEREAS the Constitution of Canada and the Official Languages Act provide that English and French are the official languages of Canada and neither abrogates nor derogates from any rights or privileges acquired or enjoyed with respect to any other language;

AND WHEREAS the Citizenship Act provides that all Canadians, whether by birth or by choice, enjoy equal status, are entitled to the same rights, powers and privileges and are subject to the same obligations, duties and liabilities;

AND WHEREAS the Canadian Human Rights Act provides that every individual should have an equal opportunity with other individuals to make the life that the individual is able and wishes to have, consistent with the duties and obligations of that individual as a member of society, and, in order to secure that opportunity, establishes the Canadian Human Rights Commission to redress any proscribed discrimination, including discrimination on the basis of race, national or ethnic origin or colour;

AND WHEREAS Canada is a party to the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, which Convention recognizes that all human beings are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law against any discrimination and against any incitement to discrimination, and to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which Covenant provides that persons belonging to ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities shall not be denied the right to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practise their own religion or to use their own language;

AND WHEREAS the Government of Canada recognizes the diversity of Canadians as regards race, national or ethnic origin, colour and religion as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society and is committed to a policy of multiculturalism designed to preserve and enhance the multicultural heritage of Canadians while working to achieve the equality of all Canadians in the economic, social, cultural and political life of Canada;

MULTICULTURALISM POLICY OF CANADA

Multiculturalism policy

3. (1) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Government of Canada to
(a) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism reflects the cultural and racial diversity of Canadian society and acknowledges the freedom of all members of Canadian society to preserve, enhance and share their cultural heritage;

(b) recognize and promote the understanding that multiculturalism is a fundamental characteristic of the Canadian heritage and identity and that it provides an invaluable resource in the shaping of Canada's future;

(c) promote the full and equitable participation of individuals and communities of all origins in the continuing evolution and shaping of all aspects of Canadian society and assist them in the elimination of any barrier to that participation;

(d) recognize the existence of communities whose members share a common origin and their historic contribution to Canadian society, and enhance their development;

(e) ensure that all individuals receive equal treatment and equal protection under the law, while respecting and valuing their diversity;

(f) encourage and assist the social, cultural, economic and political institutions of Canada to be both respectful and inclusive of Canada's multicultural character;

(g) promote the understanding and creativity that arise from the interaction between individuals and communities of different origins;

(h) foster the recognition and appreciation of the diverse cultures of Canadian society and promote the reflection and the evolving expressions of those cultures;

(i) preserve and enhance the use of languages other than English and French, while strengthening the status and use of the official languages of Canada; and

(j) advance multiculturalism throughout Canada in harmony with the national commitment to the official languages of Canada.
Appendix 2: Excerpts from the Quebec Charter of the French Language, December 2005

PREAMBLE

WHEREAS the French language, the distinctive language of a people that is in the majority French-speaking, is the instrument by which that people has articulated its identity;

Whereas the National Assembly of Québec recognizes that Quebecers wish to see the quality and influence of the French language assured, and is resolved therefore to make of French the language of Government and the Law, as well as the normal and everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and business;

Whereas the National Assembly intends to pursue this objective in a spirit of fairness and open-mindedness, respectful of the institutions of the English-speaking community of Québec, and respectful of the ethnic minorities, whose valuable contribution to the development of Québec it readily acknowledges;

Whereas the National Assembly of Québec recognizes the right of the Amerinds and the Inuit of Québec, the first inhabitants of this land, to preserve and develop their original language and culture;

Whereas these observations and intentions are in keeping with a new perception of the worth of national cultures in all parts of the earth, and of the obligation of every people to contribute in its special way to the international community;

Therefore, Her Majesty, with the advice and consent of the National Assembly of Québec, enacts as follows:

TITLE I

STATUS OF THE FRENCH LANGUAGE

CHAPTER I

THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF QUÉBEC

Official language.

1. French is the official language of Québec.

1977, c. 5, s. 1.
CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL LANGUAGE RIGHTS

Communications with public and private sectors.

2. Every person has a right to have the civil administration, the health services and social services, the public utility enterprises, the professional orders, the associations of employees and all enterprises doing business in Québec communicate with him in French.

1977, c. 5, s. 2; 1994, c. 40, s. 457; 1999, c. 40, s. 45.

In deliberative assembly.

3. In deliberative assembly, every person has a right to speak in French.

1977, c. 5, s. 3.

Workers.

4. Workers have a right to carry on their activities in French.

1977, c. 5, s. 4.

Consumers.

5. Consumers of goods and services have a right to be informed and served in French.

1977, c. 5, s. 5.

Instruction.

6. Every person eligible for instruction in Québec has a right to receive that instruction in French.

1977, c. 5, s. 6.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION

Language of instruction.

72. Instruction in the kindergarten classes and in the elementary and secondary schools shall be in French, except where this chapter allows otherwise.

Scope.
This rule obtains in school bodies within the meaning of the Schedule and in private educational institutions accredited for purposes of subsidies under the Act respecting private education (chapter E-9.1) with respect to the educational services covered by an accreditation.

Instruction in English.

Nothing in this section shall preclude instruction in English to foster the learning thereof, in accordance with the formalities and on the conditions prescribed in the basic school regulations established by the Government under section 447 of the Education Act (chapter I-13.3).

1977, c. 5, s. 72; 1992, c. 68, s. 138; 1993, c. 40, s. 23.

Instruction in English.

73. The following children, at the request of one of their parents, may receive instruction in English:

1) a child whose father or mother is a Canadian citizen and received elementary instruction in English in Canada, provided that that instruction constitutes the major part of the elementary instruction he or she received in Canada;

2) a child whose father or mother is a Canadian citizen and who has received or is receiving elementary or secondary instruction in English in Canada, and the brothers and sisters of that child, provided that that instruction constitutes the major part of the elementary or secondary instruction received by the child in Canada;

3) a child whose father and mother are not Canadian citizens, but whose father or mother received elementary instruction in English in Québec, provided that that instruction constitutes the major part of the elementary instruction he or she received in Québec;

4) a child who, in his last year in school in Québec before 26 August 1977, was receiving instruction in English in a public kindergarten class or in an elementary or secondary school, and the brothers and sisters of that child;

5) a child whose father or mother was residing in Québec on 26 August 1977 and had received elementary instruction in English outside Québec, provided that that instruction constitutes the major part of the elementary instruction he or she received outside Québec.

Exception.

However, instruction in English received in Québec in a private educational institution not accredited for the purposes of subsidies by the child for whom the request is made, or by a brother or sister of the child, shall be disregarded. The same applies to instruction in English received in Québec in such an institution after 1 October 2002 by the father or mother of the child.

Exception.

Instruction in English received pursuant to a special authorization under section 81, 85 or 85.1 shall also be disregarded.
Instruction in English.

81. Children having serious learning disabilities may, at the request of one of their parents, receive instruction in English if required to facilitate the learning process. The brothers and sisters of children thus exempted from the application of the first paragraph of section 72 may also be exempted.

Regulation: exemption.

The Government, by regulation, may define the classes of children envisaged in the preceding paragraph and determine the procedure to be followed in view of obtaining such an exemption.

1977, c. 5, s. 81, s. 14; 1983, c. 56, s. 16; 1993, c. 40, s. 31; 2002, c. 28, s. 6.

Temporary residents.

85. Children staying in Québec temporarily may, at the request of one of their parents, be exempted from the application of the first paragraph of section 72 and receive instruction in English in the cases or circumstances and on the conditions determined by regulation of the Government. The regulation shall also prescribe the period for which such an exemption may be granted and the procedure to be followed in order to obtain or renew it.

1977, c. 5, s. 85, s. 14; 1983, c. 56, s. 19; 1993, c. 40, s. 33.

Reasoned request.

85.1. Where warranted by a serious family or humanitarian situation, the Minister of Education, Recreation and Sports may, upon a reasoned request and on the recommendation of the examining committee, declare eligible for instruction in English a child who has been declared non-eligible by a person designated by the Minister.

Instruction in English.

86.1. In addition to the cases provided for in section 73, the Government, by order, may, at the request of one of the parents, authorize generally the following children to receive their instruction in English:

(a) a child whose father or mother received the greater part of his or her elementary instruction in English elsewhere in Canada and, before establishing domicile in Québec, was domiciled in a province or territory that it indicates in the order and where it considers that the services of instruction in French offered to French-speaking persons are comparable to those offered in English to English-speaking persons in Québec;
(b) a child whose father or mother establishes domicile in Québec and who, during his last school year or from the beginning of the current school year, has received primary or secondary instruction in English in the province or territory indicated in the order;

(c) the younger brothers and sisters of children described in subparagraphs a and b.

Applicability.

Sections 76 to 79 apply to the persons contemplated in this section.

1983, c. 56, s. 20; 1993, c. 40, s. 35.

Amerindic languages and Inuktitut.

87. Nothing in this Act prevents the use of an Amerindic language in providing instruction to the Amerinds, or of Inuktitut in providing instruction to the Inuit.

1977, c. 5, s. 87; 1983, c. 56, s. 21.

Languages of instruction.

88. Notwithstanding sections 72 to 86, in the schools under the jurisdiction of the Cree School Board or the Kativik School Board, according to the Education Act for Cree, Inuit and Naskapi Native Persons (chapter I-14), the languages of instruction shall be Cree and Inuktitut, respectively, and the other languages of instruction in use in the Cree and Inuit communities in Québec on the date of the signing of the Agreement indicated in section 1 of the Act approving the Agreement concerning James Bay and Northern Québec (chapter C-67), namely, 11 November 1975.

Cree School Board and the Kativik School Board.

The Cree School Board and the Kativik School Board shall pursue as an objective the use of French as a language of instruction so that pupils graduating from their schools will in future be capable of continuing their studies in a French school, college or university elsewhere in Québec, if they so desire.

Rate of introduction of French and English.

After consultation with the school committees, in the case of the Crees, and with the parents' committees, in the case of the Inuit, the commissioners shall determine the rate of introduction of French and English as languages of instruction.

Non-qualifying Crees or Inuit.

With the assistance of the Ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, the Cree School Board and the Kativik School Board shall take the necessary measures to have sections 72 to 86 apply to children whose parents are not Crees or Inuit. For the purposes of the second paragraph of section 79, a reference to the Education Act is a reference to section 450 of the Education Act for Cree, Inuit and Naskapi Native Persons.