

Université de Montréal

**From Reasonable Accommodation to
Understanding:
Reconsidering Diversity Management Practices in Quebec.**

by

Amanda Bennett

Department of Political Science

Faculty of Arts and Science

Mémoire Presented to the Faculty of Arts and Science
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Masters of Science
Political Science

December, 2012

© Amanda Bennett, 2012

Université de Montréal
Faculté des études supérieures et postdoctorales

This mémoire entitled :

From Reasonable Accommodation to Understanding: Reconsidering Diversity
Management Practices in Québec.

Submitted by :
Amanda Bennett

was evaluated by a jury composed of the following persons:

Laurence McFalls, president, reporter
Bob White, jury member
Charles Blattberg, thesis advisor

Résumé

En 2007, le Premier ministre du Québec, monsieur Jean Charest, a établi la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles afin de donner suite aux conflits émanant des différences ethniques et culturelles. La commission a pour mandat de dresser le bilan des pratiques d'accommodement au Québec, d'analyser la problématique, de consulter la population et de formuler des recommandations au gouvernement afin d'assurer la conformité des pratiques d'accommodement avec les valeurs de la société québécoise. En premier lieu, ce mémoire démontrera que deux facteurs, dont l'évolution de l'identité de la majorité francophone et l'évolution des pays d'origine des immigrants, ont contribué à un malaise de gestion de la diversité et, par conséquent, ont rendu l'établissement de la commission pertinent. En deuxième lieu, m'appuyant sur une revue de la méthodologie, des conclusions et des recommandations de la commission, ainsi que la réplique du Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, je vais illustrer que, malgré un mandat pertinent et achevé, la réponse gouvernementale fut inadéquate. Finalement, je démontrerai que les modèles de gestion de diversité soutenus par le rapport de la Commission, la laïcité inclusive et l'interculturalisme, sont des aspects nécessaires de la gestion de la diversité. Cependant, ils en découlent des philosophies politiques de neutralisme et pluralisme dont la force et le compromis en sont les buts. Je crois que le Québec peut être meilleur gestionnaire de sa diversité et peut obtenir de vraies réconciliations en prônant la conversation; une approche patriotique de la gestion de diversité.

Mots-clés : Accommodement raisonnable, Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles, Conversation, Gestion de diversité, Interculturalisme, Laïcité, Patriotisme.

Abstract

In 2007 and in response to conflicts stemming from ethnic and religious difference, Quebec Premier Jean Charest established the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. The Commission's mandate was to take stock of accommodation practices in Quebec, analyse the issues, consult the population and formulate recommendations to the government to ensure accommodation practices' congruence with the values of Quebec society. This mémoire will first argue that two factors, namely the evolution of the francophone majority population's identity and changes to immigrants' origins, contributed to Quebec's malaise with diversity management and thus made the establishment of the Commission relevant. Second, through a review of the Commission's methods, findings, recommendations and the Ministry of Immigration and Cultural communities' response to the recommendations, it will be argued that while the Commission's mandate was both pertinent and fulfilled, the government's response was inadequate. Finally, it will be argued that while open secularism and interculturalism, diversity management methods proffered by the Commission's report, are necessary components of diversity management, they espouse the political philosophies of neutralism and pluralism which respectively result in force and compromise. I will argue that Quebec can manage difference more effectively and achieve true reconciliation by embracing conversation, a patriotic approach to diversity management.

Keywords: Consultation commission on accommodation practices related to cultural differences, Conversation, Diversity management, Interculturalism, Patriotism, Reasonable Accommodation, Secularism.

Table of Contents

Introduction	1
1. Identity, Immigration and Integration	3
1.1 Evolving identity	4
1.1.1 Political and Constitutional Changes.....	4
1.1.2 Social and Economic Development	10
1.1.3 Secularism and the Quiet Revolution.....	13
1.1.4 Language: A New Common Denominator	15
1.2 Immigration	19
1.2.1 Evolution of Quebec’s Immigration Policies	20
1.2.2 Evolution of Quebec’s Integration Policies.....	21
1.2.3 Evolution of Quebec’s Immigrants’ Origins	24
2. The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference	30
2.1 The Commission: Methodology, Report and Recommendations.....	30
2.2 Québec Government Response	37
2.2.1 Bill 94	43
2.2.2 Shortcomings	46
3. Secularism, Interculturalism and Patriotic Conversation	50
3.1 Contemporary Political Philosophies.....	51
3.1.1. Neutralism and Force.....	51
3.1.2 Pluralism and Compromise.....	53
3.2 Open Secularism	55
3.2.1 Secular Regimes.....	56
3.2.2 Open Secularism: The Maclure-Taylor Model.....	58
3.2.3 Open Secularism and “Conspicuous Symbols”	61
3.2.4 Shortcomings	64
3.3 Interculturalism.....	69
3.3.1 What is Interculturalism?.....	70
3.3.2 Components of Bouchard’s Interculturalism	73
3.3.3 Interculturalism, not Multiculturalism is Suited to Québec.....	79
3.3.4 Shortcomings	81

3.4 Aiming Higher (Than Neutralism and Patriotism).....	84
3.4.1 Patriotism	86
3.4.2 Patriotism: Conflict and Common Good.....	87
3.4.3 Patriotic Conversation.....	90
3.4.4 Conversation and Quebec	93
Conclusion	96
Bibliography	99
Annex A.....	i
Annex B.....	v
Annex C	viii

List of Abbreviations

CDPDJ – Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la personne.

CIQ – Conseil Interprofessionnel du Québec

CRÉ – Conférence régionale des élus

CRÉPUQ – Conférence des recteurs et des principaux des universités du Québec

MELS - Ministère de l'Éducation du Loisir et du Sport

MICC – Ministère de l'Immigration des Communautés culturelles

MNA – Member of the National Assembly

OQLF – Office québécois de la langue française

PLQ - Parti Libéral du Québec

PQ - Parti Québécois

For my father- who won't ever see this finished product,
but whose unconditional love and support
never let me doubt that I was capable.

Acknowledgements

I will be forever indebted to my advisor, Charles Blattberg, who patiently helped me transform my ideas and convictions into this mémoire. The conversations have been invaluable. Thank you.

I have also been blessed by the love and support of many people who I will thank individually and personally. They have provided insight, debated ideas, encouraged my growth and understood the idiosyncrasies of my creative process. Mere words cannot express my profound gratitude.

Introduction

In 2007, Quebec premier Jean Charest established the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference. The commission was formed in response to conflicts stemming from ethnic and religious differences in Quebec. Its mandate was to take stock of accommodation practices in the province, analyse the issues, consult the population and formulate recommendations to the government to ensure that accommodation practices corresponded with the values of Quebec society.

It is a commonplace that in order to take stock of where we are, it is important to know how we got there. The first section of this mémoire will aim to develop the concepts of identity, immigration and integration which, I shall argue, were the most important contributing factors in Quebec's malaise of diversity management and ultimately led to the creation of the Commission.

The next section will review the Commission's methods, its report, and its recommendations. I will then present an account of the government's reaction to, and implementation of, the report's recommendations. I shall argue that while the methodology, conclusions and recommendations were, for the most part, valid and insightful, the government's implementation of them was lacking in some significant respects.

In the final section, I will develop the notions of open secularism and interculturalism: two major societal orientations which the Commission's report suggested were necessary for Quebec's diversity management. I shall claim that while open secularism and interculturalism are essential to managing diversity, the approach to conflict resolution in Quebec must also change. Drawing upon the political philosophy of "patriotism," I will argue that conversation is the best means of dialoguing with difference. For I believe that this form of communication can alleviate mistrust, remove stereotypes and fundamentally change our external and internal discourses.

Through conversation, and the shared understandings that it can sometimes bring, respecting difference and achieving reconciliation do not have to be mutually exclusive. Bridging the gaps of ignorance that divide us as individuals and communities can often be achieved by acknowledging the constructive attributes of diversity. This is why I think that Quebec can and must be candid about its own identity as well as about how its citizenry interacts.

1. Identity Immigration and Integration

The precursors to Quebec's reasonable accommodation debate began long before rights claims or requests for flexibility in the application of laws made news headlines. There are many factors which led to the creation of the *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences* (also known as the *Bouchard-Taylor Commission*). In this first section, I will describe what seem to me to be the most important features of the social dynamics which, in 2007, led Premier Jean Charest to establish a commission on reasonable accommodation practices in Quebec.¹

I will argue that two factors in particular contributed to what I shall refer to as Quebec's "diversity management malaise"² and ultimately led to the Commission. The first is the historic evolution of the French-speaking majority population, prior and subsequent to the Quiet Revolution. While this first section does not intend to offer a complete chronicle, I will demonstrate that constitutional and political changes, combined with modernisation- especially with regards to the Church's influence, had important transformative implications on Quebec's francophone majority. The second factor, which I will argue contributed to Quebec's diversity management malaise, is

¹ Québec. Site de la Première ministre du Québec., "Le premier ministre énonce sa vision et crée une commission spéciale d'étude" (2007) Available at: <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.qc.ca/actualites/communiqués/2007/fevrier/2007-02-08.asp> (Consulted 09/12/2012).

² For the purposes of this *mémoire*, the notion of a malaise of diversity focuses on the majority francophone population and its interactions with ethnic minorities. While it could be argued that diversity management should include the interactions between the francophone majority and the anglophone and aboriginal national minorities, neither of those groups will be considered here as I do not consider either to have been major factors in the various reasonable accommodations conflicts.

immigration. The increasing ethnic, religious, and cultural diversity of immigrants in the post Quiet-Revolution and post Cullen-Couture Agreement of 1978, engendered a need to acknowledge difference and determine ways to ensure the integration of immigrants into Quebec society. To illustrate the evolution of immigration in Quebec, the government's normative immigration and integration orientations will be reviewed. Finally, drawing upon data acquired from the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles* (MICC) in 2011, the evolution of Quebec's immigrant diversity, both in terms of origin and numbers, will be examined. Concrete examples of the difference-based tensions created in Quebec will be offered in chapter 2, which will provide an account of the Commission's mandate, conclusions and recommendations.

1.1 Evolving identity

1.1.1 Political and Constitutional changes

The political and constitutional changes that took place from the time of the Conquest in 1760 until Confederation in 1867 were important factors in the development of French Canadian identity. Those changes, combined with French Canada's minority status in the country, repeated attempts at its assimilation and its under-representation in government, prevented French Canadians from developing confidence, which is understood to affect how nations face obstacles and interact with

other nations³. Instead, I shall argue, French Canadians developed a sense both of inferiority and fear due to the constant looming threat of “the other”.

In 1763, over two hundred years after Jacques Cartier claimed the Gaspé Peninsula for the king of France in 1534, France ceded its North American assets to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris.⁴ That same year, the British Royal Proclamation Act transformed the colony of New France into the Province of Quebec and instated the Church of England the colony’s church.⁵ Among other changes intended by the Act were the abolition of seigniorial farming, the adoption of British, rather than French, civil law, and the general relegation of francophones to a position of inferiority within the British colony. Moreover, members of the francophone elite were to be prevented from acting as representatives in the Assembly unless they renounced their Catholic faith.⁶ Despite the sense of foreboding that these changes produced, the limited number of anglophones in the colony, coupled with British fear of unrest in those to the south, prevented the assimilationist ambitions of the Royal Proclamation Act from being realised and led instead to a reformulation of policy.⁷

The Quebec Act of 1774 marked this change in policy. It reaffirmed the seigniorial system and French civil law and acknowledged the rights to language and religion of the French-speaking populations’, or *Canadiens*.⁸ Ten years later however, the American Revolution led to the onset of thousands of British Loyalists to the

³ Dominique Moisi, *The Geopolitics of Emotion*. (New York: Double Day, 2009) p.5.

⁴ Jean Provencher, *Chronologie du Québec 1534-2000*. (Montreal : Boréal. 2000) p. 114.

⁵ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. 3rd Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) p. 44.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

⁸ Jean Provencher, *Chronologie du Québec 1534-2000*. p.121.

province in 1784. This, once again, threatened the francophones' way of life and put an end to the relative homogeneity of French-speaking society in Quebec.⁹ The prosperous, anglophone minority demanded more representation which resulted in the constitutional transformation of 1791. The Constitutional Act separated the colony into Upper Canada, primarily inhabited by Loyalists, and Lower Canada, populated principally by French Canadians but with a strong, influential and affluent anglophone minority.¹⁰

At the beginning of the 19th century, a new francophone elite composed of liberal professionals formed and expanded at a remarkable rate.¹¹ This *Canadien* elite had a significant influence over much of the francophone population and challenged both the Church's and the anglophone merchants' authority.¹² The *Canadiens*, who held a majority in the assembly of Lower Canada, used their power to undermine the assimilationist project in the colony.¹³ The executive and legislative councils were, however, dominated by anglophones and some traditional francophones, which intensified the elite *Canadiens*' demand for responsible government. This struggle ultimately led to the *Patriote* rebellion in 1837, in which French-speaking, liberal professionals as well as liberal anglophones, fought for a more democratic Quebec

⁹ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. p. 46.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

¹² *Id.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

state.¹⁴ The rebellion is considered by many to have been an important opportunity for francophones to affirm their identity.¹⁵

Following the rebellions, which were suppressed, Lord Durham was commissioned to take stock of the situation in Upper and Lower Canada.¹⁶ His conclusions, published in the *Report on the Affairs of British North America of 1839*, called for the assimilation of the francophones by unifying Upper and Lower Canada.¹⁷ The Act of Union which consequently followed in 1840, created a single, English-speaking legislature. Both Canadas were accorded the same number of seats, despite having disproportionate populations, which meant that francophones were underrepresented.¹⁸ At that same time, the finances of both Upper and Lower Canada were fused, thus making the francophones of the former Lower Canada responsible for Upper Canada's substantial debt.¹⁹ These constitutional changes utterly quashed the *Patriotes'* attempt at affirmation as well as their hope of forging a new collectivity. Instead, French Canadians returned to their former state as a colonized people.²⁰

In 1867, the British North America Act, more colloquially referred to as Confederation, divided Canada into the provinces of Quebec and Ontario, and united them with the British colonies of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This union

¹⁴ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis* p. 49.

¹⁵ Jocelyn Letourneau, *A History for the Future*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004). p. 46.

¹⁶ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social change and Political Crisis*. pp. 51-52.

¹⁷ John Dickinson and Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*. 4th Edition. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2008). pp. 182-183.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 183.

¹⁹ Canada in the Making. Available at:

http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/themes/constitution/constitution11_e.html#actofunion (consulted 08/12/2012).

²⁰ Jocelyn Letourneau, *A History for the Future*. pp.46-47.

relegated Quebec to a permanent minority position within the Canadian federation, but it also provided its citizens with their own provincial legislature which had control over education, culture and civil law.²¹

In 1931, the Statute of Westminster provided Canada with some legislative freedom from the United Kingdom, but it was only in 1982 that Canada's constitution was fully "repatriated." Repatriation afforded Canada true autonomy from the United Kingdom which included the ability to amend its own constitution. While the end to the historic British interference might have provided an opportunity for Quebec to embrace confederation and assert its position therein, Quebec was not a signatory to the constitution because its amendment formula did away with Quebec's veto power and because the Charter of Rights and Freedoms' protection of minority language education conflicted with Bill 101, *la Charte de la langue française*.²²

In 1987, the Meech Lake Accord unsuccessfully sought Quebec's endorsement of the constitution by proposing various amendments that would acknowledge Quebec's distinct status within Confederation. Similarly, the Charlottetown Accord of 1992 attempted to introduce comparable amendments. The Accord was voted on in a referendum, but it was ultimately only accepted by 5 provinces and did not receive majority support across the country.²³

²¹ Paul Linteau, René Durocher and Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome I*. (Montreal : Boréal. 1989) p. 75.

²² Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. p. 349-350.

²³ Claude Bélanger, "National Referendum on the Charlottetown Accord (October 26, 1992)". Available at : <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/stats/1992ref.htm> (Consulted 14/12/2012).

Moreover, no form of official acknowledgement of Quebec's distinct status occurred until 2006, when Prime Minister Stephen Harper's government passed a motion which recognized that the "Québécois" ("Quebecers" would mean all Quebec citizens, whereas the motion clearly targeted the francophones alone) formed a nation within a united Canada.²⁴

While Quebec's political history is certainly not the focus of this work, it is important to note that the failures at constitutional reform occurred during a period of important political change in the province. The arrival of the first Parti Québécois government in 1976 and the subsequent 1980 referendum on sovereignty-association were important expressions of Quebec's desire for political autonomy. It is not surprising that the failures of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords which followed, once again made way for the Parti Québécois to hold another referendum in 1995 on Quebec's independence from Canada (with nation to nation associations to be negotiated thereafter).

As we have seen, following the Conquest changes to territory, government, laws and practices, which included the freedom to practice and ensure the survival of the French language and Catholic religion, were constantly a threat. One might interpret these events in a negative way, as we find expressed in the writings of the "melancholy nationalists" of the Montreal school of historical writing.²⁵ Or one could see them as a part of Quebec's history which Quebecers should accept, and "move

²⁴Canadian House of Commons Debates, November 27, 2006.
<http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=2544166&File=0&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=39&Pub=hansard&Ses=1>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

²⁵ Jocelyn Maclure, *Quebec Identity: The Challenge of Pluralism*. (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) pp. 19-44.)

on” from, in order properly to deal with the contemporary challenges of pluralism and hybridity.²⁶ Regardless of the interpretation one favours, it is certain that the post-Conquest transformations shaped French Canadian identity.

1.1.2 Social and Economic Development

Over and above constitutional changes, Quebec also underwent numerous economic and social transformations both before and after its Quiet Revolution. These had enormous implications for French Canadian identity. The Catholic Church and the great influence it wielded among French Canadians used to play an important role in the formation of that identity. At the time of the Conquest the Church held a preponderant position in the colony, both in terms of colonial and local governance. The Catholic bishop was a member of the colony’s ruling council and the Catholic parishes represented local socio-political nuclei for French Canadians.²⁷

In the post-Conquest era, while the Proclamation Act of 1763 threatened the Church and its devotees, by 1774 it has been suggested that the Church’s authority over the *Canadiens* was actually reinforced.²⁸ Though there had been secular French-speaking military and administrative leaders who could have led the colony, most had left after the Conquest when control over trade in the colony fell to the British.²⁹ By the beginning of the 19th century, significant increases in birthrates generated larger congregations.³⁰ That, coupled with an embargo on the emigration of French priests,

²⁶ Jocelyn Maclure, *Quebec Identity: The Challenge of Pluralism* p. 74.

²⁷ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. p. 41.

²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 45

²⁹ *Id.*,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

created obstacles for the Catholic Church's physical presence among the *Canadiens*.³¹ Despite this, and despite the new French-speaking elite challenging the Church, still had considerable influence over the colony's French-speaking peasantry or *habitants*.³²

One of the manners by which they maintained this influence was through vigorously inculcating the importance of *la survivance*;³³ the preservation of *Canadien* heritage. The belief was that, as long as its tenets of faith, institutions and language³⁴ were held on to, the survival and flourishing of a distinct French-speaking Catholic people in North America would continue.³⁵ Another means of preserving the Church's role as a proponent of traditional ideology was through its control of education, which remained unchallenged for a century.³⁶

Socio-economic changes, such as the onset of industrialisation and urbanisation, posed yet another challenge for the Church. In response to the threats associated with modernisation, a secular, *retour à la terre*³⁷ movement formed. Its aim was to reject industrialisation and encourage the colonisation agricultural lands where new parishes could be established and where the traditional French Canadian culture could be maintained.³⁸

³¹ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. pp. 47-48.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 48, 51.

³³ Leigh Oakes and Jane Warren, *Language Citizenship and Identity in Quebec* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp.45-46.

³⁴ Claude Bélanger, "The Three Pillars of Survival". Available at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/pillars.htm>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. p. 54.

³⁷ Claude Bélanger, "Agriculturalism". Available at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/agr.htm>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

³⁸ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. pp. 56-57.

Despite the efforts of the Church and other traditionalists, the effects of modernisation were pervasive and had a major impact on how la *survivance* was to be conceived. The rural parish mindset was transformed as employment opportunities in urban centres drew families away from rural parishes and into cities where the English language and the English bourgeoisie prevailed.³⁹ Census data indicates that by 1921, Quebec society had become more urban than rural.⁴⁰

There were significant obstacles for urban French Canadians, who earned less than their English counterparts and were confined to the lower echelons of industrial society.⁴¹ There are a variety of hypotheses about why French Canadians were unable to lead their own industrialisation. It is suggested that the original quashing of New France's bourgeoisie at the time of the Conquest limited French Canadian progress and success.⁴² Beyond the initial blow, it is also suggested that industrialisation ran counter to French Canadian values which focused on small, family oriented businesses, that French Canadians needed to reject industrialisation in order to maintain cultural identity, and that there was a lack of French Canadian capital necessary for developing large-scale businesses.⁴³ While industrialisation did not readily improve the economic status of French Canadians, urbanisation did contribute to their progress. Cities were transformed from bastions of the English elite

³⁹ Paul Linteau, René Durocher and Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome I*. p. 138, 181-183.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p.469.

⁴¹ Kenneth Mc Roberts, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. pp. 67-68.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p.71.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

to be more inclusive of francophone workers and this gave rise to the development of francophone culture.⁴⁴

Another socio-economic factor which shaped French Canadian identity prior to the Quiet Revolution was the creation and flourishing of social organisations. The mid-1930's through the 1950's saw an increase in modern francophone movements such as *La Relève*, *La Nouvelle Relève*, along with *Jeunesse étudiante catholique* and, perhaps one of the most influential, the magazine *Cité Libre*.⁴⁵ These groups challenged traditionalist nationalism, suggesting that the political and religious elites, and their traditional ways, had caused Quebec to lag behind the rest of Canada and had stunted the creativity and progress of Quebec's people.⁴⁶ During the post WWII era, such modern ideologies clashed with Maurice Duplessis' traditionalist nationalism.⁴⁷ The modern schools of liberalism and nationalism nonetheless promoted modernisation and were the precursors to the sweeping changes that constituted Quebec's Quiet Revolution.⁴⁸

1.1.3 Secularism and the Quiet Revolution

The Quiet Revolution offered the French Canadians in Quebec another opportunity to redefine themselves.⁴⁹ Although the reforms that took place in Quebec during the 1960's are all important, I shall argue that the transfer of the education, health and social systems' management from the Church to the State, the

⁴⁴ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain, Tome II*. (Montréal : Boréal, 1989) p. 59.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 350-358.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p.352.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 348.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p.359.

⁴⁹ Jocelyn Letourneau, *A History for the Future*. pp. 48-49.

modernisation of social institutions and the decision to implement language legislation played the most important roles in the evolution of identity.⁵⁰

The Quiet Revolution saw Quebec largely drop its ecclesiastical past. Modern reforms to social institutions formerly managed by the clergy were a significant manifestation of Quebec's secularisation process.⁵¹ The state appropriated health care, education and created welfare state-inspired policies. As was the case with urbanisation, the State modernisation caused the understanding of *la survivance* to evolve.

Politico-institutional secularisation is illustrated through the extension of the *Ministère de la jeunesse et du bien-être social's* (later *Ministère de la famille et du bien être social*) mandate between 1957 and 1961. The ministries' scope included orphanages, nurseries, child care facilities, food banks, shelters and hospices for the elderly and infirm, all of which were formerly under the clergy's jurisdiction.⁵² *The Comité d'étude sur l'assistance publique* (Boucher Report) and the *Commission d'enquête sur les services de santé et les services sociaux* (Castonguay-Nepveu Commission) of 1963 and 1966, respectively recommended the reorganisation of the social services system in order to better conform with citizen rights and the welfare-

⁵⁰ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome II*, pp. 637-647.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 649-658.

⁵² Maria Feretti, *Brève histoire de l'Église catholique au Québec*. (Montréal : Boréal, 1999) p. 157.

state model.⁵³ In 1964, the *Ministère de l'Éducation* was created and two years later the *Ministère des services sociaux* was established.⁵⁴

The transfer of power from the Church to the Quebec state was not the only element of secularisation. Life also became more difficult for members of the clergy; vocations to the priesthood dropped and priests celebrated mass for congregations of fewer devotees.⁵⁵ Thus, as institutions were transformed, the Church was pushed from the public sphere and into the privacy of parishes, monasteries and convents. Institutions once managed by the clergy were either closed or transferred to the state, often forcing clergy members into the secular work-force. Those that remained in the Church bore the heavy burden of being the sole representatives of their faith to society.⁵⁶

The *survivance* tenets of faith and institutions which once upheld their ancestral heritage were no longer a means of French Canadian identity preservation. Following the Quiet Revolution, and in the absence of religion as a bonding agent for Quebecers, Quebec governments came to refocus their attention on language as a means of securing its populations' social bond.

1.1.4 Language: A New Common Denominator

The Quiet Revolution offered multiple sources of inspiration to lay a foundation for the nascent Québécois identity; new social institutions, and the promotion of

⁵³ Maria Feretti, *Brève histoire de l'Église catholique au Québec*.p.157.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome II.* p.653.

⁵⁶ Maria Feretti, *Brève histoire de l'Église catholique au Québec*. p. 157.

common values, but the government of Quebec chose to focus on the promotion of the French language. The 1969 *Loi pour promouvoir la langue française* (Bill 63), 1974 *Loi sur la langue officielle* (Bill 22) and 1977 *Charte de la langue française* (Bill 101) contributed the promotion of language as the chief basis of Quebec society and identity. This impacted how Quebec's institutions were administrated and eventually led to the establishment of the primacy of French as one of Quebec's fundamental values.⁵⁷

The creation of the now *Office québécois de la langue française* in 1961 marked the beginning of language legislation.⁵⁸ For the following decade, language laws continued to be introduced, debated and implemented. While the anglophone population declined, the tendency of immigrants to integrate into Quebec's English community via the English language rose, especially in Montreal.⁵⁹ In 1969, Premier Jean-Jacques Bertrand introduced Bill 63, *La loi pour promouvoir la langue Française au Québec*, which required that graduates from English schools had a working knowledge of French, offered French courses to immigrants and expanded upon the *Office québécois de la langue française's* mandate to include making recommendations to the government and receiving complaints from those who encountered obstacles to their right to use French in the workplace.⁶⁰

⁵⁷ Québec. Site de la Première Ministre. "Le premier ministre énonce sa vision et crée une commission spéciale d'étude". Available at: <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.qc.ca/actualites/communiqués/2007/fevrier/2007-02-08.asp>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

⁵⁸ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome II*. p. 599.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 597.

⁶⁰ Québec. *Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec*. 1969. Available at : Office québécois de la langue française. http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/reperes/Loi_63.pdf. (Consulted 09/12/2012).

In 1974, Bill 22, *La loi sur la langue officielle*, was introduced pursuant to recommendations made by the *Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et des droits linguistiques au Québec*, otherwise known as the Gendron Commission.⁶¹ Access to English schools was limited to children who could demonstrate knowledge of the English language.⁶² Bill 22 made French Quebec's sole official language and therefore the main language of communication within the public administration. It also enacted regulations ensuring the use of French in commercial signage and in labour relations as well as made French the official language of legislation and justice.⁶³

In 1977, René Lévesque's Parti Québécois government drafted a white paper on language and proposed Bill 1, which was later modified to become Bill 101 or the *Charte de la langue française du Québec*.⁶⁴ Its provisions expanded upon those established in Bill 22, reiterating the official language of Quebec, stipulating fundamental language laws, reasserting the use of French as the usual language of legislation, justice, public administration, para-public organisations, the workplace, business and commerce and education.⁶⁵ In terms of access to education in English, Bill 101 took further measures to promote French among immigrants by allowing

⁶¹ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome II*. p.604.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p.604-605.

⁶³ Québec. Loi sur la langue officielle. 1974. Available at : Office québécois de la langue française. http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/reperes/Loi_22.pdf (Consulted 08/12/2012).

⁶⁴ Claude Bélanger, "The Language Laws of Québec". (2000) Available at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/langlaws.htm> (Consulted 08/12/2012).

⁶⁵ Québec. Charte de la langue française. (1977) Available at: http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/C_11/C11.html. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

access to English education solely to children who had at least one Canadian parent who completed the majority of their studies in English.⁶⁶

By the time of Bill 101's adoption, the state decision of putting French first garnered the support of the French majority population⁶⁷ and had restored the *survivance* pillar of language. Quebec's *Charte de la langue française* certainly fostered a sense of pride and proprietorship among the Québécois, whose identity has been shown to evolve from that of a conquered people imbued in ultramontaine religious nationalism into a modern national collectivity bound first and foremost by the strength of its common language. The above mentioned legislation safeguarded the French language and ensured that the current population as well as all future additions would adopt the French language as their own and consequently ensure its preservation and continuity.

This section has argued that the lingering threat of conquest engendered a fear of the other. This insecurity, combined with the transformation of the former pillars of survival, the evolution of Church influence, industrialisation and urbanisation, the establishment of a francophone intelligentsia, flourishing social organizations, secularisation of state and society and, finally, the preservation of the French language are all elements which contributed to the tumultuous evolution of Quebec's majority population's identity.

⁶⁶ Québec. Charte de la langue française. (1977) Available at: http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/C_11/C11.html. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

⁶⁷ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec Contemporain. Tome II*. p. 605.

1.2 Immigration and integration

The language preservation legislation ensured that most newcomers to Quebec would adopt the French language as their means of interacting within their new society, but immigrant language integration was not the only factor which needed to be considered. The diversity of post Quiet Revolution immigrants would present both individual Quebecers and the State with numerous difference-based dilemmas. Combined with the evolution of Quebec's identity, changes to the demographics of Quebec's immigrants, especially those from non-caucasian, non-Christian countries, contributed to the diversity malaise which ultimately brought about the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference.

It is suggested that the integration of immigrants garnered more attention as Quebec sought to define itself as a host society following the Quiet Revolution.⁶⁸ As Quebec's collective identity transformed from one based primarily on Catholic religious doctrine to one focused on a common language, questions began to be raised about how best to integrate immigrants.⁶⁹ The state took actions to examine and improve upon the integration of immigrants to the province.

⁶⁸ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart, "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise: généalogie d'un néologisme". p. 2 (My translation). Available at: http://www.criec.uqam.ca/Page/Document/textes_en_lignes/interculturalisme.pdf (consulted 08/12/2012).

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2-3.

1.2.1 Evolution of Quebec's immigration policies

Quebec created an immigration service in 1965 which, some three years later, evolved into the *Ministère de l'Immigration*.⁷⁰ According to the findings of the 1965-1966 *Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province du Québec*, otherwise known as the Parent Commission, Quebec's new citizens were integrating mainly into English-speaking culture in the province.⁷¹ The Parent Commission recommended that French Canadians acknowledge their introversion as well as their mistrust of immigrants and recognize the benefits immigration brought to Quebec.⁷² The Parent Commission also suggested that immigrant integration would be facilitated by attracting new immigrants to French culture rather than by trying to recuperate those who were already installed in anglophone culture.⁷³

The 1967 Gauthier Report, *Rapport du Comité interministériel sur l'enseignement des langues aux Néo-Canadiens*, suggested that the confessional nature of the education system hampered integration.⁷⁴ In 1972, *Commission d'enquête sur la situation de la langue française et des droits linguistiques au Québec*, or Gendron Commission, surveyed the feasibility of a transition from religious to language-based school boards.⁷⁵ Following these assessments, Bills 22 and 101 were adopted. Their implementation represented the apogee of the long

⁷⁰ Paul Linteau, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard, *Histoire du Québec contemporain, le Québec depuis 1930 tome II*. p. 581.

⁷¹ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart, "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise: généalogie d'un néologisme". p.3.

⁷² *Id.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p.4.

⁷⁴ *Id.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

secularising transformation of the political and socio-economic status of French-speaking Quebecers.⁷⁶

The culmination of findings regarding immigrants and language adoption led the Quebec state to seek more autonomy with regards to its immigrant selection. This was acquired via the conclusion of federal-provincial agreements and accords between 1971 and 1978⁷⁷ which included elements such as embassy representation, as well as shared responsibilities of immigrant selection in Canada and abroad. These changes provided Quebec with a more active role in immigrant selection.

1.2.2 Evolution of Quebec's integration policies

Beyond immigration policy, Quebec governmental policies dealing with integration demonstrate Quebec's intention to ensure a participatory integration of new immigrants. In 1978, Quebec created a new policy that aimed to balance assimilation and fragmentation.⁷⁸ A number of studies, which will be reviewed below, contributed to the development and evolution of this policy in Quebec.⁷⁹

As early as 1981, it is suggested that Quebec culture represented the *foyer de convergence* for other cultures to flourish and formed the basis a collective cultural

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 5. (My translation).

⁷⁷ Cloutier-Lang agreement 1971, Bienvenue-Andras agreement 1975, Cullen-Couture Accord 1978 and Gagnon-Tremblay-McDougall Accord 1991. Available at: <http://www.cic.gc.ca/francais/ministere/lois-politiques/ententes/quebec/abc-quebec-acc.asp>. (Consulted 11/2012).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart, "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise: généalogie d'un néologisme". p. 8-9.

project.⁸⁰ In 1981, the committee which ensured the implementation of the government's action plan, sought to maintain and develop and integrate cultural communities into Quebec society as well as make francophone Quebecers aware of cultural communities' contribution to the Quebec's collective heritage.⁸¹

Similarly, the Chancy Report offered a definition of cultural communities and suggested in 1981 that the government go beyond simple integration by ensuring the development of cultural communities and acknowledging their contributions towards the development of a new Québécois culture.⁸²

In 1988, the *Conseil des Communautés Culturelles et de l'Immigration* recommended that the ministry elaborate and adopt a policy of intercultural and interracial relations. This was considered in 1990 with the enactment of *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble*, a policy wherein the government introduced the notion of a moral contract for immigrants and members of the host society. The contract asserted three principles: that French is the common language of public life in the province, that Quebec is a democratic society where participation and contribution are expected and encouraged, and that Quebec is a pluralist society open to contributions within the limits of respect for fundamental democratic values.⁸³ The policy statement also acknowledged the challenges specific to integrating immigrants, notably those pertaining to Quebec's transformation from an inward-looking, francophone majority

⁸⁰ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart, "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise: généalogie d'un néologisme, p. 9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 14-15 (My translation).

society which was never fully able to realize its majority status, as shown above, to a pluralist society, aware of the precariousness of the status of the French language.⁸⁴

Another indication of Quebec's path to an integration model was a 2001 pamphlet designed for immigrants entitled "*Le Québec une société ouverte; contrat morale entre le Québec et les personnes qui désirent y immigrer*", which was published by the *Ministère des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration*. The ministry explained the benefits of immigration as a means of supporting efforts in demographic recovery, economic prosperity, the sustainability of the French language and openness to the world.⁸⁵

In 2004, the *Ministère des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration's* action plan for 2004 to 2007: *Des valeurs partagées, des intérêts communs*,⁸⁶ focused on the following themes: *immigration that corresponds to Quebec's needs and respects its values; swift and sustainable integration and employment; French as a means of achieving full integration; Quebec's pride in its diversity and immigrants' contributions, encouraging intercultural dialogue and finally the promotion of an engaged capital, metropolis and regions.*⁸⁷

Finally, in 2008, the government of Quebec tabled a policy entitled *La diversité: une valeur ajoutée*, a policy to encourage citizens' participation in Quebec's growth between 2008 and 2013. Its' orientations follow some of its predecessors in terms of

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.15.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 19 (My translation).

⁸⁶ Québec. Ministère de L'Immigration et des Communautés Culturelles (2004) "Des Valeurs Partagées, des Intérêts Communs". Plan d'action 2004-2007. Available at:

http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/pdf/PlanAction20042007_integral.pdf. (Consulted 08/12/2012)

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

encouraging intercultural interaction and ensuring access to, maintenance of and advancement in employment. But it contained new elements as well, including acknowledging and countering prejudice and discrimination, equal access to public services, and improving upon the access to and exercise of rights.

The above examples indicate that the various Quebec governments cared deeply about integrating immigrants. Still, while the previous pages help us to understand the evolution of Quebec's orientations, tangible data is needed to illustrate the facets of immigrants' integration which, I assert, challenged Quebec's status quo. While government policies such as the moral contract of 1990 implicitly include the francophone majority population, and awareness campaigns underscored the immigrants' contributions to society, certain aspects of immigrant difference were not well integrated and ultimately led to a diversity malaise in the province.

1.2.3 Evolution of Quebec's immigrants' Origins

Consider the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles*' data (see Annex A). It shows important changes in the origins of Quebec's immigrants. I suggest that the most relevant of these are the ethnic and religious difference as well as the *visible minority*⁸⁸ status of Quebec's immigrants.

The MICC data in Annex A divides the total number of immigrants accepted into four year periods and categorizes them by country of origin.⁸⁹ The immigration

⁸⁸Canada. Statistics Canada. Visible Minority Population and Population Group Reference Guide, 2006 Census. Available at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/ref/rp-guides/visible_minority-minorites_visibles-eng.cfm. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

⁸⁹See Annex A.

data referred to in the coming pages will focus primarily on 1980 to present day, as Quebec only began to play a central role in the selection of its own immigrants following the Cullen-Couture agreement of 1978.⁹⁰ From 1980-2009, Quebec welcomed just under 1 million immigrants.⁹¹ The MICC data in Annex A provides the countries of origin for approximately 75% of those immigrants; it is this 75% I will be referring to in the analyses which follow.

Data from the MICC also shows significant changes in mother tongue and religious background of newer immigrants.⁹² Whereas between 1970 and 1974, six countries among the top 25 immigrant countries of origin had French as an official or widely known language, by 2005-2009 that number had increased to ten.⁹³ As indicated by the immigration data in Annex B, for the two periods between 1970 and 1979, the proportion of immigrants from countries where French is widely spoken was 29% and 37.3%.⁹⁴ From 1980 to 2009, the proportion increased from 32% to 53%.⁹⁵ These numbers clearly demonstrate that more immigrants with exposure to the French language were being accepted as immigrants. The focus on immigrants who were likely to adopt French as their common language had other, perhaps unforeseen, consequences. As the data demonstrates, the increase in the number of immigrants from countries where French is widely known occurs parallel to increases

⁹⁰ Renée Joyal. "The Canada Quebec Accord Made Easy" 1994. Available at Citizenship and Immigration Canada. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/francais/ministere/lois-politiques/ententes/quebec/abc-quebec-acc.asp> (Consulted 14/12/2012).

⁹¹ See Annex A.

⁹² See Annex B.

⁹³ See Annex B.

⁹⁴ See Annex B.

⁹⁵ See Annex B.

in immigrants of visible minorities, immigrants from non-Christian, particularly Muslim majority, countries.

While the Canadian census data, from which the MICC information was sourced, does not include religious background explicitly (and we cannot be certain of the ethnicity of immigrants from a given country as few countries have ethnically homogenous populations), some general conclusions can be made. Before the Cullen-Couture agreement, the data from 1970-1974 indicates that, of the 25 most popular countries of origin, approximately 38% of immigrants were considered visible minorities and just over 14% were from countries whose majority religion was not Christianity.⁹⁶ Looking solely at data from the top 25 countries of origin, we can see that by 1980-1984 visible minorities came to represent about 64% of immigrants.⁹⁷ This number would grow to as much as 75% during the period between 1990 and 1994 and would average 67% between 1990 and 2009.⁹⁸

Beyond the more apparent visual ethnic diversity in the public sphere, there was another component to difference among newer immigrants. Older stock immigrants were mostly from European countries and were generally Christian.⁹⁹ However, in the post Cullen-Couture agreement era, we can see a significantly increased trend of immigrants coming from non-Christian countries of origin. Whereas the 1975-1979 data indicates that approximately 20% of immigrants came from non-

⁹⁶ See Annex A, CIA World fact book. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html> (consulted 06/12/2012).

⁹⁷ See Annex A.

⁹⁸ See Annex A.

⁹⁹ See Annex A.

Christian countries of origin, the number increased from 1980-1984 at 29% to 53% in 1990-1994 and averaged 50% between 1980 and 2009.¹⁰⁰

Among the countries of origin where Christianity was not the majority religion, there is, as pointed out above, a significant increase among countries where Islam is the most dominant religion. In 1970-1974, the percentage of immigrants from Muslim majority countries was 8%, by 1980-1984, after Cullen-Couture, the number rose to 13.4%. The proportion of immigrants from Muslim majority countries reached 36% in 2005-2009, and averaged 29% between 1980 and 2009.¹⁰¹

Despite progressive social policy driven by interculturalism, which included awareness campaigns regarding the benefits of immigration as well as the pluralist realities of contemporary Quebec society, over the past twenty years ethnic difference had not become accepted enough among Quebecers to prevent the a reasonable accommodations crisis; hence the need to establish the *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences*. In his recent book, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*, Gérard Bouchard suggests that the malaise over difference is not at all surprising. He argues that while Quebec's intelligentsia demonstrated an openness to diversity in the past few decades, the idea of "lauding diversity, cautioning against the tyranny of the majority, questioning the importance of collective memory, and taking a step back from nationalism"¹⁰² did not sit well with the general public who, as I showed above, for the half century prior had

¹⁰⁰ See Annex A.

¹⁰¹ See Annex A.

¹⁰² Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. (Montreal : Boréal, 2012) p. 29. My translation.

been encouraged to focus on reclaiming their majority status, affirming their collective memory and promoting the uniqueness of their nation.

As we have seen earlier in this chapter, Quebecers' experience with modernisation included both political secularisation and a significant depreciation of religious practice. Therefore the francophone majority population's discomfort with what they might have perceived as immigrants trying to bring religion back into the public sphere could be somewhat expected. However, the integration of immigrants from non-secular states, or states which tolerate religious practice in the public sphere, added another dimension of diversity difficulties. Unfortunately, beyond the application of Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms (part of the repatriation act which Quebec never signed), which protected individual rights to, among others, freedom of religion, Quebec did not create policies to deal specifically with the religious and cultural dimensions of immigrants' difference.

The Québécois preoccupation with survival, historic problems with their collective affirmation, and secularisation the heart of their modernisation, coupled with the visible, religious and cultural differences engendered by immigration, all laid the foundation for a deep-seated malaise among the French-speaking majority population, allowing us to speak of a "crisis." It is not surprising then, that in 2009 a Hébdos Québec/Léger Marketing poll indicated that 42% of Quebecers believed that the arrival of immigrants posed a threat to *québécois* culture.¹⁰³

¹⁰³ "Au Québec, 42 % des Québécois pensent que l'arrivée d'immigrants est une menace pour notre culture". Available at Hébdos Québec. : <http://www.hebdos.com/home/Actualites/Au-Quebec-42---des-Quebecois-pensent-que-l-arrive.aspx>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

When individuals choose to inhabit another country, their national, religious or ethnic customs are a part of their identity and thus are included with the baggage they bring with them into their host country. To deny these beliefs, values, interests, and so on is to deny a part of who the individual is. That being said, these individuals are arriving in a country which of course already has societal norms based on its majority groups' ethnic, religious and cultural collective identities. Conflicts might then naturally arise and pit old stock residents and recent immigrants against one another. These conflicts will be elaborated upon in the following chapter, which includes a review of some of the major incidents that took place before the establishment of the Commission.

2. The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference

In this chapter, I will first argue that the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences was both relevant and successful at fulfilling its mandate. Questions have been raised about the Commission's necessity and the possibility that political opportunism was behind its establishment.¹⁰⁴ Rather than investigating the partisan political motivations for the Commission, if any, the first section of this chapter will demonstrate that, regardless, there were important conflicts that made the government's decision pertinent. Next it will be argued that the government's response to the Commissions' recommendations were somewhat lacking, especially in terms of Bill 94 which can only be characterized as an underwhelming law which was, in parts, even discriminatory. I will also suggest that the government failed to respond to some of the simple recommendations which could have better informed the population about Quebec's challenges in this area and ultimately improved diversity management.

2.1 The Commission: Methodology, Report and Recommendations

On February 8, 2007, in response to growing public discontent over a number of cases dealing with accommodation practices, Quebec Premier Jean

¹⁰⁴ Pierre Anctil, "Introduction", in Howard Adelman and Pierre Anctil Ed., *Religion, Culture and the State: Reflections on the Taylor Bouchard Report*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.) p.13; Howard Adelman, "Conclusion", in Howard Adelman and Pierre Anctil Ed., *Religion, Culture and the State: Reflections on the Taylor Bouchard Report*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011.) p.115.

Charest announced the establishment of the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference.¹⁰⁵ These accommodation practices are more colloquially known as “reasonable accommodations,” which is originally a legal term associated with labor jurisprudence. It refers to the relaxation of rules whose rigid application is understood to hamper the equality rights of individuals.¹⁰⁶

Premier Charest enlisted two academics: Gérard Bouchard, a sociologist, and Charles Taylor, a philosopher, to serve as the commissions’ co-chairpersons. Its mandate was to evaluate accommodation practices in Quebec, analyze the current situation (bearing in mind the experiences of other societies), consult the population, and make recommendations to the government that would conform to Quebec’s societal values.¹⁰⁷ The premier suggested that the Commission would be “the means, as a society, to have a well thought out and respective dialogue.”¹⁰⁸

With a 5 million dollar budget, a number of research projects were commissioned and research instruments developed; as well, 31 focus groups were organized throughout the province.¹⁰⁹ Also, 59 meetings with experts and

¹⁰⁵ Québec. Site de la Première ministre du Québec., “Le premier ministre énonce sa vision et crée une commission spéciale d’étude” (2007) Available at: <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.qc.ca/actualites/communiqués/2007/fevrier/2007-02-08.asp> (Consulted 09/12/2012).

¹⁰⁶ “Seeking common ground: Quebecers speak out”. (Montréal, Québec: Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, 2007). p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ Québec. Site de la Première ministre du Québec., “Le premier ministre énonce sa vision et crée une commission spéciale d’étude” (2007) Available at: <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.qc.ca/actualites/communiqués/2007/fevrier/2007-02-08.asp> (Consulted 09/12/2012). Québec.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, “Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation”. (Québec: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 2008). p.18.

representatives from socio-cultural organizations were held and an advisory committee with 15 specialists from divergent disciplines was established.¹¹⁰ The commission received 900 briefs, held 328 days of hearings, 31 days of public consultation sessions, 22 citizens' forums, and operated a website for 5 months which provided citizens with the ability to express opinions and exchange ideas.¹¹¹ This all afforded the Commission ample material with which to fulfill their mandate and draft a report between January and March of 2008.¹¹²

In order to respond adequately to the public discontent, the co-chairs needed to determine its source and breadth. Thus, the report provides a chronology of events that took place in Quebec in four distinct periods: "antecedents" (from December 1985 to April 2002), "intensification of controversy" (from May 2002 to February 2006), "turmoil" (from March 2006 to June 2007), and finally, "a period of calm" (from July 2007 to April 2008).¹¹³

The authors asserted that a total of 73 issues of conflict contributed directly or indirectly to the reasonable accommodations crisis and suggested that 55% of these issues occurred during what they refer to as the "period of turmoil". Their data indicated that 40 arose within 15 months, whereas only 73 took place throughout the rest of the over 22 years of compiled data.¹¹⁴ In this earliest period, the controversies

¹¹⁰ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation". p.17.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

¹¹² *Id.*

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-59.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.60.

were few. The majority of incidents can be categorized as either a mix of requests for accommodation,¹¹⁵ complaints regarding difference and accommodation practices (the latter being instances where, for example, laws or convention were contravened but previously tolerated¹¹⁶), and demands for secularization. While the denouement of conflict is not of relevance here, it is perhaps worth noting, as did the Taylor-Bouchard Report, that in most cases legal or authoritative bodies were called upon to find solutions for conflicts, rather than having solutions developed directly between the conflicting individuals and/or organizations.¹¹⁷

The second period, dubbed “the intensification of controversy”, identified 12 issues which contributed to and served as “a turning point in the debate on accommodation”.¹¹⁸ This period was also formed of requests, complaints of either a lack of accommodation or of too much tolerance, as well as of demands to make society more secular. What is of note is that the escalation of conflicts grew exponentially; conflicts which originated in schools, institutions and publically frequented locations, were coming before the judiciary for resolution. Taylor and Bouchard astutely noted that, in this period, we begin to see conflicts, such as the renaming of Montreal’s City Hall Christmas Tree in 2002, which do not deal directly with accommodation but nonetheless become salient and inflammatory.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Requests for flexibility with regards to working hours and religious observance, the eruv in Outremont, amendments to RCMP uniforms, etc.

¹¹⁶ For example, Sukkahs in Outremont, Synagogue in Outremont.

¹¹⁷ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, “Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation”. p. 48.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.50.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

During the third period, aptly named “the turmoil,” the report listed 39 conflicts. As in the previous period, one can observe the resolution of the antecedent conflicts by various levels of the judiciary. The turmoil was also characterized by requests for accommodation, complaints where accommodation was lacking as well as complaints regarding the attribution of special status or rights to those seeking accommodation.¹²⁰ There are two differences in this period which are both significant and novel. One can readily note three separate incidents where individuals and groups reacted in direct response to the advent of a very public reasonable accommodations debate: an intolerant song entitled “*Ça commence à faire, là*” (roughly translated as “That’s just about enough, now”) written and performed by a Montreal police officer, which was extensively viewed on the Internet; Mario Dumont’s open letter criticizing Quebec’s passivity and lack of assertion of common values; and Hérouxville’s “life standards” list, which detailed practices deemed unacceptable by the municipality. All three indicate a burgeoning discontent within the general public, in particular, within the francophone majority. The other difference, which had an enormous influence on the longevity, intensity and inflammatory nature of the debate, was the intense media coverage. In contrast to the preceding periods, where the authors noted that only one incident was reported by news media in each, the turmoil boasted 37 circumstances covered by the media.¹²¹ Of the 35 situations where the media became involved, the report specified that in six, the media broke the story,

¹²⁰ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, “Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation”. pp. 50-58.

¹²¹ These situations involved an Ottawa area soccer tournament hijab and Seattle Washington Christmas decorations/ Orthodox Jewish Rabbi.

whereas it was described as merely *reporting on, publishing, or taking note of* and *covering* the others.¹²²

During the final period, the “period of calm,” the authors suggested that there was a marked difference in media coverage attributed to accommodation practices as only 8 conflicts are listed.¹²³ And of these just two had media involvement, one of which took place in Ontario. A single conflict resulted from a direct accommodation request, four were resolved through judicial means, and only one consisted of a complaint (by a parent concerned about the over-secularization of a public daycare).¹²⁴

So, was there a crisis? Was the commission necessary? The report included a section entitled “the fabrication of perceptions” which suggested that, while there was certainly discord among Quebec’s population over integration practices, two factors played a pivotal role in converting the debate into the polemic that it turned out to be.¹²⁵ These two, I claim, made the establishment of the Commission necessary. The first factor the co-chairs discuss is “opinion,”¹²⁶ which is sometimes less than factual and can be disseminated by rumor and gossip. In addition to rumor and gossip, stereotyping (which includes and is often perpetuated by racist and discriminatory jokes about particular ethnicities, cultures and religions), had an

¹²² Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, “Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation”. pp.53-58.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p.59.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.59-60.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

¹²⁶ *Id.*

immense role to play in the stoking of insecurities and mistrust regarding the “other.” In consequent, opinion undoubtedly had a role to play in the amplification of the accommodations debate. The other major factor that the authors suggested affected and shaped public opinion during the turmoil period of the debate was the media.¹²⁷ As mentioned above, the report states that there were at least six cases where the media actually broke a conflict and it is without question that the heightened attention contributed to the propagation of sensationalism, rumor and stereotypes that characterized those 15 months.

In their conclusion to chapter three, the authors first suggested that the public often mistakenly targeted immigrants and members of ethnic minorities in conflicts where they could be considered innocent bystanders. They also suggested that some attempts at being accommodating actually exceeded what was necessary, exaggerations which led to perceived lenience on the part of authorities, which garnered its share of negative attention.¹²⁸

The authors questioned how the public at large might have reacted to more accurately documented versions of events rather than to the mediatized, often stereotyped, ones that were readily available.¹²⁹ The authors asserted that “the most plausible hypothesis is that the accommodation crisis would not have happened”.¹³⁰ To them, a number of contributing factors, including globalization, uncertainty

¹²⁷ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, “Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation”. p.74.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.75.

¹²⁹ *Id.*

¹³⁰ *Id.*

regarding the French language in Quebec, the decline of Catholicism, the questioning of integration policies and the anxiety over identity, the prevalence of questions about accommodation in conjunction with “media excesses” – all “tipped the balance.”¹³¹

The authors even questioned their own mandate, wondering aloud whether the establishment of their Commission was really necessary, but concluded that public dissent rendered it appropriate.¹³² I suggest that the exchanges, debates and academic attention encouraged by the Commission, likely engendered a climate which was more favorable to introspection and, one might even venture, positive change.

The analysis conducted by members of the Commission and compiled by the report’s authors culminated in a comprehensive list of recommendations which was made public on May 22, 2008. The 37 recommendations were organized into 8 themes: *learning diversity, harmonization practices, integration of immigrants, interculturalism, inequality and discrimination, the French language, secularism and research to be conducted.*

2.2 Quebec Government’s Response

The Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities (MICC), under the Charest government, produced a table (see Annex C) which enumerated the report’s

¹³¹ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, “Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation”. p.75.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p.75-76.

recommendations and outlined the government's efforts to comply. A cursory glance to the 22 page government response created by the MICC might leave a reader with the impression that the government fulfilled all of the recommendations. A closer look, however, reveals unheeded recommendations and a number of initiatives, programs and cases of funding which were, in some cases, already in existence at the time the recommendations were published. The following paragraphs will provide a critical review of the government's response to the Commission. In particular, the merits of Bill 94 and the lack of regard paid to the promotion of secularism and interculturalism will be examined.

Of the 37 recommendations, most were at least addressed. Those that were not were claimed by the MICC to be under the jurisdiction of another government ministry.¹³³ There were also two recommendations for which MICC took alternate actions from those suggested: one regarding the establishment of an *Office d'harmonisation interculturelle*, and one which dealt with the wearing of religious signs by government employees.¹³⁴ A number of the normative changes suggested in the recommendations were deemed too inflammatory or controversial to be implemented.¹³⁵ Perhaps the most controversial recommendations were the renaming of the government department dealing with immigration, the enshrining of

¹³³ See Annex C.

¹³⁴ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation."pp. 267, 271, also See Annex C.

¹³⁵ Telephone conversation with Kathleen Weil, former Minister of Immigration and Cultural communities, October 29, 2012.

interculturalism in a statute and finally the removal and relocation of the crucifix on the wall above the President's chair in the National Assembly.¹³⁶

While I shall later claim that the normative changes suggested in the Commission's recommendations did not receive adequate government attention, it could be argued that symbolic, rather than normative, changes matter most. Practical policies and programs help immigrants overcome obstacles and tangibly facilitate their integration in society. Regardless of the dates of their implementation, then, it should be accepted that the Quebec government has indeed implemented programs and policies aimed at bettering the lives of its newcomers.

Examples of such initiatives following from the Commission's recommendations include measures to facilitate the recognition of skills and diplomas acquired abroad.¹³⁷ The MICC data listed over 30 agreements with professional orders to speed up competency recognition.¹³⁸ Also, *Défi Montréal*, a collaborative initiative with the *Conférence régionale des élus (CRÉ) de Montréal*, had 6 projects dealing with the role of employers in the process of competency recognition of immigrants.¹³⁹ A *Commissaire aux plaintes* dealing with the mechanisms to recognize professional competencies was created in December of 2009. A coordination hub for access to training was also established, and an agreement in principle was signed in 2010 between the *Conseil Interprofessionnel du Québec*

¹³⁶ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation." pp. 268-269, 271.

¹³⁷ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation". p. 268.

¹³⁸ See Annex C p.10.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

(CIQ) and the *Conférence des recteurs et des principaux des universités du Québec* (CRÉPUQ) to create partnership agreements with universities and professional orders to develop training programs for people trained abroad in 2010.¹⁴⁰ There were also collaborative efforts to revise and render uniform the French exams administered by the *Office québécois de la langue française* (OQLF) for those seeking access to professional orders. Moreover, governmental investments of 3 million dollars annually were accorded to the implementation of various supplemental training programs required by professional orders to facilitate the recognition of competencies acquired abroad since 2008.¹⁴¹ Similarly, the government's response to the Commission's recommendation to stimulate immigration to Quebec's regions (see Annex C) was also comprehensive and efficacious.

Another successful example of the recommendations' implementation occurred outside of the MICC and dealt with the dejudicialization of accommodation practices and encouragement of responsibility among those who intervene.¹⁴² The MICC indicated that the recommendation concerned the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (CDPDJ) and the *Ministère de L'Éducation du Loisir et du Sport* (MELS). When contacted, the CDPDJ confirmed that they had commented on the report's release and had created a programme, *Service Conseil en matière d'accommodement raisonnable*, which offers assistance to those confronted with accommodation requests pertaining to working conditions or services

¹⁴⁰ See Annex C.

¹⁴¹ See Annex C.

¹⁴² Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation". p. 266.

offered.¹⁴³ A recent meeting with Kathleen Weil, former *Ministre de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles*, confirmed that this initiative was an overwhelming success. She asserted that the CDPDJ's project had facilitated accommodation practices and consequently decreased the pervasiveness of reasonable accommodations as a salient media topic.¹⁴⁴

As for the MELS, the ministry implemented a policy for educational and intercultural integration in 1998.¹⁴⁵ The most recent action plan, *Programme de rapprochement interculturel en milieu scolaire*,¹⁴⁶ in 2011-2012, offers educational institutions the means to implement the principles of the 1998 *Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle*.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, in keeping with the co-chairs' recommendation that there be intercultural training for practicing teachers, workshops were organized between October of 2011 and April of 2012 in Montreal by the MELS.¹⁴⁸

An example of a semi-successful government response to the Commission's recommendations relates to battle against various forms of racism. MICC data indicated that the 2008 policy *Diversité: une valeur ajoutée, Plan d'action*

¹⁴³ Commission des Droits de la Personne et Droits de la Jeunesse. "La Commission des droits de la personne et des droit de la jeunesse lance un service-conseil en matière d'accommodement raisonnable". Available at http://www.cdpdj.qc.ca/comm/COMM_serviceconseil.pdf. (Consulted 11/2012).

¹⁴⁴ My meeting with Kathleen Weil took place in her constituency office on Tuesday October 16, 2012.

¹⁴⁵ Québec. Ministère de l'Éducation, 1998. "Plan of action for educational integration and intercultural education". Available at : http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/REFORME/int_scol/Plan_a.pdf. (Consulted 11/2012).

¹⁴⁶ Québec. Gouvernement du Québec Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport. 2011. "Programme de rapprochement interculturel en milieu scolaire - Guide de présentation de projets à l'intention des milieux scolaires 2011-2012.". Available at : <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/publications/index.asp?page=fiche&id=591>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

¹⁴⁷ Québec. Gouvernement du Québec Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport. 2011. "Une école d'avenir - Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle". <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/publications/index.asp?page=fiche&id=1781>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

¹⁴⁸ Québec. Gouvernement du Québec Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport. 2011. "Mise en œuvre du plan d'action d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle". Available at: http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/publications/publications/EPEPS/Communautes_culturelles/SessionsFormatiOnInterculturelloes2011-2012_OffreServices.pdf. p. 2. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

gouvernemental pour favoriser la participation de tous à l'essor du Québec 2008-2013, has fighting discrimination at the core of its action plan. Unfortunately, it did not adequately deal with the particularities of anti-Semitism or Islamophobia, or with amending the *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* to prohibit public incitement to discrimination as was suggested in the recommendations.

An example of a less successful government response once again involves the *Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse*. The Bouchard-Taylor report suggested, in two separate recommendations,¹⁴⁹ that the CDPDJ's funding be substantially increased. According to the data obtained by the research and communications director, no such increase was observed.¹⁵⁰ Furthermore, there was no evidence from the CDPDG, or the government, that any changes had been made, or were even in the process of being considered, with regards to the reinforcement of social and economic rights in Quebec's *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne*. Measures were taken to ensure the prominence of gender equality, as recommended, via Bill 63¹⁵¹, presented by then *Ministre de la Culture, des Communications and de la Condition féminine*, Ms. Christine St-Pierre. It would be difficult to argue that this initiative was a follow up to the report's recommendations

¹⁴⁹ See Annex C, (Recommendations A1 & E1.4).

¹⁵⁰ Conversation with the CDPDJ Director of Research, Education-Cooperation and Communication on July 24, 2012.

¹⁵¹ Québec. An Act to amend the Charter of human rights and freedoms. Québec Official Publisher, 2007. Available at: <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projets-loi-38-1.html>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

however, since the bill was first presented in December of 2007¹⁵² whereas the report was not officially published until May of 2008.

2.2.1 Bill 94

I believe that the most troubling of the government's responses was the *Loi établissant les balises encadrant les demandes d'accommodement dans l'Administration gouvernementale et dans certains établissements*, better known as Bill 94,¹⁵³ which sought to respond to the recommendations that suggested the creation of a framework for conspicuous religious symbols and which called for an increased effort among public institutions to adapt to diversity.¹⁵⁴ Bill 94 aimed to establish guidelines for accommodation requests within the institutions of government administration.¹⁵⁵ Rather than creating a framework for identifying acceptable accommodation requests, however, Bill 94 is little more than a definition of terms, instances and bodies potentially affected by such requests.¹⁵⁶ The sole feature truly related to reasonable accommodation had to do with the obligation for members of the administration and its institutions and for those consulting or receiving services from the aforementioned bodies to show their faces during their exchanges.¹⁵⁷ This

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ Québec. An Act to establish guidelines governing accommodation requests within the Administration and certain institutions. 2010. Gouvernement du Québec. Available at : <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-94-39-1.html>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

¹⁵⁴ See Annex C (Recommendations BG, G2).

¹⁵⁵ Québec. An Act to establish guidelines governing accommodation requests within the Administration and certain institutions. 2010. Gouvernement du Québec. Available at : <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-94-39-1.html>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ *Id.*

obligation, it is said, can be subject to accommodation requests provided that security, communication and identification purposes are not compromised.¹⁵⁸

The government had an opportunity, as was encouraged by the by the Commission's report, to create legislation which would define its brand of secularism, reaffirm the policy of interculturalism and reassert Quebec's values. Bill 94 did not achieve any of that. A discussion with Ms. Weil, as well as with former members of her cabinet, on this subject provided more clarity as to why Bill 94 was never passed.

The bill was presented in March of 2010, adopted in principle in February of 2011, and sent back to the *Comité des Institutions* in March of 2011. As the minutes from the Comité des Institutions indicate, the detailed study of Bill 94 began in March of 2011 and a total of 5 times during the month of March. A meeting was held in April and another in May followed up by the final meeting on September 28th 2011. The commissions' minutes were replete with amendments and sub-amendments aiming to include or expand upon the notions of gender equality, secularism and identity.¹⁵⁹ However, the committee's report was not produced and the Bill was not adopted.¹⁶⁰ As the Parti Libéral du Québec failed to form a government in the most recent general elections on September 4th, 2012, the study of Bill 94 has ceased.

What is disquieting is that the legislation as presented indirectly targeted a particular subset of a culture/religion and may have added to the negativity directed

¹⁵⁸ *Id.*

¹⁵⁹ Québec. An Act to establish guidelines governing accommodation requests within the Administration and certain institutions. 2010. Gouvernement du Québec. Available at : <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-94-39-1.html>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

towards the Muslim community in Quebec. While the bill does not overtly speak to any particular group, the reality, of course, is that the wearing of the face veil or niqab is, a particular focus of the legislation, is observed primarily by a subset of Muslim women. As there was not a single accommodation request pertaining to the niqab throughout the entire period covered in the Commission's report¹⁶¹, the need to establish legislation as a response to this seems unnecessary. Moreover, as Gérard Bouchard informs us in his recent work, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*, it is estimated that only 30 women wear the "voile intégrale", or full face covering, in Quebec today.¹⁶² While this issue did not seem to garner much attention in the minutes from the Institutions Commissions' meetings¹⁶³, one must question whether Bill 94 was likely to be upheld against a challenge based on the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Could that be the reason behind Bill 94 stalling from September 2011 until the dissolution of the Parti Libéral du Québec (PLQ) government in August of 2012? Former minister Weil indicated that the Parti Québécois (PQ) members argued, in filibuster style, that the bill did not reach far enough to protect Quebec's fundamental values and thus they blocked the bill's advancement. While it is true that Bill 94 did not gain consensus, this seems an incomplete explanation for the bill's failure, given that the Parti Libéral du Québec had

¹⁶¹ It should be noted that the issue of full-face veils did receive media coverage as it pertained to the *Directeur général des élections du Québec* and Elections Canada's positions relative to voter identification norms. These situations, as noted by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission's report, did not however involve requests from Muslim women who wanted to vote without showing their faces.

¹⁶² Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme, Un point de vue québécois*. p. 209.

¹⁶³ Québec. An Act to establish guidelines governing accommodation requests within the Administration and certain institutions. 2010. Gouvernement du Québec. Available at : <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-94-39-1.html>. (Consulted 08/12/2012)

formed a majority government, which would have allowed Bill 94 to pass, even without support from the opposition parties.

While I am not a proponent of the Parti Québécois' version of secularism, I found myself in agreement with statements made by PQ member of the National Assembly (MNA) Maka Kotto, who expressed his disappointment in the meager contents of Bill 94 as a response to the Bouchard-Taylor report.¹⁶⁴ Mr. Kotto underscored what I suggest are the most staggering of the lacunae; many of the major normative changes recommended by the Commission were inadequately addressed. That is especially true for recommendations whose aim were to help to create or build upon existing policies, statutes and institutions to promote awareness of Quebec's moral pluralism model and its strategies for managing difference, specifically in terms of secularism and interculturalism.

2.2.2. Shortcomings

Before discussing normative changes, it should be noted that many of the recommendations suggested increases to funding for various existing organizations or new projects which would facilitate integration. Though the MICC data lists the organizations funded by the government, in many circumstances no amounts were indicated, leaving the reader to wonder whether funding was in fact increased as was suggested.

¹⁶⁴ Québec. Assemblée Nationale. 2011. Journal des débats de la Commission des institutions. Le mardi 3 mai 2011 - Vol. 42 N° 18. Available at: <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/travaux-parlementaires/commissions/ci-39-2/journal-debats/CI-110503.html>. (Consulted 10/2012).

Another problem alluded to above, is that for recommendations whose scope could involve other ministries or institutions, the MICC table refers the reader to the concerned entities without even providing a synopsis of the measures taken by them. This, I suggest, shows at the very least a lack of communication between governmental units and perhaps even speaks to a general lack of cohesion with regards to policy and its implementation. When I contacted the cabinets of the various ministries and made inquiries as to the fulfillment of the recommendations, the most frequent response I received amounted to referring all of the inquiries back to the MICC.

The Bouchard-Taylor report made a number of recommendations which would help promote both accommodations and openness to alterity, as well as encourage a better appreciation of the normative principles which guide Quebec society. Among them were the promotion of a common civic framework and shared public values, as well as the promotion of interculturalism so that intercultural inspired policy could be better understood by the general population. Similarly, the report called for a white paper on secularism so that Quebec's model of open secularism could be elaborated and conveyed to its population.¹⁶⁵

There were two other recommendations which could have better established both secularism and interculturalism in Quebec's general population. These are the suggestion to change the *Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelle's* name to the *Ministère de l'Immigration et de l'Interculturalisme*, which seems

¹⁶⁵ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation". p.154.

appropriate given the importance accorded to intercultural policy, and the removal of the crucifix from the wall of *Salon Bleu* of the National Assembly.¹⁶⁶

While it has been argued that the crucifix in the *Salon Bleu* represents Quebec's heritage, the argument that the historicity of the crucifix could be equally appreciated from another vantage point within the National Assembly is also valid. In a society where secularisation was a pivotal element of a much anticipated modernization, one might question why removing the crucifix caused such a stir. Perhaps the controversy stems more from the motive behind why it was being removed. Had the change in location taken place during the 1960's, at the height of the province's secularization and modernization, those opposed would surely have had a difficult time. But the social movements and religious decline during that period indicate that the relocation within the parliament, conserving its historical value, might have even been welcomed. I suggest that the difference here is that instead of the removal being seen as an emancipatory act by the majority community, it has been taken to represent an accommodation to minority communities, that is, a removal of Catholicism for the benefit of diversity.

While it will later be argued that the presence or absence of religious symbols does not inherently imply bias or partiality, one must seriously consider the report's recommendation which suggests a careful preservation of Quebec's historical ties to Catholicism elsewhere in the National Assembly. This is not because representatives are not able to carry out their duties with impartiality (which would contradict a

¹⁶⁶ See Annex C.

position that will be argued in the following chapter), nor because those who visit the Assembly or watch the proceedings on television to might be confused about the place of religion or its impact on legislators and legislation. Nor is it because it is necessary to renounce religion or religious symbols in order to prevent other religious or cultural communities from demanding recognition. Simply put, a religious symbol of one, albeit majority, religious community should not occupy a prominent place in the legislature of a society that claims to be secular and intercultural.

While the government of Quebec has affirmed secularism as among its fundamental values,¹⁶⁷ acknowledged the benefits of immigration and created integration policies, both the state and its population seem to hesitate rather than truly face up to religious or cultural difference. When a position is asserted, especially regarding something as profound as the nature of a society, it should be applied broadly and consistently. The problem with the application of secularism and interculturalism is that the notions are poorly defined and ineffectively conveyed to the general population. More needs to be done to adequately orient Quebec's policies. Suggestions as to how will be presented in the following chapter.

¹⁶⁷Québec. Site de la Première ministre du Québec., "Le premier ministre énonce sa vision et crée une commission spéciale d'étude" (2007). Available at: <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.qc.ca/actualites/communiqués/2007/fevrier/2007-02-08.asp> (Consulted 09/12/2012).

3. Secularism, Interculturalism and Patriotic Conversation

While the Quebec government's response to the Bouchard-Taylor report's recommendations was at best incomplete, not to mention considered lacklustre by one of the Commission's co-chairs,¹⁶⁸ this does not diminish the value or validity of the reports' recommendations. I will argue here that Maclure, Taylor and Bouchard are, at least in part, correct; the open secular regime and intercultural integration model they recommend are effective means of managing difference in Quebec.

Before discussing the open secular regime and intercultural orientations as a means of conflict resolution, it is important, for the aims of the arguments which will follow, to situate both open secularism and interculturalism within the spectrum of contemporary political philosophies. After a brief presentation of neutralism and pluralism, the subsequent sections will define and develop the notions of open secularism and interculturalism as presented in the Bouchard-Taylor report, Maclure and Taylor's *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience* and Bouchard's "What is interculturalism?" and *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. I will argue that while the commission's espousal of open secularism and interculturalism is legitimate, we should aim higher. Open secularism and interculturalism share a shortcoming when it comes to conflicts arising from everyday living with difference, namely, they

¹⁶⁸ Gervais, Lisa Marie. "Beaucoup de bruit... pour presque rien" *Le Devoir* (Montréal), 9 novembre 2012. p.1.

are overly-satisfied with compromise and tolerance. I will argue that neither negotiation, nor the compromise essential to it, should be the ultimate aims of conflict resolution in a diverse liberal-democratic society such as Quebec. Rather, it is “conversation,” with its goal of understanding rather than compromise, which serves as the best approach to conflict resolution.

3.1. Contemporary Political Philosophies

3.1.1 Neutralism and “Force”

Neutralism is perhaps the most “popular” political philosophy in contemporary Western democracies. Neutralism presents itself as systematic and morally neutral, and it calls for pleading before an authority which is responsible for applying its principles. I will develop each of these interdependent elements to offer a more complete account of this political philosophy.

First, as suggested by its name, neutralism’s aim is impartiality. In order to achieve this, when conflicts arise, the neutralist calls for adversarial parties to defend their respective positions before an authority figure who impartially applies a systematic theory of justice.¹⁶⁹ An analogous illustration of this can be appreciated by observing a team sporting event, such as hockey. Referees observe the conduct of players to ensure that the systematic rules of the game are followed.

¹⁶⁹ Charles Blattberg, “Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies,” in *Patriotic Elaborations* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2009), p. 6.

Perhaps a better example of neutralist conflict resolution is Canada's current legal system, at least on one understanding. It requires that a plaintiff and defendant plead their cases before a judge, who refers to law and jurisprudence to render a verdict.¹⁷⁰ The plea made by each party is unidirectional: to the court.¹⁷¹ Adversaries do not *discuss* with the decision-making authority, nor do they discuss amongst themselves. Moreover, when the judge withdraws to deliberate, he or she does so alone.¹⁷²

Using a systematic theory of justice, the authority draws the conflict out of its context, considers the acts in terms of the laws which have been claimed to have been contravened, and applies the systematic rules. For the neutralist there is no room for relativity. Instead, justice relies on the unified framework of commensurate, decontextualized values or, to use John Rawls' expression, "basic goods".¹⁷³ Furthermore, as Charles Blattberg suggests, since pleading is not a genuine form of dialogue, neutralist conflict resolution should be considered a form of force.

After all, judges' verdicts and referees' calls are *imposed* on the adversaries, in the case of the former via law enforcement, i.e. by the police. So the decision making power resides with the authority figure and the adversaries before him must submit to his application of the law and be punished for their crimes if they are found guilty. Blattberg thus argues that the imposition of a punishment is tantamount to force.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁰ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies," in *Patriotic Elaborations* p.6.

¹⁷¹ *Id.*

¹⁷² *Id.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.180.

Neutrality does not aspire to accommodations through negotiation. It simply aims to achieve a denouement through rigorous application of the law. This method may seem to be an inherently impartial and fair one, but I believe that it is not, especially since it can easily lead to a winner-take-all outcome.¹⁷⁵ While it could be argued that neutrality provides some flexibility since its decisions are often open to appeal, at least when it comes to the lower courts, the final result of an authority imposing a decision remains.

Some conflicts stem from rights claims and involve individuals' deep seated beliefs and values. It is in such cases where neutrality is most lacking. Reasonable accommodation as the product of negotiation deals with conflicts which arise from convictions of conscience which, as we have seen, are intrinsically tied to identity. Losing one's case then, is injurious to a person's values and beliefs. So given that the values which motivate accommodation requests are pivotal to one's sense of self, and harm to cherished beliefs or values is an inevitable result of the neutralist approach, I conclude that neutrality is not a sufficient method of conflict resolution.

3.1.2. Pluralism and Compromise

While it is not sufficiently developed outside of the Taylor Bouchard report, Bouchard, Maclure and Taylor's work also encourages the dejudicialization of accommodation requests. As a specifically *political* philosophy, this pluralist approach is markedly superior to neutrality because of its participative, dialogical nature.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁵ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies," in *Patriotic Elaborations* p.180.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Good faith dialogue as means of conflict resolution removes decision-making from the hands of an authority and, instead, encourages the opposing parties to sort out their differences.¹⁷⁷ Pluralism is conscious of difference and understands that while laws are intended to protect and ensure equality, their application, when it comes to highly diverse populations, can lead to indirect discrimination.

The aim of the pluralist approach is to achieve compromise through negotiation. However the approach acknowledges that negotiation and compromise are not always possible or effectual means of resolving conflicts. And when dialogical attempts at conflict resolution fail, the parties may turn to a third party authority decide their case for them.¹⁷⁸ So it is important to stress that the pluralist approach begins by aiming for compromise but that it will resort to neutralisms' judicial "force" when necessary.¹⁷⁹ When dialogue is possible, however, parties should negotiate in an effort to reach an agreement, though this means they cannot avoid compromising their profound beliefs.¹⁸⁰ Thus, while it improves on the tendency for winner-take all results associated with the neutralist approach, its ultimate aim of compromise still necessarily causes injury to values and beliefs.¹⁸¹

Having defined neutralism and pluralism, the following sections will review open secularism and interculturalism, diversity management methods suggested by the Commission's report.

¹⁷⁷ *Id.*

¹⁷⁸ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies," in *Patriotic Elaborations*. pp. 5, 18.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.18.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.12.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.12.

3.2 Open Secularism

Secularism has been defined as “the principle of indifference to or rejection of exclusion of religion of religious considerations”¹⁸². It has also been understood as referring to the transition of a society from the religious to the secular, a transition which occurs through two distinct yet sometimes muddled processes: political secularisation (*laicisation*), which is the independence from religion by the State, and social secularisation (secularisation), which denotes the decrease in religious influence on social practices and conduct.¹⁸³ Charles Taylor suggests that present day-secularism has evolved from its origins to include the means by which people with divergent conceptions of the good live together.¹⁸⁴ Understood thus, contemporary secularism extends beyond the institutional separation of church and state and aims to handle diverse religious, metaphysical and philosophical views in a just manner.¹⁸⁵

One of the ways the Bouchard-Taylor report suggested to manage Quebec’s religious diversity was through “open secularism”. Commission member Jocelyn Maclure and co-chair Charles Taylor published *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, which defines open secularism in contrast with the republican secular model. The following paragraphs will offer a brief definition of secular regime types,

¹⁸² Merriam-Webster. Available at: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/secularism>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

¹⁸³ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2011) pp. 15-16.

¹⁸⁴ Derbyshire, Jonathan, “The Books Interview: Charles Taylor” available at The New Statesman <http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2012/02/interview-secularism-religion> (Consulted 08/2012).

¹⁸⁵ Charles Taylor, “How to Define Secularism,” available at: <http://habermas-rawls.blogspot.ca/2010/10/charles-taylor-how-to-define-secularism.html>. (Consulted 11/2012).

after which I will explain Maclure and Taylor's concept of open secularism. To provide a concrete example of its application in diverse societies like Quebec, the open secular model's approach to visible signs of religious affiliation will be developed. After defining open secularism and highlighting its value, I will then say something about its shortcomings.

3.2.1. Secular Regimes

There are a number of secular political regimes; the two discussed in Maclure and Taylor's book are the republican and the open models.¹⁸⁶ Simply stated, they are distinct from one another in terms of the ties they have to religion. Open-secularism, the model Maclure and Taylor espouse, is one "centered on the protection of freedom of conscience and religion" and a "more flexible concept of separation and neutrality"¹⁸⁷. Thus, as a diversity management tool, open secularism deals with religious diversity.

In a republican secular regime, the effacement of religion is said to impose state neutrality and foster a sense of commonality among citizens. Religious difference is replaced by a civic identity in the public sphere.¹⁸⁸ Republican secularism thus takes an assimilationist approach to immigration and integration. Not only will a republican secular state claim to refrain from showing partiality to particular

¹⁸⁶ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, p.34.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 29, 31-32.

religions or belief systems, it will also require that its citizenry show restraint when it comes to overtly demonstrating their personal religious affiliations.¹⁸⁹

Republican secular societies are sometimes said to accord more importance to how secularism is achieved, rather than to its aims. The separation of church and state, and state neutrality, become the central principles to be defended, rather than being seen as the means to defend the values of freedom of conscience and equal moral respect. In other words, because of its strong neutrality, a republican secular regime will limit individual freedoms. An example of this is the French law 2004-228,¹⁹⁰ which effectively banned conspicuous signs of religious affiliation from public elementary and secondary schools. Concretely, in the name of state neutrality, law 2004-288 forbids students from wearing religious clothing or symbols such as the hijab, yarmulkes or turbans, thus obligating children to ignore certain requirements of their faith or forcing their parents to educate their young in the private sector. This, as Haroon Siddiqui suggests, limits “their interaction with the wider community.”¹⁹¹ Maclure and Taylor believe prohibition of religious expression in the name of neutrality to be a perversion of secularism and indeed go so far as to refer to it as a “fetishism of the means”.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

¹⁹⁰ Le Service Public de la Diffusion du Droit. Available at: <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000417977&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id>. (Consulted 11/2012).

¹⁹¹ Haroon Siddiqui, “Don’t Blame Multiculturalism” in Stein et Al. *Uneasy Partners*. (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2007). p.29.

¹⁹² Jocelyn Maclure, Charles Taylor. *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p. 29.

3.2.2. Open Secularism: The Maclure-Taylor Model

The four elements of Maclure and Taylor's alternative conception are divided into moral and institutional principles. The moral principles, or aims, are *equality of respect* and *freedom of conscience*, and the institutional principles or means, are *separation of church and state* and *state neutrality*.¹⁹³ As mentioned earlier, Maclure and Taylor's model of open secularism focuses on protecting individuals' freedom of conscience by keeping Church and State separate and ensuring the State's neutrality towards all beliefs.¹⁹⁴ It is argued that these principles ensure that a state does not impose a particular world view or notion of the good, but rather allows for autonomy and remains neutral to the various faiths, beliefs and conceptions of the good life.¹⁹⁵ Unlike the republican model, then, open secularism places more importance on achieving equality and freedom rather than focusing on the means by which they are obtained.¹⁹⁶ Concretely, this means that an open secular regime will not espouse a particular faith or belief system but will accept public manifestations of its citizens' faiths in the public sphere. To do otherwise, such as prohibit the wearing of religious clothing, would compromise individuals' freedom of religion.

Maclure and Taylor rightly acknowledge that it is difficult to reconcile state neutrality with equality of respect and freedom of conscience.¹⁹⁷ Unlike the neutralist, they suggest seeking "maximum compatibility" between values¹⁹⁸ because some

¹⁹³ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. pp.19-21.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.27.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.9-11.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p.26.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

¹⁹⁸ *Id.*

values are incommensurable. Considering their acknowledgement of values' incommensurability, one might infer that they endorse pluralist approach of good-faith negotiations in order to negotiate compromises.

Beyond these institutional principles, Maclure and Taylor assert that the proper functioning of an open secular society is dependent on the will of citizens, with their diverse conceptions of the good, to "accept the authority of common principles on which their political institutions are based".¹⁹⁹ While favouring diversity in terms of freedom of conscience, the open secular regime will be one that recognizes that a liberal democratic state cannot be neutral regarding its fundamental principles such as human dignity, popular sovereignty and basic human rights. For these values are "constitutive values" that form the bedrock of liberal-democratic states.²⁰⁰

Constitutive values are essential because they are said to provide the means for citizens adhering to various conceptions of the good life to coexist. Maclure and Taylor draw on John Rawls' decontextualizing, neutralist notion of an "overlapping consensus" for this. It asserts that individuals can agree on the importance of a value or principle without sharing the reasoning behind it.²⁰¹ Religious dogma, spiritual belief or personal conviction, for example, could be the reason behind a given value. The conclusion a person arrives at, rather than their reasoning, is what Maclure and

¹⁹⁹ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. pp. 106-107.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁰¹ *Id.*

Taylor suggest form the central tenets of the social bond which underpins the *raison d'être* of a liberal society.²⁰²

In addition to constitutive values, common public values are also necessary to ensure the moral equality of citizens. In a society like Quebec, which has been transformed by secularisation, the establishment of common values and norms are particularly important for the maintenance of cohesion among the various members of society.²⁰³ An example of these types of norms is the establishment of a common work week and holidays, which are based on the historic, often religious, customs of the majority or founding peoples.

Open secularism recognizes that norms are often fashioned with the majority population in mind. So while they can be neutral in theory, they can also have unintended consequences for some. Open secular regimes thus strive to balance the universal application of norms with the diversity of their populations. This is an inherently challenging task.

In Quebec, efforts to balance norms and values with diversity are commonly referred to as “reasonable accommodations”. Some of this approach’s detractors have suggested that the values which are discounted by universal application of norms are merely preferences, and therefore not deserving of accommodation.²⁰⁴ They argue that individuals choose to impose particular observances, conduct and

²⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²⁰³ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p. 15.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

dress upon themselves and so the state and its institutions should not be forced to make allowances for such minority preferences.

The open secular model, as presented by Maclure and Taylor, makes a distinction between mere preferences and deep-seated, identity-forming beliefs.²⁰⁵ Convictions of conscience, as the authors refer to them, are beliefs or values which constitute a specific form of preference and which deserve legal protection.²⁰⁶ It is argued that these convictions emanate from one's conscience, are intrinsic to one's moral identity and play a pivotal role in an individual's life.²⁰⁷ Maclure and Taylor's notion of "freedom of conscience also includes the freedom to reconsider" one's beliefs in order to adapt to circumstance.²⁰⁸ The authors' account of convictions of conscience draws a parallel to the sincerity of belief protocol which is used by the Supreme Court to establish the legitimacy of an accommodation claim.²⁰⁹ This method stipulates that an individual must demonstrate his deep-seated belief in the obligation to follow particular religious practices.²¹⁰

3.2.3 Open secularism and "Conspicuous Symbols"

The application of open secularisms' principles is best appreciated through examples. A number of controversies involving neutrality and freedom of conscience were evoked during the Commission in Quebec. An important one involved the State's approach to religious garb and practices in the public sphere. As mentioned

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁰⁶ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p.76

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p.98.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p.83.

²¹⁰ *Id.*

earlier, the open secular model does not assert that the elimination of religious symbols and practices in the public place is necessary to ensure state neutrality. It is the state, rather than its residents, which must not demonstrate bias. As such, an open secular regime should demonstrate flexibility and strive to find balance between respect for moral equality and freedom of conscience without eradicating or even concretely limiting religious practice in the public space.²¹¹

A prohibition on religious clothing, symbols or practices can be constraining for citizens.²¹² Prohibiting conspicuous symbols or clothing affiliated with a given faith in public institutions, or civil society at large, could create significant obstacles for adherents of various religious denominations. This would clearly be problematic for Sikh or Jewish men who cover their heads with turbans or yarmulkes respectively, or Muslim women who wear a hijab.²¹³ The main obstacle for many individuals here is the difficulty, if not impossibility, of creating a distinction between the public and private practice of their faith. For some faiths, religious practice can include the observance of particular customs and rituals, clothing and food preparations, some of which are evident in adherents' day to day routine. Being prevented from observing these customs and practices in the public sphere would be tantamount to compromising fundamental elements of their belief system.²¹⁴

Prohibition of religious clothing symbols or practices also hampers integration and belonging. Certain governmental and civil service employment opportunities

²¹¹ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. pp. 27-28.

²¹² *Ibid.*, pp.31-32.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 39-40.

would be rendered unattainable for those who refuse to place the tenets of republican secularism above those of their faith. For inhabitants whose religious practice was previously compatible with their employment, the adoption of a republican approach would have serious implications, including career or education reorientation and social isolation. These consequences neither facilitate integration nor foster a sense of commonality.

The elimination of conspicuous symbols only ensures the appearance of neutrality.²¹⁵ True, it can be argued that the lack of religious symbols makes interactions seem free of bias or religious encumbrances. But I suggest that it is naïve to think that bias is inherently present alongside conspicuous religious symbols or, equally importantly, that there is no need to question bias even when symbols are not present. Finally, without visible signs of difference in the public sphere, the general population's exposure to, and therefore comfort with, otherness is limited. And lack of exposure to difference can perpetuate sentiments ranging from pure ignorance to mistrust, which can be prevalent even in avowedly pluralist societies.²¹⁶ Moreover, it has been suggested that encounters with difference from a young age can actually help to diminish the appearance of difference.²¹⁷

In light of all the limitations to freedom of conscience and moral equality imposed by a republican approach to conspicuous symbols and practices, proponents

²¹⁵ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p.44.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

²¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

of an open secular regime do not believe in their prohibition and call instead for the impartial exercise of one's duties.²¹⁸

3.2.4. Shortcomings

Maclure and Taylor present open secularism as an alternative to the strict model of republican secularism. Their conception certainly allows for more religious freedom, especially with regard to religious practice and expression in the public sphere. However, the open secular model focuses exclusively on managing conscience-based differences and, as a result, is not without its flaws.

In her review of *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*, Cecile Laborde raises a number of questions regarding Maclure and Taylor's notion of convictions of conscience. Given that Maclure and Taylor define convictions of conscience as being integral to a person's identity, this means that the only valid candidates for reasonable accommodation are those who can demonstrate, with profound certainty, that their practices are congruous with the demands of their belief-system.²¹⁹ Laborde suggests that this can encourage the most "fundamentalist and rigid interpretations of religious dogma."²²⁰ Moreover, she suggests that Maclure and Taylor dismiss the protection of cultural facets of religious practices; some widespread, and occasionally controversial, cultural and religious practices are not central to religious dogma and

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 44-45.

²¹⁹ Laborde, Cécile, "Protecting Freedom of Religion in the Secular Age" available at The Immanent Frame: <http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/04/23/protecting-freedom-of-religion-in-the-secular-age/>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

²²⁰ *Ibid.*

so their correspondence with accommodation criteria is unclear to Laborde.²²¹ Furthermore, Laborde suggests that Maclure and Taylor do not account for perversions of convictions of conscience.²²² Though these convictions are said to represent that which is most valuable to our identities, sometimes conscience can, despite its sincerity, mislead.²²³ And this can lead to significant abuses, especially if an individual may invoke his convictions of conscience as an excuse for contravening laws or societal norms.

Going beyond these critiques, I want to suggest that focusing solely on an individuals' ability to demonstrate profound belief in practices related to convictions of conscience can lead to even more dangerous distortions. Two issues come to mind; first, as Laborde herself suggests, sometimes our conscience is wrong. Second, expanding on Laborde's notion of conscience being fallible, I would point out that the criterion of sincerity of belief is open to being manipulated - just like a member of a debate team is capable of defending a multiplicity of views on a given topic, an individual may be quite convincing in his demonstration of profound belief which he does not in fact hold. This is rendered even more problematic when an authoritative body chooses to consider a falsely held conviction of conscience as a mitigating factor, when rendering their verdict. This allows an individual's misrepresentation of their faith or belief to work in their favour, override the judicial system, and so lead him or her to avoid punishment to the full extent of the law. The precedent set by such

²²¹ *Id.*

²²² *Id.*

²²³ Laborde, Cécile, "Protecting Freedom of Religion in the Secular Age" available at The Immanent Frame: <http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/04/23/protecting-freedom-of-religion-in-the-secular-age/>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

considerations can also have major implications for prospective defense strategies, since lawyers may refer to the jurisprudence and thus perpetuate and expand upon erroneous conviction of conscience claims. Maclure and Taylor acknowledge the potential for false claims and radicalization of belief but argue that petitioners must also defend and explain their convictions²²⁴ and they suggest that a model whose pitfall is the “inclusion of highly improbable, hypothetical cases is preferable by far to one that excludes core beliefs and values on the pretext that they do not sufficiently reassembly paradigmatic core religious or secular convictions.”²²⁵ While I support the argument for inclusion, I would claim that involving possible manipulation of sincerity of belief are neither improbable, nor uncommon.

A recent example involved parents who were convicted of abusing their toddler to the point of inducing brain-death. They then requested that the brain-dead child remain on a ventilator because removing life support was against the tenets of their faith.²²⁶ Here, acquiescing to the parents’ request would have meant that they could be charged with abuse or battery, but not with homicide. It is not my intention to question the profundity of the parents’ religious convictions, but it is relevant and important to question whether religious belief was being proffered here as a mitigating factor. Not only can sincerity of belief be claimed by a defendant to provide the context of their actions, but it can also be presumed or inferred by a judge. An

²²⁴ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. pp. 98-99.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²²⁶ “Judge to Rule on Keeping Starved Alberta Child on Life Support”. Huffington Post. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2012/09/14/judge-rule-on-keeping-starved-alberta-child-on-life-support_n_1884025.html, (Consulted 07/12/2012);

“Starved Alberta tot’s parents appeal life-support ruling”.

CBC News. Available at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/health/story/2012/09/14/edmonton-judge-starved-twins-life-support.html>. (Consulted 07/12/2012).

example of this can be found in a 1994 verdict in which a Muslim man who was convicted of having sodomized his young step daughter was shown leniency because he stated that he preserved the child's virginity and virginity is important to his faith.²²⁷

Another potential problem with Maclure and Taylor's model arises from the authors' assertion that freedom of conscience implicitly allows individuals to reconsider their convictions. Given the premise that the depth of one's convictions can sanction accommodation, one might wonder how transient beliefs might fulfill this depth requirement. The notion that identities are constantly evolving is generally accepted; hence the notion of re-evaluating one's values based on context would not be a difficult inference. However, as with the previous example, an individual may elect to falsely espouse convictions of conscience that would improve their chances of having their accommodation requests accepted. Given that an individual may misrepresent himself, if accommodations are decided based on beliefs which can be transient, how is a judge to know where the truth lies?

Furthermore, in terms of identifying it with a particular political philosophy, open secularism as presented by Maclure and Taylor seems muddled. Their position at first seems decidedly pluralist for they argue that "liberal and democratic state's neutrality cannot be absolute",²²⁸ they endorse *moral pluralism*²²⁹ and suggest that "western societies have to learn to find the mainsprings of their unity elsewhere than

²²⁷ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation". p.18; Pascale Fournier, "The Ghettoisation of Difference in Canada: "Rape by Culture" and the Danger of a "Cultural Defence" in Criminal Law Trials". Manitoba Law journal 2002 Vol. 29 No. 1.

²²⁸ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor. *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p. 16.

²²⁹ Moral pluralism defined as the notion of individuals ascribing to various, possibly incongruous value systems and understanding of goods. (Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p. 10).

in philosophical unanimity”.²³⁰ Furthermore, they argue that an ethics of dialogue which respects moral pluralism is best suited to support overlapping consensus²³¹ and suggest empathy and sensitivity towards others’ convictions of conscience.²³² The lack of systematic framework, consideration for moral pluralism and support for dialogue are certainly elements of pluralist philosophy. I suggest, however, that their method of conflict resolution strays from the pluralist model or at the very least causes some confusion for the reader. Because while in the Bouchard-Taylor report the authors’ clearly affirm the citizen route of difference-based conflict²³³, Maclure and Taylor’s work focuses on reasonable accommodation which, as indicated in the report itself, is mainly a judicial path of conflict resolution.²³⁴ And as pointed out above, the notion of pleading one’s case before an authority who applies a systematic theory of justice is a tenet of the neutralist political philosophy. It could be legitimately argued that pluralism and neutralism often work together in conflict resolution when negotiations fail and force as pleading ensues, however the authors do not make this distinction. Placing one after the other is one thing; mixing them together is another, one that risks incoherence.²³⁵

Another shortcoming that arises from the abstract nature of their model has to do with its inability to elucidate the specific values that cause people in a given society to coalesce, making it distinguishable from others. It is sometimes argued that

²³⁰ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. p. 18.

²³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

²³² *Ibid.*, p. 108.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²³⁴ *Id.*

²³⁵ See Charles Blattberg, “Shall We Dance. A Patriotic Politics for Canada”. (Montreal, Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003) Chapter 2.

the freedoms of more inclusive secular regimes based on individual rights can engender fragmentation because there is not enough promotion of the idea of a common good that bonds citizens. While Maclure and Taylor discuss fundamental values, such as human dignity and popular sovereignty which are protected by law, they do not provide examples of civic or cultural values that hold specific historical meanings in a way that orients government approaches to secularism and encourages citizens to rally together. While the authors might reply that their model is not intended to provide concrete orientations for a particular society, they do devote a chapter to the specificity of Quebec, one which includes a history of secularism in the province and cites some of the controversies which have impacted upon its evolution. Yet there is no mention of Quebec's civic or cultural values.²³⁶

Despite these limitations, I still think the open secularism model provides the flexibility necessary for managing Quebec's religious and conscience-based diversity. Open secularism is respectful of belief-based obligations in the public sector and provides equality of opportunity. The freedom which open secularism provides also facilitates integration into the host society. For these reasons, open secularism is an important element of diversity management in Quebec.

3.3 Interculturalism

Open secularism alone does not provide all the necessary elements for diversity management, which is why intercultural practices must also be considered. This section will focus on Gérard Bouchard's model of interculturalism as developed

²³⁶ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor, *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience* pp. 53-60.

in his writings “Qu’est-ce que l’interculturalisme” and, more recently, *L’Interculturalisme. Un point du vue québécois*. His model shares much with Maclure and Taylor’s open secularism yet, it build upon their ideas by making the welcome addition of “valeurs coûtumières/partimoniales”. These acknowledge the majority culture and the importance of a population bonded by a common good which, as I pointed out above, is lacking in the Maclure-Taylor approach. For these additions contribute to providing context and so counterbalance the overly-abstract nature of the Maclure-Taylor model of open secularism. Bouchard’s intercultural model for Quebec will be presented as well as distinguished from the multicultural model prevalent in the rest of Canada. Following that, interculturalism’s shortcomings will be highlighted. Finally, I will argue that the most important shortcoming of Bouchard’s model is its pluralist approach to interaction and conflict resolution.

3.3.1. What is interculturalism?

The Bouchard-Taylor report lauds the intercultural model as the best means for managing diversity in Quebec. According to Bouchard’s model, interculturalism seeks “balance in the resolution of religion, custom and tradition based conflicts, as well as conflicts stemming from divergent ideals and values, and does so in consideration of Quebec’s fundamental values.”²³⁷ While interculturalism has not been entrenched in the Quebec *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* nor made the topic of a white paper or an official government policy, the notion of interculturalism itself is not new to

²³⁷ Gérard Bouchard, *L’Interculturalisme. Un Point de vue québécois*. p.53. My translation.

Quebec.²³⁸ Bouchard's intercultural model has developed over the past two decades, but takes root in the wake of the transformation of Quebec's majority populations' identity from French Canadian to Québécois.²³⁹

Many of the Quebec's orientations, found in the immigration action plans and policies which were listed in the first section of this *mémoire*, include elements of the definition of interculturalism proposed in the Bouchard-Taylor Report. According to it, as well as to the definition proposed by Rocher, Labelle, Field and Icart in a text they presented to the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, Quebec interculturalism begins by affirming a democratic state in which participation is welcome and expected. Interculturalism also acknowledges diversity as a constitutive trait of Quebec's population, affirms French as the common public language, encourages rapprochement and acceptance of differences and the mutual respect of all people through intercultural dialogue. Another important element is an awareness or acknowledgement by all of Quebec's populations of the common good which binds them.²⁴⁰ Finally, interculturalism is said to include means to counter both direct and systematic discrimination among all populations.²⁴¹

Gerard Bouchard promotes a model of interculturalism which builds upon the civic framework of Maclure and Taylor's model of open secularism. Unlike their rather abstract model, however, Bouchard's approach seeks to incorporate the

²³⁸ See François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart "Concept d'Interculturalisme en contexte Québécoise : Généalogie d'un Néologisme". Available at: http://www.criec.uqam.ca/Page/Document/textes_en_lignes/interculturalisme.pdf. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

²³⁹ See Jocelyn Maclure, *Quebec Identity*.

²⁴⁰ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation". (Québec: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 2008) pp. 19, 116-122; François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field, Jean-Claude Icart. "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise: généalogie d'un néologisme". p. 49.

²⁴¹ Ibid.

particularities of Quebec society. He achieves this by considering the society's cultural heritage and its aspirations within the overarching framework of legal governance, because heritage impacts upon social norms and values and acts as a social bond or common good, which rally populations together. Bouchard argues that although collective identities are indeed invented things, they can nevertheless be lived in a profound and authentic manner given "the large majority of individuals who need them to make sense of their life and ground themselves".²⁴² And, in his view, interculturalism provides just that: a sense of pluralism that is capable of recognizing the legitimacy of the majority culture and its right to perpetuate its heritage while also treating minority cultures with equal respect.²⁴³ Quebec is a French-speaking society, within the bilingual Canadian federation, which is composed of a majority culture and many minority cultures. The intercultural model presented in the Bouchard Taylor report and subsequently expanded upon by Bouchard's independent writing is thus a necessary component of any successful Quebec integration model.²⁴⁴

As shown in the previous chapter, Quebec's policy orientations relative to immigration and integration demonstrate that it is a society which believes in diversity, the protection of rights, the promotion of a common language and culture as well as the contributions of immigrants old and new.²⁴⁵ Although interculturalism has not been formed into a policy as such, intercultural notions have been present in integration

²⁴² Gérard Bouchard, "What is Interculturalism?" McGill Law Journal, Vol. 56, no 2, 2011 p.456. Available at: <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1002371ar>.

²⁴³ *Ibid.*, p.438.

²⁴⁴ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation." pp. 116-122; Gérard Bouchard; *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. pp.52-75.

²⁴⁵ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation." p.121.

policies from 1990 to the present day. The 1990 “*Au Québec Pour Bâtir Ensemble. Énoncé de politique en matière d’immigration et d’intégration* »²⁴⁶ report mentions the word “intercultural” 27 times; “*Des valeurs partagées, des intérêts communs. Pour assurer la pleine participation des Québécois des communautés culturelles au développement du Québec. Plan d’action 2004-2007*”²⁴⁷ has 74 references to “intercultural”; and the most recent integration policy, “*La diversité, une valeur ajoutée. Plan d’action gouvernemental pour favoriser la participation de tous à l’essor du 2008-2013*”²⁴⁸ uses the term “intercultural” on 49 occasions. This last government policy also refers to “interculturalism”.

3.3.2. Components of Bouchard’s Interculturalism

According to Bouchard’s *Interculturalisme: Un point de vue Québécois*, a number of institutional and policy developments²⁴⁹ influenced the creation of the Quebec government’s intercultural model.²⁵⁰ It is composed of interdependent components that can be divided into the following themes: rule of law, a third way

²⁴⁶ Québec. “Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble”. 1991. Available at: <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/ministere/Enonce-politique-immigration-integration-Quebec1991.pdf>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

²⁴⁷ Québec. “Des valeurs partagées, des intérêts communs”. 2004. Available at: http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/pdf/PlanAction20042007_integral.pdf. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

²⁴⁸ Québec. “La diversité, une valeur ajoutée”. Available at: <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/dossiers/PlanActionFavoriserParticipation.pdf> (Consulted 09/12/2012).

²⁴⁹ Bouchard refers to the creation of the ministry of immigration in 1968, the rejection of multiculturalism in 1971, the establishment of a Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1975, the establishment of French as an official language in 1974 and 1978, governmental policy of cultural convergence in 1978 and 1981, the publication of the Chancey report on intercultural education in 1985, the government declaration on interethnic and interracial relations in 1986, moral contract policy in 1990 and 1991, the Quebec-Ottawa agreement on immigration responsibilities in 1991, policy orientation’s focus on citizenship at the end of the 90’s and beginning of the following decade, reintroduction of the cultural dimension into government orientations 2004, the establishment of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission in 2007-2008 and the government orientations to counter discrimination and racism in 2008. (See Bouchard 2012 p. 46).

²⁵⁰ Gérard Bouchard, *L’Interculturalisme. Un point de vue Québécois*. (Montreal: Boréal, 2012) p. 46.

between assimilation and fragmentation, primacy of the French language, reciprocity/interactions and the creation of a common good and national culture.²⁵¹

First, Bouchard affirms that interculturalism respects the primacy of the rule of law.²⁵² Quebec is and always has been a society based on laws which protect its citizens and create a framework of acceptable behaviours, but Bouchard rightly asserts that law alone does not suffice to form a society.²⁵³ Quebec interculturalism must also rely on the separation of church and state, and state neutrality, in keeping with an open-secular regime.²⁵⁴ It also looks to legislation such as the *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* to reduce inequalities, fight discrimination and to moderate conflicts stemming from diversity and aims to “achieve social and economic integration of all citizens” and “encourage their full participation in political and civic life”.²⁵⁵

As mentioned earlier, Bouchard’s understanding of open secularism as functioning within the intercultural model, includes heritage and customs-based values. In conceiving of it in this manner, he transforms a diversity management orientation for religious difference into a more comprehensive orientation which includes all cultural diversity.²⁵⁶ Bouchard understands that while fundamental values form the laws of the land, there are also values which were forged in a society’s

²⁵¹ Gérard Bouchard, *L’Interculturalisme. Un point de vue Québécois*. pp. 52, 53-75.

²⁵² Gérard Bouchard, *L’Interculturalisme. Un point de vue Québécois*. pp.53-55;

Gérard Bouchard, “L’Interculturalisme Québécois. Esquisse d’un Modèle”. Submitted within the Symposium internationale sur l’interculturalisme. Montreal, 2011. p. 15.

²⁵³ Gérard Bouchard, “L’Interculturalisme Québécois. Esquisse d’un Modèle”. p. 15, 33.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

²⁵⁵ Gérard Bouchard, *L’Interculturalisme. Un point de vue Québécois*. p.52, My translation.

²⁵⁶ Gérard Bouchard, “L’Interculturalisme québécois. Esquisse d’un modèle”. p.14.

history, which foster commonality and contribute to making a given society distinct.²⁵⁷ Understood thus, interculturalism looks to apply the law in a way that acknowledges the specificity of culture and context; his intercultural model thus supports firm principles and fundamental values, but endorses flexibility in their application.²⁵⁸

An example of this flexibility is reasonable accommodation. Reasonable accommodation allows a society to acknowledge that while laws and norms apply to all, they sometimes prevent all citizens from enjoying moral equality and freedom of conscience. Bouchard rightly underscores the idea that accommodations do not create more or special rights, but rather provide equality for all citizens.²⁵⁹ So that accommodation requests can be better understood by the general population, Bouchard suggests that accommodation requests should be appraised in terms of their alignment with integration policies.²⁶⁰

Second, Bouchard's interculturalism affirms the French language as essential to integration practices in Quebec. It suggests that preservation and flourishing of the French language in Quebec is the responsibility of the entire population, because it forms their common denominator and contributes to the common good.²⁶¹ French then, should be the primary language for education, for understanding and contributing to Quebec culture and societal progress.²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Gérard Bouchard, "L'Interculturalisme québécois. Esquisse d'un modèle". p. 13.

²⁵⁸ Gérard Bouchard, *Interculturalisme Un Point de Vue Québécois*. p. 87.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

²⁶⁰ Gérard Bouchard, "What is Interculturalism?" p. 465.

²⁶¹ Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. p. 56.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

Third, interculturalism provides a middle ground between the unity of assimilation and the plurality of fragmentation. As an integration model, interculturalism respects diversity and encourages its immigrants to retain and nourish their cultures of origins, but it also expects sustained efforts from them to become a part of the majority culture.²⁶³ This is to be first and foremost achieved by the previously mentioned component, the adoption of the French language in their daily lives. For French as a common language is meant to provide a platform on which all can and should interact in pursuit of the common goal of preserving and transmitting Quebec's identity.

While interculturalism unifies, it does not aim to assimilate, it seeks balance between the need for continuing on a historic path, while fully acknowledging the constraints and dictates of the present.²⁶⁴ It also manages difference while ensuring cohesion.²⁶⁵ For interculturalism seeks to integrate through the encouragement of citizens' differences. It is argued, for example, that among newcomers whose mother tongue is not French, the adoption and general use of the French language is far more likely when there are measures to ensure the preservation of their own language.²⁶⁶ Access to (foreign) language courses, for example, is a reassuring element which will not only ensure preservation but also facilitate the passing of their origins to future generations.²⁶⁷ The security provided by this type of initiative also

²⁶³ Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. p. 52.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

²⁶⁵ *Id.*

²⁶⁶ Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. pp. 124-125;

Will Kymlicka, *Finding our way. Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) p. 42.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

helps to counter ghettoization, the perceived need to reside in areas which are distinctly inhabited by particular cultural groups in an effort to retain one's culture of origin.²⁶⁸ Rather than risk the fragmentation which this can engender, interculturalism provides the security for all people to be who they are - while be(com)ing Québécois.

Another means of encouraging integration among minority populations, according to the Bouchard intercultural model, is through interactions and rapprochements. This is another of the fundamentals of the intercultural model; reciprocity. Like the 1990 policy of a moral contract²⁶⁹ interculturalism insists that integration can only be achieved by the majority and minority populations working together. As suggested by Maclure and Taylor, interactions between individuals from diverse communities allow people to become familiar with one another and this helps to counter ignorance about other beliefs, values and customs. It is also said that this has the effect of reducing stereotypes, discrimination and racism.²⁷⁰

Bouchard's intercultural model suggests that integration and reciprocity occurs within a society's common culture. The promotion of a common, majority culture allows for the majority population and its traditions to maintain a preeminent place in the society. This pre-eminence, or "contextual precedence"²⁷¹ enjoyed by the majority community must nevertheless be respectful of all citizens' basic rights. Their promotion must be balanced against the possible threat that the cultural majority

²⁶⁸ Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. p.125.

²⁶⁹ "Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble. Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration." Available at: <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/ministere/Enonce-politique-immigration-integration-Quebec1991.pdf>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

²⁷⁰ Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor. *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. pp.46-47.

²⁷¹ Gérard Bouchard, "What is Interculturalism?" p. 451.

could face in their absence.²⁷² An illustration of this approach is found in the primacy of the French language in Quebec, which gives obvious preference to the cultural majority. It is nevertheless considered appropriate given the threat to the survival of the Québécois culture.²⁷³ According to Bouchard, there are therefore a number of legitimate instances of majority cultural preferences, which include: French as a common language, transmitting a “national memory”, maintaining the cross on the *fleur-de-lis* flag and Christmas decorations in public spaces.²⁷⁴ There are also instances, however, where Bouchard suggests that the majority culture’s ad hoc precedence has gone too far: the crucifix on the wall behind the President of the National Assembly’s chair; reciting prayers at meetings held by municipal councils; and the possible prohibition of religious signs and symbols for those in the public and para-public sectors or in civic society altogether.²⁷⁵

Finally, in an effort to blend the elements of the majority culture with those of newer residents, interculturalism fosters a (neo)national culture. It is suggested that as time passes, both the majority and minority cultures will evolve and will result in a third culture which represents a mixing of these others.²⁷⁶ Thus interculturalism can be viewed as seeking the equilibrium which ensures “continuity and diversity, identity and rights, reminders of the past and visions of the future”.²⁷⁷

²⁷² Gérard Bouchard, “What is Interculturalism?” p. 451.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 457-458.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 459.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 460.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 461.

²⁷⁷ *Id.*

3.3.3 Interculturalism, not Multiculturalism, is Suited to Quebec

There are those, such as Luc B. Tremblay, who suggest that interculturalism and Canadian multiculturalism are essentially the same²⁷⁸. But while there are certainly similarities, I would suggest that there are also fundamental differences. While thinkers like Kymlicka acknowledge pan-Canadian nationalism and the existence of English-speaking Canadian culture,²⁷⁹ the Bouchard model claims that Canadian multiculturalism, which stems from what Bouchard calls the diversity paradigm, does not recognize a majority culture because of its multicultural promotion of diversity.²⁸⁰ Although the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms clearly stipulates that English and French are Canada's official languages, and therefore affords them (and, I would suggest, the cultures which they carry) "cultural precedence", perhaps the obligation to apply the Charter in a "manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians",²⁸¹ leads Bouchard to see an insufficient deference to Canada's founding peoples. Whichever the interpretation, Bouchard clearly believes that multiculturalism is not sufficient to ensure the preservation and promotion of Quebec's majority population. Interculturalism, he asserts, addresses its desire to be perpetuated - all the while

²⁷⁸ Luc B. Tremblay, "The Bouchard-Taylor Report on Cultural and Religious Accommodation: Multiculturalism By Any Other Name?". EUI Working Papers. 2009. Available at:

http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/12971/LAW_2009_18.pdf?sequence=2. (Consulted 06/12/2012).

²⁷⁹ See Will Kymlicka, "Finding our Way. Rethinking Ethnocultural Rights in Canada". Chapter 12. Also, "Multicultural Citizenship" pp. 17-19.

²⁸⁰ Gérard Bouchard, L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois". p. 30.

²⁸¹ Canada. Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. 1982. Available at:

<http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/CH37-4-3-2002E.pdf>. (Consulted 06/12/2012).

acknowledging and protecting the various minority cultures composed of new and old immigrant populations.²⁸²

Another difference, Bouchard argues, is that the Canadian multiculturalism model does not offer special language protection measures because the English language is not in peril whereas language preservation is a central tenet of interculturalism in Quebec. Once again, a thinker such as Kymlicka might argue that the Charter, which enshrines French and English as the official languages of Canada, provides the necessary language protection. On the other hand, it could be suggested that entrenching official languages in the Canadian Charter provides recognition rather than the tangible protection measures asserted by Quebec Bills 22 and 101.

Furthermore, while interculturalism creates a common culture, multiculturalism does not. Although alluded to in Rocher, Labelle, Fields and Icart's interpretation of multiculturalism's more recent orientations²⁸³, the notion of a common culture was not present at the time of multiculturalism's inception.²⁸⁴ At that time of its adoption in 1971,²⁸⁵ multicultural policy was characterized by liberal individualism which fails to encourage intercultural relations, denies the inherent diversity within cultural

²⁸² It is important to note that Bouchard chooses not to include aboriginal peoples in his paradigms and integration model as he argues that natives do not consider themselves to be a cultural minority and therefore request that interactions with them be on a nation to nation level. (Bouchard 2012 p.17). Given his acknowledgement of the absence of aboriginals in his model, one might question Bouchard's decision to reduce Quebec's English-speaking minority to a parenthetical aside in his list of interculturalism's constituting elements on page 52 of *Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*.

²⁸³ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart. "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécois: généalogie d'un néologisme". pp. 31-35.

²⁸⁴ *Ibid*

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p.30-31.

communities and does not foster a shared common good.²⁸⁶ So while the models share some similarities, it is clear that multiculturalism promotes diversity over integration and individual rights over collective identity.

Perhaps the most important aspect of Bouchard's interculturalism is his favouring of dialogue between citizens in order to foster commonality and resolve the conflicts inherent in pluralist societies. Transcending the neutralist, unidirectional pleading of one's case before an authority that will enforce a decision, Bouchard's dialogical approach is characteristically pluralist. Although it may seem as though Bouchard's model, like the open secular model affirmed by Maclure and Taylor, subscribes to the neutralist approach to judicial-based reasonable accommodations, it is in fact his approach to accommodations as a means of conflict resolution which make interculturalism's compatibility with pluralism abundantly clear:

"It is the duty of each citizen placed in an intercultural situation to contribute to mutual adjustments and accommodations. The courts obviously retain their indispensable function, though only as a last recourse after citizen action has failed to resolve disagreements."²⁸⁷

3.3.4. Shortcomings

While the above mentioned reasons point to the inherent value of Bouchard's interculturalism's model and distinguish it from others, it nevertheless has its flaws. First, while this is not meant as an explicit criticism, it is important to note that intercultural focus on the communal, rather than the individual, can have risks. While

²⁸⁶ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean-Claude Icart. "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise: généalogie d'un néologisme". pp. 43-44.

²⁸⁷ Gérard Bouchard, "What is Interculturalism?" p.449.

the promotion of a single language in government institutions and the general public sphere is a valid means of promoting and preserving a national culture, the emphasis on communities rather than on individuals can lead to a perceived homogenization of subgroups. Similarly, classification of minority communities by mother tongue language, religious affiliation or nationality of origin, can lead to stereotyping and even discrimination and could thus undermine diversity and hence act in contradiction to one of interculturalism's stated aims.

Recall that interculturalism underscores the need to acknowledge the contributions of minority populations and suggests an intertwining of minority cultures and majority culture which would, over time, create a third, comprehensive culture for all to share. It is unclear how minority culture's values and practices are to be tangibly taken into account, however. Bouchard's model seems to allude to a natural, spontaneous transformation over time,²⁸⁸ but it is difficult to grasp what this could involve in concrete terms or how it could be encouraged. Furthermore, while it may be amply clear when integration is not working, how can we evaluate when it is? Rocher, Labelle, Field and Icart suggest that little has been done to evaluate interculturalism in Quebec and Bouchard does not contribute to solving that problem.²⁸⁹

Another critique of the intercultural model, as presented by Bouchard, is that while it provides a contextualized understanding of the values, whose historic ties to a given society render them essential, Bouchard does not provide suggestions as to

²⁸⁸ Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. pp. 73.

²⁸⁹ François Rocher, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field, Jean-Claude Icart. "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécois: généalogie d'un néologisme". pp. 10, 16, 21.

their practical application. Whereas the Bouchard-Taylor report provides specific government orientations, suggestions for creating and improving upon existing legislation, programs and policies²⁹⁰, Bouchard's independent writings on interculturalism provide only a normative frame rather than any sense of how it may be applied. Given that Quebec, in deed if not by name, already endorses many elements of his intercultural model, it might be beneficial to present tangible means to implement the intercultural model, so that a reader can understand specifically what Quebec's present model lacks. Bouchard could argue that the commission's report, being a government initiative, was pragmatic and specific and that it is perfectly legitimate for his personal writings to be more academic and abstract. I would suggest, however, that a tangible account of how one might apply his model of interculturalism in Quebec is important and perhaps expected, especially considering the title *Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*.

Finally, the most problematic of the lacunae is the lack of focus on what Bouchard refers to as the "microsocial"²⁹¹ model, that is, on intercultural practices. Bouchard's model discusses the contributions of minority cultures, dialogue between all populations in an effort to come to agreements but does not address concrete methods to do so. Furthermore, while his model surpasses the force-based, neutralist philosophy by espousing dialogue, negotiation and compromise, his model falls short of a true reconciliation, acceptance and understanding of difference. The next section of this chapter will demonstrate that while pluralism is certainly dialogical, the kind of

²⁹⁰ Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation pp.249-261.

²⁹¹ Gérard Bouchard. *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. pp.50-51.

dialogue it espouses, namely good-faith negotiation, can lead to the compromising of opposing values at best. If we acknowledge that certain values are identity-forming, as Maclure and Taylor do in their concept of individuals' "convictions of conscience",²⁹² and as Bouchard does when he writes of the importance of collective memory and heritage,²⁹³ then rather than compromising that which is most precious to individuals and collectivities, it should be clear that we should at least try to ensure the integrity of our values. This, I will argue can only be achieved by the conversation that patriotism favours.

3.4. Aiming Higher (Than Neutralism and Pluralism)

In this final section, I will argue that while an open secularism within an intercultural model is necessary for the proper management of diversity in Quebec, both open secularism and interculturalism fall short of aiming for true reconciliation when it comes to their approaches to conflict resolution. And it is nothing other than true reconciliation which best supports the management of diversity.

As we have seen, the models proffered by Bouchard, Maclure and Taylor espouse elements of both the neutralist and pluralist political philosophies. The Bouchard-Taylor report's insistence on the dejudicialization²⁹⁴ of reasonable accommodation and promotion of intercultural dialogue are certainly in keeping with pluralism. But, although Maclure and Taylor's book encourages the dejudicialization,

²⁹² Jocelyn Maclure and Charles Taylor. *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience*. pp.12-13.

²⁹³ Gérard Bouchard. "L'interculturalisme québécois. Esquisse d'un modèle". pp.16, 20, 23.

²⁹⁴ Dejudicialization refers to the handling of accommodation requests in the citizen sphere, rather than in the judiciary. (See *Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation*. p.251).

it does not develop it; instead, it emphasizes focuses on a judicial approach to conflict resolution, one which shares much with the spirit of neutralism. (This is particularly unusual as Taylor can be read as a strong proponent of pluralism in his other writings). Bouchard, on the other hand, first and foremost encourages social, dialogical conflict resolution²⁹⁵, despite focusing most of his attention on the macro-social dimension of society's general orientations.²⁹⁶ Given that Bouchard and Taylor were involved in two of the three publications, and that all three authors were involved in the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, it is curious that their development of the same ideas is different.

As mentioned the previous section, interculturalism improves open-secularism's penchant for neutralist philosophy by introducing dialogue, a precept of pluralism. The previous section concluded that despite the advances on neutralism, pluralism is satisfied with compromise and toleration as the ultimate aims of a dialogical exercise in conflict resolution.²⁹⁷ But mere tolerance achieved though compromise is not enough in a diverse society.

Tolerance is sometimes used to convey openness, but as Michael Walzer explains in his *On Toleration*, "to tolerate someone is an act of power, to be tolerated is an acceptance of weakness".²⁹⁸ Walzer argues that even in "ordinary speech, toleration is a relationship characterized by inequality".²⁹⁹ Similarly, Tariq Ramadan suggests that tolerance can cause "the other" to be reduced to "a mere being"

²⁹⁵ Gérard Bouchard, "What is Interculturalism?" p.449.

²⁹⁶ Gérard Bouchard, *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. pp.50-51.

²⁹⁷ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. p. 13.

²⁹⁸ Michael Walzer, *On Toleration*. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997) p. 52.

²⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

whereas “respect opens up to us the complexity of his being”.³⁰⁰ So it seems to me that diverse societies must seek to reach beyond toleration, negotiation, concessions and compromise. And the conversation favoured by the “patriotic” approach to conflict resolution does just that.

3.4.1 Patriotism

In addition to removing cases from the judiciary and fostering dialogical communication, the patriotic approach to conflict resolution, as developed by Charles Blattberg, denies the existence of a systematic theory of justice and favours dialogue as conversation rather than as negotiation for resolving conflicts arising from tensions which are naturally present among the values which form a society’s common good.³⁰¹ While negotiation and compromise are sometimes necessary, it is preferable to strive for the understanding that conversation may bring.³⁰² In keeping with the patriotic political philosophy presented, among others, in Charles Blattberg’s *From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics, Shall We Dance?* and *Patriotic Elaborations*, I will argue that conversation is extremely fragile and so often unachievable; nevertheless, to aim any lower than true conversation is to preclude the potential reconciliation which it can sometimes bring.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Tariq Ramadan, *The Quest for Meaning. Developing a Philosophy of Pluralism*. (London: Penguin Books, 2010) p.49.

³⁰¹ Charles Blattberg, “Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies” in *Patriotic Elaborations* p. 16.

³⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

Conversation promotes a means of resolving conflict which does not inherently cause moral harm.³⁰⁴ Conversation, as a harmonization practice, puts the onus of conflict resolution on the persons directly involved with the situation and suggests that direct interaction is the best means of problem solving.³⁰⁵ Conversation, as I pointed out, aspires to reconciliation and understanding, hence to reaching beyond the force of neutralism and the negotiation and compromise of pluralism.³⁰⁶ Whether it is at the level of governmental policy-planning or simply neighbours striving to live peacefully alongside one another, conversation is an ideal means to approach our interactions. Conversation counters the ignorance and mutual mistrust which fosters stereotyping and discrimination. When ignorance dissipates, fear of the unknown is also diminished.³⁰⁷ Without fear and suspicion we can allow ourselves to interact freely and acquire a better understanding of those who surround us, which contributes to narrowing the divides between individuals, and communities.³⁰⁸ We will never achieve true acceptance, reconciliation and understanding when we only aim for compromise and toleration.

3.4.2 Patriotism: Conflict and Common Good

Before delving into conversation as a means of conflict resolution, it is important to comprehend the basics of patriotism, specifically its conception of conflict and common good. For the patriot, values are challenged by everyday

³⁰⁴ Charles Blattberg, *From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics. Putting Practice First*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 4; Also, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations, Essays in Practical Philosophy*. p.16.

³⁰⁵ Charles Blattberg, *From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics. Putting Practice First*. p. 92.

³⁰⁶ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. p. 15.

³⁰⁷ See Charles Blattberg. "Demanding Recognition", in Michel Seymour, Rajeev Bhargava. ed., *La Reconnaissance dans tous ses états* (Montréal: Les Éditions Québec Amérique 2009).

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

happenstances. The patriotic approach asserts that these challenges, or conflicts, are not limited to interactions between people, but can include anything which causes us to change our focus or draws our attention. In contrast with what Heidegger refers to as *average everydayness* - a pre-reflective mode which comprises all the habitual activities we perform on a daily basis- conflict is what brings us out of this state by forcing on us a different kind of awareness.³⁰⁹ Tangible examples of encounters with conflict could include being roused out of the mundane by unexpectedly needing to apply the brakes on a long stretch of highway, or simply pausing quizzically for a moment when reading a passage whose content is unclear, or incongruous with our understanding or previous expectation. As such, conflict is not necessarily adversarial, just oppositional, and can occur in thought, word and deed.

The patriot subscribes to the hermeneutical conception of meaning and thus of values as co-existing within a whole.³¹⁰ Values interact with one another within the framework of a common good.³¹¹ In contrast to the pluralist notion of autonomous, self-contained, entities which clash or collide with one another, the patriot conceives of values as more or less integrated, as having permeable membranes, and so they conflict in a less adversarial way.³¹² When there is conflict, knowledge that may be gained by exchanges with alterity can be absorbed through values' permeable membranes, rendering them more complete.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Charles Blattberg, *From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics. Putting Practice First.* pp. 90-91.

³¹⁰ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations.* p.16.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

³¹² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³¹³ *Id.*

The infinity of a value's meaning is also an important assumption of the patriot. With each conflict, we can potentially improve our understanding of the values involved, though our understanding will never be fully achieved and thus there will always be more to learn.³¹⁴ Otherwise put, the hermeneutic notion of common good "should not be understood as having achieved a state of perfection of unity [...]".³¹⁵ Values cannot form a unified whole.

This assertion runs counter the neutralist belief in the possibility of formulating a systematic theory of justice and therefore has major repercussions for how individuals generally conceive of the structures which govern our societies. To the patriot, laws, norms and conventions are never static, unified or capable of being captured in a theory; rather, the best we can do is render them more coherent by the further interaction stirred by moments of conflict.³¹⁶

This lack of systematic, immutable, overarching values may seem difficult to imagine, given the belief of many that we should defer to fundamental values that are considered absolute and constant. Yet the fact is that Quebec's fundamental values of the primacy of French, secularism and equality of the sexes have all been the object of controversy and consternation for its citizens. Of late, the Parti Québécois government has suggested that Bill 101 be extended, and that a charter of secularism is needed to further protect Quebec identity, but the policy is very controversial. Similarly, while the equality of the sexes may have been thought to have reached its

³¹⁴ Charles Blattberg, *From Pluralist to Patriotic Politics. Putting Practice First*. pp. 100-101.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 91.

³¹⁶ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations* pp. 16-17.

apogee, new claims of inequalities have surfaced from diverse immigration, such as the controversies surrounding the hijab, niqab and burqua.

Liberal democratic societies enjoy the freedom of popular sovereignty to create, implement and modify the laws which govern our society so that they are, in as much as is possible, reflective of their citizens' beliefs.³¹⁷ Like Maclure and Taylor's understanding of the freedom to change or adapt individual convictions of conscience, societies also then have the ability to change and improve their orientations to better suit the new realities which the denouement of societal conflicts has engendered. Conversation, I believe, is what makes that possible.

3.4.3 Patriotic Conversation

Conversation is, again, the patriot's preferred approach for conflict resolution. It is an inherently fragile enterprise which demands that opposing parties demonstrate authentic listening so that they can understand a divergent point of view. This is important because it is only when we truly listen to the other that we can ever understand them.³¹⁸ Genuine listening, however, is a very difficult task. While wholly embodying one's values, one who practices conversation must also be completely ready to consider his interlocutor's reasoning.³¹⁹ This endeavour is different from the proverbial *walking in another person's shoes* because a patriot does not ever "leave his own shoes" as such an abstraction is understood to hinder the already fragile

³¹⁷ Charles Blattberg, "Shall We Dance?" (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2003) pp. 7-9.

³¹⁸ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. p. 16.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

enterprise of conversation.³²⁰ The venture of genuine listening is best likened to putting one's own belief system on pause for a moment to fully appreciate what the other has to say. It is difficult to achieve, certainly, but that does not diminish conversation's value as an approach to conflict resolution.

Conversation allows its interlocutors to appreciate how and why values were constructed which, as explained above, helps individuals to enrich their own values. Given that the patriotic approach suggests that our knowledge of our values is constantly evolving and can always be improved, conflicts can actually complete our understanding of our own values and engender a kind of enlightenment which will lead to a transformation of our values without causing harm or compromising convictions which are most dear.³²¹ Understood in this way, conversation is not simply an altruistic or utopian goal; rather, it is a means to self-improvement, to enriching one's life lived with diversity.³²²

I would add that it is important to acknowledge who we are conversing with and to remember that their understandings of the values they present are as incomplete as our own. No one person holds the monopoly on the definition or applications of a given value, therefore when our own understanding of a given conflict is limited, we should not only acknowledge our own ignorance, but also that of others and always seek to learn more. As suggested by the Bouchard-Taylor report, the media played an important role in the propagation of (sometimes incorrect)

³²⁰ See Charles Blattberg, "We are all Compatriots", in Will Kymlicka and Kathy Walker, eds., *Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and The World* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012).

³²¹ Charles Blattberg, "We are all compatriots", in Will Kymlicka and Kathy Walker, eds., *Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and The World* p. 14.

³²² Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. pp. viii-ix.

information surrounding reasonable accommodation controversies. Many individuals whose exposure to difference was limited, or who held erroneous or even prejudicial beliefs, were flooded with sometimes sensationalized media coverage of conflicts, which added to their misperceptions. Had Quebecers sought more information, ignored the sensationalism, conversed, perhaps the malaise would not have been amplified and created the climate of mistrust which was engendered.

Similar to the notion of knowing who you are conversing with, the patriot who practices conversation must evaluate each situation to determine whether it merits conversation.³²³ As expressed in the critique of Maclure and Taylor's notion of convictions of conscience, sometimes people can profoundly hold a conviction which is morally wrong. There are occasions, such as those referred to in the section dealing with perversions of convictions of conscience, where the explicit nature of the conflict precludes any form of dialogue. In such cases, the patriot may have to decide that he is unwilling to converse, because his present, albeit incomplete, understanding of the value in a given situation is sufficient for him to declare that, for him, the situation is not up for discussion of any kind.³²⁴ An example of such a case might be that of female circumcision. While one's understanding of the value of human dignity, equality of the sexes or the preservation and dignity of the human body, could always be improved upon, the patriotic approach suggests that it is also

³²³ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies. Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. pp. 17-18.

³²⁴ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies. Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. p. viii.

perfectly legitimate to accept that one may be unwilling to converse or even negotiate such a matter.³²⁵

The fragility of conversation and the required radical shift from a neutralist or pluralist conception of society, to a patriotic politics is a certainly a challenge. Some will argue that certain values such as human dignity, gender equality and freedom of conscience should just not be up for discussion, that they are simply too important to be questioned. The patriot does not question the importance of the value, however. He only suggests that in an effort to constantly better our understanding of ourselves, to be true to the diversity of the societies we live in and to respect the immeasurability of our values, all values must be open to consideration, modification and enrichment.

3.4.4 Conversation and Quebec

Applied to Quebec's recent malaise over diversity, conversation offers a multi-faceted solution. First, it offers Quebecers the possibility purposefully living alongside one another and sharing a common good. It also encourages a climate where difference is neither ignored nor exaggerated. I believe that Quebecers have a duty "be open to comparative cultural study of the kind that must displace [...] horizons in the resulting fusions."³²⁶ Perhaps the most important benefit is its attendant notion of achieving a more comprehensive understanding of one's own values through its interactions with another's. It is important to reiterate that the improved understanding

³²⁵ Charles Blattberg, "Political Philosophies. Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. p. viii.

³²⁶ Charles Taylor, *Multiculturalism*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992) p.73.

is not achieved because our opinions are solidified when challenged, but rather that our encounters with difference widen the spectra on which our values rest.

I believe that the Bouchard-Taylor Commission opened a societal conversation by stirring all Quebecers from their “average everydayness,” as the Heideggerians would put it. The reports’ orientations provided a possible path to diversity management in Quebec and, if nothing else, provided major orientations in the form of open-secularism and interculturalism and hopefully allowed for each person who considered the debate to come to a better understanding of his own values through his interactions with alterity.

Quebecers all need little more understanding. Collectively, individually, majorities, minorities, all need to try to understand themselves and understand one another better. Perhaps if Quebecers truly conversed about difference, rather than adversarially negotiated, litigated it or pretended it wasn’t there, our society could legitimately incarnate its aspirations for “harmonious cohabitation” of people of diverse origins³²⁷. We must be open to a new understanding of our collectivity for, as Michel Seymour suggests, (re)“conceptualizing the nation ‘may help us to begin thinking about what we want to be, not just provide an image of what we already are.’”³²⁸ Diversity management practices need to be part of education curricula. We need to create awareness and promote the benefits of diversity to society at large. Beyond government initiatives, policies and programs though, we have to be willing to

³²⁷ Québec. La diversité: une valeur ajoutée. Politique Gouvernementale pour favoriser la participation de tous à l’essor du Québec. 2008. <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/dossiers/PlanActionFavoriserParticipation.pdf>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

³²⁸ Jocelyn Maclure, Québec Identity. p. 11.

speaking to one another, to seek out difference, try to understand it and ultimately include the merits of otherness into our own values and practices. We can begin with a simple conversation.

Conclusion

This endeavour has aimed to demonstrate that the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Difference was relevant, fulfilled its mandate and provided Quebec's population an opportunity to come to terms with its diversity.

In the first chapter, I have suggested that, through a variety of constitutional and socio-economic changes between the Conquest of 1867 and present day, Quebec's majority francophone population struggled with the affirmation of its identity. The preservation of the francophone majority evolved from resting on the tenets of *la survivance*, to relying on language legislation and the integration of immigrants into the francophone majority. I have argued that while immigration and integration policies aimed to facilitate immigrants' espousal of the French language, integration involves more than language appropriation. Relying on data from the MICC, I have demonstrated that ethnic diversity engendered religious and cultural difference which sometimes conflicted with Quebec's social mores. I have argued that these conflicts in particular, combined with the need to acknowledge Quebec's diversity, made the Commission relevant and useful.

Chapter two focused on the Commission; its mandate, conclusions and the recommendations it made to the government, as well as the government's response. I first argued that the Commission's compilation of accommodation conflicts underscored Quebec's diversity malaise. Next I provided a review of some of the recommendations and the actions taken by the government to comply. I

demonstrated that while the government listed a number of practical programs which met some of the recommendations, a number of the initiatives were already in progress prior to the Commission's publication of its report. Furthermore, I argued that Bill 94, the government's legislative response to recommendations which called for a framework for managing accommodation practices and conspicuous religious symbols, was hollow and perhaps discriminatory. I also argued that the government's reaction to the Commission's normative recommendations, especially with regard to the promotion of secularism and interculturalism was sorely lacking.

In the final chapter, I aimed to convey the value of open secularism and interculturalism for diversity management in Quebec. Referring to academic works published by members of the Commission, I sought to demonstrate the compatibility of both models with Quebec society, but underscore some of their shortcomings. I argued that the fundamentals of open-secularism and interculturalism are based on the political philosophies of neutralism and pluralism, which respectively use force and good-faith negotiation as the means of conflict resolution. Rather than advocating these winner-take-all and compromise approaches, I assert that Quebec adopt the Patriotic model of conflict resolution; conversation. Conversation disagrees with the notion of a systematic theory of justice, suggesting rather that even the more fundamental values upon which a society rests are often discordant. Referring to Charles Blattberg's works on Patriotism, I endorse authentic listening in an effort to understand an opposing view and ultimately improve one's own understanding of a given value. While fragile, and often unsuccessful, attempting conversation first

allows opponents to aspire to true reconciliation, rather than toleration of each other's differences.

The Commission on Accommodation Practices provided Quebecers with a unique, participatory opportunity to come to terms with its diversity and provide insight to better orient government policies. Some have argued that this process gave ignorant, even bigoted, individuals a platform to propagate their exclusionist agenda. Televised recordings of some of the Commission's town hall meetings provide little to refute that assertion, but I argue that while some individuals' opinions were discriminatory, inflammatory and prejudicial, the societal conversation which they contributed to was worthwhile. The emotion attached to some participants' personal views prevented them from genuinely listening to their fellow citizens, but perhaps the exposure to difference itself was a step in the right direction. For, while government policies including intercultural curricula to educate our children about difference and awareness campaigns to promote Quebec's diversity will surely have long term impacts on individuals' approaches to alterity, in the meantime the government and judiciary alone cannot resolve Quebec's diversity management issues. Quebecers too, must share in the responsibility to walk right on up to difference and start a conversation.

Bibliography

Adelman, Howard. "Conclusion". 2011. in Howard Adelman and Pierre Anctil Ed. *Religion, Culture and the State: Reflections on the Taylor Bouchard Report*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Anctil, Pierre. "Introduction". 2011. in Howard Quebec and Pierre Anctil Ed., *Religion, Culture and the State: Reflections on the Taylor Bouchard Report*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bélanger, Claude. "National Referendum on the Charlottetown Accord (October 26, 1992). (2000) Available at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/stats/1992ref.htm> (Consulted 14/12/2012).

Bélanger, Claude. "The Language Laws of Quebec". (2000) Available at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/langlaws.htm> (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Bélanger, Claude. "The Three Pillars of Survival". Available at: <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/pillars.htm>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Blattberg, Charles. 2009. "Demanding Recognition", in Michel Seymour, Rajeev Bhargava. Eds., *La Reconnaissance dans tous ses états*. Montréal: Les Éditions Québec Amérique.

Blattberg, Charles. 2009. "Political Philosophies and Political Ideologies" in *Patriotic Elaborations*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Blattberg, Charles. 2003. "Shall We Dance?" Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Blattberg, Charles. 2012. "We are all Compatriots". In Will Kymlicka and Kathy Walker, Eds. *Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and the World*. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Bouchard, Gérard. 2012. *L'Interculturalisme. Un point de vue québécois*. Montréal : Boréal.

Bouchard, Gérard. 2011. "L'Interculturalisme Québécois. Esquisse d'un Modèle". Submitted within the Symposium internationale sur l'interculturalisme. Montreal. Available at: http://www.symposium-interculturalisme.com/pdf/actes/Conf_Ouverture_1BOUCHARD.pdf.

Bouchard, Gérard. 2011. "What is Interculturalism?" McGill Law Journal, Vol. 56, no 2, Available at: <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1002371ar>.

Bouchard, Gérard and Charles Taylor. 2008. "Building the Future. A Time for Reconciliation". Québec: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.

Canada. 1982. Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Available at: <http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/CH37-4-3-2002E.pdf>.

Canada. 2006. Canadian House of Commons Debates, November 27, 2006. <http://www.parl.gc.ca/HousePublications/Publication.aspx?DocId=2544166&File=0&Language=E&Mode=1&Parl=39&Pub=hansard&Ses=1>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Canada. 2006. Statistics Canada. Visible Minority Population and Population Group Reference Guide, 2006 Census. Available at: http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/ref/rp-guides/visible_minority-minorites_visibles-eng.cfm. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Canada in the Making. Available at: http://www.canadiana.ca/citm/themes/constitution/constitution11_e.html#actofunion

CIA World fact book. Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/index.html>.

Commission des Droits de la Personne et Droits de la Jeunesse. "La Commission des droits de la personne et des droit de la jeunesse lance un service-conseil en matière d'accommodement raisonnable". Available at http://www.cdpedj.gc.ca/comm/COMM_serviceconseil.pdf.

Derbyshire, Jonathan. 2012. "The Books Interview: Charles Taylor" available at The New Statesman <http://www.newstatesman.com/books/2012/02/interview-secularism-religion>.

Dickinson, John and Brian Young. 2008. *A Short History of Quebec*. 4th Edition. Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press.

Feretti, Maria. 1999. *Brève histoire de l'Église catholique au Québec*. Montréal : Boréal.

France. 2004. Loi 2004-228 "Loi encadrant, en application du principe de laïcité, le port de signes ou de tenues manifestant une appartenance religieuse dans les écoles, collèges et lycées publics". Le Service Public de la Diffusion du Droit. Available at: <http://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000417977&dateTexte=&categorieLien=id>.

Fournier, Pascale. "The Ghettoisation of Difference in Canada: 'Rape by Culture' and the Danger of a 'Cultural Defence' in Criminal Law Trials". 2002. *Manitoba Law Journal* 2002 Vol. 29 No. 1.

Gervais, Lisa Marie. 2012. "Beaucoup de bruit... pour presque rien". *Le Devoir* (Montréal), 9 novembre 2012. p.1.

Hébdos Québec. "Au Québec, 42 % des Québécois pensent que l'arrivée d'immigrants est une menace pour notre culture". Available at Hébdos Québec. : <http://www.hebdos.com/home/Actualites/Au-Quebec--42---des-Quebecois-pensent-que-l-arrive.aspx>.

Joyal, Renée. 1994. "The Canada Quebec Accord Made Easy" Available at Citizenship and Immigration Canada. <http://www.cic.gc.ca/francais/ministere/lois-politiques/ententes/quebec/abc-quebec-acc.asp>.

"Judge to Rule on Keeping Starved Alberta Child on Life Support". September 14, 2012. Huffington Post. Available at: http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/2012/09/14/judge-rule-on-keeping-starved-alberta-child-on-life-support_n_1884025.html.

Kymlicka, Will. 1998. *Finding our way. Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998) p. 42.

Kymlicka, Will and Wayne Norman Eds. 2000. "Introduction" in *Multicultural Citizenship*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Laborde, Cécile. 2012. "Protecting Freedom of Religion in the Secular Age" available at The Immanent Frame: <http://blogs.ssrc.org/tif/2012/04/23/protecting-freedom-of-religion-in-the-secular-age/>.

Letourneau, Jocelyn. 2004. *A History for the Future*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Linteau, Paul, René Durocher and Jean-Claude Robert. 1989. *Histoire du Québec Contemporain Tome I*. Montreal : Boréal.

Linteau, Paul, René Durocher, Jean-Claude Robert and François Ricard. 1989. *Histoire du Québec Contemporain, Tome II*. Montréal : Boréal.

Maclure, Jocelyn. 2003. *Québec Identity: The Challenge of Pluralism*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Maclure, Jocelyn and Charles Taylor. 2011. *Secularism and Freedom of Conscience* Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.

Mc Roberts, Kenneth. 1993. *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. 3rd Edition. New York: Oxford University Press.

Merriam Webster Dictionary. Secularism. Available at: <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/secularism>.

Moisi, Dominique. 2009. *The Geopolitics of Emotion*. New York: Double Day.

Oakes, Leigh and Jane Warren. 2007. *Language Citizenship and Identity in Quebec*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Provencher, Jean. 2000. *Chronologie du Québec 1534-2000*. Montreal : Boréal.

Québec. 1969. Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec. Available at : Office québécois de la langue française. http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/reperes/Loi_63.pdf. (Consulted 09/12/2012).

Québec. 1974. Loi sur la langue officielle. Available at : Office québécois de la langue française. http://www.oqlf.gouv.qc.ca/charte/reperes/Loi_22.pdf (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Québec. 1977. Charte de la langue française. Available at: http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=2&file=/C_11/C11.html. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Québec. 1991. "Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble. Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration." Available at: <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/ministere/Enonce-politique-immigration-integration-Quebec1991.pdf>.

Québec. 1998. Ministère de l'Éducation. "Plan of action for educational integration and intercultural education". Available at: http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/REFORME/int_scol/Plan_a.pdf. (Consulted 11/2012).

Québec. 2004. Ministère de L'Immigration et des Communautés Culturelles "Des Valeurs Partagés, des Intérêts Communs". Plan d'action 2004-2007. Available at: http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/pdf/PlanAction20042007_integral.pdf. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Québec. 2007. An Act to amend the Charter of human rights and freedoms. Québec Official Publisher. Available at: <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projets-loi-38-1.html>.

Québec. 2007. "Seeking common ground: Quebecers speak out". Montréal, Québec. Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. (Consulted 07/2012).

Québec. 2007. Site de la Première ministre du Québec., "Le premier ministre énonce sa vision et crée une commission spéciale d'étude". Available at: <http://www.premier-ministre.gouv.qc.ca/actualites/communiques/2007/fevrier/2007-02-08.asp>

Québec. 2008. La diversité: une valeur ajoutée. Politique Gouvernementale pour favoriser la participation de tous à l'essor du Québec. <http://www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/publications/fr/dossiers/PlanActionFavoriserParticipation.pdf>.

Québec. 2010. An Act to establish guidelines governing accommodation requests within the Administration and certain institutions. Gouvernement du Québec. Available at: <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-94-39-1.html>.

Québec. 2011. Assemblée Nationale. Journal des débats de la Commission des institutions. Le mardi 3 mai 2011 -Vol. 42 N° 18. Available at: <http://www.assnat.qc.ca/fr/travaux-parlementaires/commissions/ci-39-2/journal-debats/CI-110503.html>.

Québec. 2011. Gouvernement du Québec Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport. 2011. "Mise en oeuvre du plan d'action d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle". Available at: http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/publications/publications/EPEPS/Communautes_culturelles/SessionsFormationInterculturelles2011-2012_OffreServices.pdf. p. 2. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Québec. 2011. Gouvernement du Québec Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport. "Programme de rapprochement interculturel en milieu scolaire - Guide de présentation de projets à l'intention des milieux scolaires 2011-2012.". Available at: <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/publications/index.asp?page=fiche&id=591>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Québec. 2011. Gouvernement du Québec Ministère de l'Éducation des Loisirs et du Sport. "Une école d'avenir - Politique d'intégration scolaire et d'éducation interculturelle". <http://www.mels.gouv.qc.ca/sections/publications/index.asp?page=fiche&id=1781>. (Consulted 08/12/2012).

Québec. 2012. Fondements de la société québécoise. Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles. Available at: <http://www.quebecinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca/fr/valeurs-fondements/index.html>.

Ramadan, Tariq. 2010. *The Quest for Meaning. Developing a Philosophy of Pluralism*. London: Penguin Books.

Rocher, François, Micheline Labelle, Anne Marie Field and Jean- Claude Icart. "Concept d'interculturalisme en contexte québécoise : généalogie d'un néologisme". Available at: http://www.criec.ugam.ca/Page/Document/textes_en_lignes/interculturalisme.pdf

Siddiqui, Haroon. 2007. "Don't Blame Multiculturalism" in Stein et Al. *Uneasy Partners*. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press.

"Starved Alberta tot's parents appeal life-support ruling". September 14, 2012. CBC News. Available at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/health/story/2012/09/14/edmonton-judge-starved-twins-life-support.html>.

Taylor, Charles. 2010. "How to Define Secularism". Available at: <http://habermas-rawls.blogspot.ca/2010/10/charles-taylor-how-to-define-secularism.html>.

Taylor, Charles. 1992. *Multiculturalism*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Tremblay, Luc B. 2009. "The Bouchard-Taylor Report on Cultural and Religious Accommodation: Multiculturalism By Any Other Name?". EUI Working Papers. 2009. Available at: http://cadmus.eui.eu/bitstream/handle/1814/12971/LAW_2009_18.pdf?sequence=2

Walzer, Michael. 1997. *On Toleration*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Annex A

Principaux pays de naissance des immigrants admis de 1970 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Pays de naissance	1970-1974	Rang	Pays de naissance	1975-1979
1	États-Unis	12,221	1	Haïti	11,212
2	Haïti	10,320	2	Viet Nam	8,664
3	Grèce	8,728	3	France	7,746
4	France	8,618	4	États-Unis	6,965
5	Portugal	8,203	5	Royaume-Uni	5,870
6	Royaume-Uni	7,643	6	Liban	5,088
7	Italie	6,660	7	Portugal	4,161
8	Inde	4,267	8	Italie	4,011
9	Trinité-et-Tobago	3,264	9	Inde	3,274
10	Égypte	2,877	10	Grèce	3,225
11	Jamaïque	2,748	11	Chili	2,697
12	Maroc	2,565	12	Égypte	2,378
13	Philippines	2,249	13	Maroc	2,215
14	Chine	2,140	14	Jamaïque	2,134
15	Allemagne	1,823	15	Philippines	2,000
16	Hong Kong	1,714	16	Suisse	1,956
17	Suisse	1,635	17	Chine	1,887
18	Liban	1,505	18	Hong Kong	1,366
19	Guyana	1,381	19	Trinité-et-Tobago	1,308
20	Espagne	1,311	20	Allemagne	1,293
21	Pologne	1,244	21	Laos	1,228
22	Pakistan	1,164	22	Pakistan	1,093
23	Yougoslavie	1,162	23	Roumanie	1,082
24	Barbade	1,092	24	Belgique	1,076
25	Belgique	1,080	25	Colombie	1,071
	Autres pays	24,550		Autres pays	24,381
	Tous les pays	122,164		Tous les pays	109,381

Données préliminaires pour 2009.

Note: Les limites géographiques des pays sont celles qui avaient cours au moment de l'admission.

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Principaux pays de naissance des immigrants admis de 1970 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Pays de naissance	1980-1984	Rang	Pays de naissance	1985-1989
1	Haïti	12,690	1	Liban	10,241
2	Viet Nam	9,700	2	Haïti	8,913
3	France	5,434	3	France	5,750
4	Cambodge	5,218	4	Viet Nam	5,520
5	Royaume-Uni	3,276	5	Hong Kong	4,615
6	États-Unis	3,261	6	Iran	3,584
7	Inde	2,937	7	Sri Lanka	3,581
8	Pologne	2,936	8	Portugal	3,565
9	Chine	2,551	9	Pologne	3,456
10	Laos	2,473	10	Maroc	3,265
11	Maroc	2,441	11	Inde	3,124
12	Portugal	2,409	12	États-Unis	3,068
13	El Salvador	2,406	13	Syrie	3,038
14	Liban	2,371	14	El Salvador	2,967
15	Italie	1,944	15	Chine	2,900
16	Philippines	1,691	16	Corée du Sud	2,584
17	Chili	1,564	17	Philippines	2,443
18	Iran	1,504	18	Égypte	2,418
19	Égypte	1,450	19	Israël	2,223
20	Roumanie	1,392	20	Cambodge	1,983
21	Belgique	1,370	21	Roumanie	1,974
22	Grèce	1,319	22	Taiïwan	1,819
23	Turquie	1,237	23	Jamaïque	1,659
24	Syrie	1,140	24	Chili	1,434
25	Hong Kong	1,125	25	Guatemala	1,415
	Autres pays	20,311		Autres pays	34,497
	Tous les pays	96,150		Tous les pays	122,036

Données préliminaires pour 2009.

Note: Les limites géographiques des pays sont celles qui avaient cours au moment de l'admission.

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Principaux pays de naissance des immigrants admis de 1970 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Pays de naissance	1990-1994	Rang	Pays de naissance	1995-1999
1	Liban	23,465	1	France	12,143
2	Hong Kong	12,907	2	Chine	9,125
3	Haïti	12,040	3	Algérie	8,110
4	France	11,835	4	Haïti	7,441
5	Chine	10,431	5	Inde	5,496
6	Viet Nam	6,283	6	Maroc	4,949
7	Sri Lanka	6,069	7	Roumanie	4,891
8	El Salvador	6,008	8	Yougoslavie	4,100
9	Roumanie	5,884	9	Bangladesh	3,798
10	Philippines	5,480	10	Sri Lanka	3,577
11	Inde	5,380	11	Liban	3,546
12	Maroc	5,203	12	Hong Kong	3,446
13	Syrie	4,588	13	Philippines	3,354
14	Taïwan	4,331	14	Bosnie-Herzégovine	3,306
15	Iran	4,265	15	Pakistan	3,085
16	Égypte	3,922	16	Taïwan	2,914
17	Pologne	3,573	17	Russie	2,832
18	Pakistan	3,520	18	Corée du Sud	2,807
19	Algérie	3,277	19	Iran	2,405
20	Bangladesh	3,065	20	Rép. dém. du Congo	2,378
21	États-Unis	3,065	21	Afghanistan	1,954
22	Pérou	2,984	22	Union soviétique	1,952
23	Turquie	2,730	23	Pérou	1,840
24	Guatemala	2,673	24	États-Unis	1,806
25	Portugal	2,547	25	Viet Nam	1,672
	Autres pays	59,357		Autres pays	37,474
	Tous les pays	214,882		Tous les pays	140,401

Données préliminaires pour 2009.

Note: Les limites géographiques des pays sont celles qui avaient cours au moment de l'admission.

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Principaux pays de naissance des immigrants admis de 1970 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Pays de naissance	2000-2004	Rang	Pays de naissance	2005-2009
1	Chine	18,106	1	Algérie	20,215
2	Maroc	15,921	2	France	17,950
3	France	15,827	3	Maroc	17,823
4	Algérie	14,666	4	Chine	13,898
5	Roumanie	11,569	5	Colombie	11,661
6	Haïti	7,924	6	Liban	8,957
7	Colombie	6,769	7	Roumanie	8,300
8	Liban	5,974	8	Haïti	7,993
9	Inde	5,445	9	Philippines	5,858
10	Pakistan	5,220	10	Mexique	5,740
11	Sri Lanka	3,849	11	Inde	5,192
12	Rép. dém. du Congo	3,847	12	Pérou	4,265
13	Russie	3,215	13	Iran	4,212
14	Mexique	2,967	14	Tunisie	4,172
15	Tunisie	2,924	15	États-Unis	4,043
16	Bulgarie	2,786	16	Cameroun	3,576
17	Philippines	2,625	17	Pakistan	3,464
18	Iran	2,533	18	Rép. dém. du Congo	3,438
19	Afghanistan	2,472	19	Moldavie	3,349
20	États-Unis	2,412	20	Brésil	2,937
21	Corée du Sud	2,398	21	Égypte	2,899
22	Pérou	2,384	22	Russie	2,812
23	Bangladesh	2,098	23	Bulgarie	2,686
24	Argentine	1,847	24	Côte d'Ivoire	2,520
25	Ukraine	1,647	25	Sri Lanka	2,509
	Autres pays	44,072		Autres pays	57,412
	Tous les pays	191,497		Tous les pays	227,881

Données préliminaires pour 2009.

Note: Les limites géographiques des pays sont celles qui avaient cours au moment de l'admission.

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Annex B

Principales langues maternelles des immigrants admis de 1980 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Langue maternelle	1980-1984	Rang	Langue maternelle	1985-1989
1	Français	12,091	1	Arabe	22,055
2	Langues créoles	11,216	2	Espagnol	11,823
3	Anglais	10,088	3	Français	9,948
4	Espagnol	8,415	4	Langues créoles	8,843
5	Vietnamien	7,341	5	Anglais	8,826
6	Arabe	5,709	6	Cantonais	8,264
7	Cantonais	5,252	7	Vietnamien	4,723
8	Khmer	4,886	8	Portugais	4,072
9	Polonais	2,948	9	Perse	3,791
10	Portugais	2,700	10	Tamoul	3,639
11	Laotien	2,101	11	Polonais	3,549
12	Italien	2,028	12	Coréen	2,633
13	Grec	1,493	13	Arménien	2,153
14	Perse	1,468	14	Mandarin	2,112
15	Arménien	1,418	15	Tagalog	2,002
16	Roumain	1,323	16	Roumain	1,806
17	Allemand	1,322	17	Hébreu	1,554
18	Tagalog	1,306	18	Pendjabi	1,458
19	Hébreu	1,128	19	Khmer	1,444
20	Pendjabi	1,078	20	Grec	1,248
21	Turc	854	21	Allemand	1,104
22	Mandarin	593	22	Italien	1,098
23	Thaï	565	23	Bengali	1,076
24	Ourdou	496	24	Ourdou	795
25	Hindi	462	25	Laotien	777
	Autres langues	7,869		Autres langues	11,243
	Toutes les langues	96,150		Toutes les langues	122,036

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Principales langues maternelles des immigrants admis de 1980 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Langue maternelle	1990-1994	Rang	Langue maternelle	1995-1999
1	Arabe	44,825	1	Arabe	20,212
2	Espagnol	25,369	2	Français	17,557
3	Cantonais	19,658	3	Espagnol	10,421
4	Français	17,563	4	Mandarin	7,901
5	Langues créoles	12,884	5	Langues créoles	7,540
6	Anglais	9,247	6	Russe	7,228
7	Mandarin	7,995	7	Cantonais	6,097
8	Tamoul	6,030	8	Serbo-croate	6,082
9	Vietnamien	5,908	9	Roumain	4,933
10	Roumain	5,787	10	Anglais	4,763
11	Tagalog	4,930	11	Pendjabi	4,622
12	Perse	4,328	12	Bengali	3,815
13	Polonais	3,675	13	Tamoul	3,553
14	Portugais	3,316	14	Tagalog	2,972
15	Pendjabi	3,225	15	Coréen	2,851
16	Bengali	3,070	16	Ourdou	1,978
17	Russe	2,918	17	Vietnamien	1,607
18	Ourdou	2,570	18	Dari	1,428
19	Coréen	2,550	19	Farsi	1,362
20	Turc	2,372	20	Serbe	1,216
21	Arménien	2,367	21	Perse	1,155
22	Serbo-croate	1,643	22	Gujarati	1,088
23	Somalie	1,472	23	Twi	929
24	Bulgare	1,224	24	Turc	832
25	Hébreu	1,131	25	Portugais	813
	Autres langues	18,825		Autres langues	17,446
	Toutes les langues	214,882		Toutes les langues	140,401

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Principales langues maternelles des immigrants admis de 1980 à 2009 par période quinquennale

Rang	Langue maternelle	2000-2004	Rang	Langue maternelle	2005-2009
1	Arabe	40,536	1	Arabe	52,522
2	Français	23,819	2	Français	33,240
3	Espagnol	19,955	3	Espagnol	31,762
4	Mandarin	15,831	4	Mandarin	11,093
5	Roumain	11,708	5	Roumain	10,612
6	créoles	8,173	6	Langues créoles	8,898
7	Russe	6,587	7	Anglais	7,530
8	Pendjabi	5,433	8	Russe	7,094
9	Anglais	5,048	9	Berbère	5,187
10	Tamoul	3,870	10	Tagalog	4,881
11	Ourdou	3,135	11	Pendjabi	4,056
12	Berbère	3,069	12	Portugais	3,262
13	Bulgare	2,781	13	Farsi	3,065
14	Coréen	2,433	14	Bulgare	2,680
15	Tagalog	2,260	15	Tamoul	2,486
16	Bengali	2,122	16	Ourdou	2,127
17	Cantonais	1,985	17	Bengali	2,014
18	Farsi	1,921	18	Dari	1,911
19	Dari	1,904	19	Turc	1,613
20	Albanais	1,366	20	Vietnamien	1,350
21	Turc	1,288	21	Perse	1,223
22	Vietnamien	1,200	22	Kirundi	1,156
23	Lingala	1,158	23	Coréen	1,153
24	Portugais	1,105	24	Ukrainien	898
25	Perse	1,084	25	Wolwof	894
	Autres langues	21,726		Autres langues	25,174
	Toutes les langues	191,497		Toutes les langues	227,881

Données préliminaires pour 2009.

Source : Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Compilation: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

Annex C

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'apprentissage de la diversité	
A1. Que l'État octroie beaucoup plus de moyens aux organismes dont le mandat est d'informer et de protéger les citoyens; en priorité à la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse et au Conseil des relations interculturelles.	<p>Une partie de cette recommandation concerne la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse.</p> <p>Quant au Conseil des relations interculturelles (CRI), cet organisme a été aboli le 9 juin 2011 à la suite de l'adoption du projet de loi n° 130 visant à améliorer la performance de l'État. Ses activités ont été intégrées à celles du MICC. À noter que le mandat du CRI n'était pas « d'informer et de protéger les citoyens », mais plutôt de conseiller la ministre de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles.</p>
A2. Que l'État encourage des projets et des initiatives permettant aux membres des minorités ethniques de se faire davantage voir et entendre devant le grand public (programmes de radio ou télé, journées thématiques, etc.).	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Diverses mesures prévues dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i> (MICC) pour promouvoir l'apport de la diversité et favoriser une meilleure représentativité de celle-ci, dont : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – <i>Avis du Conseil des relations interculturelles sur la représentation de la diversité dans les médias et la publicité</i> (9 juin 2009); – Mise en œuvre d'une stratégie de sensibilisation sur l'apport de la diversité ethnoculturelle à l'essor social, économique et culturel du Québec. La première phase de la campagne, diffusée en octobre 2009, avait pour thème <i>l'Immigration, c'est Bienvenue!</i>. La seconde phase s'est déroulée en mars 2011 sous le thème <i>Toutes nos origines enrichissent le Québec</i>. Ce thème a été repris pour la troisième phase de la campagne en mars 2012; – Soutien accru aux artistes et aux <i>organismes</i> artistiques issus des communautés culturelles notamment par le renouvellement du programme de bourses <i>Vivacité Montréal</i> (2011-2013) destinées aux jeunes artistes immigrants ou des minorités visibles de Montréal de même que par le soutien financier au Conseil des arts de Montréal ainsi qu'à Diversité artistique Montréal dans leurs efforts pour promouvoir et développer la diversité culturelle dans les arts (2011-2012, 2008-2009); – Financement d'une série de 13 émissions d'une heure, <i>Pareils pas pareils</i>, diffusée à l'automne 2008 sur les ondes de VOXTV . – Reconnaissance du rôle de la culture comme vecteur de socialisation, d'intégration et d'inclusion, de l'importance de favoriser le dialogue interculturel entre les Québécoises et Québécois de toutes origines et de multiplier les occasions d'interaction entre les personnes immigrantes nouvellement arrivées et la société d'accueil dans le cadre de l'Agenda 21 de la culture (MCCCF, MICC). <p>À ces actions s'ajoutent celles réalisées par différents ministères et organismes pour promouvoir l'apport de la diversité et favoriser une meilleure représentativité de celle-ci. Certaines de ces actions sont prévues dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>. Les principales réalisations et les initiatives clefs qui découlent de ce plan d'action sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante :</p> <p>http://www.quebecinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca/fr/lutte-discrimination/realisations/index.html</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'apprentissage de la diversité	
<p>A3. Que l'État accroisse le soutien financier à des organismes comme la Fondation de la tolérance, l'Institut du Nouveau Monde et Vision Diversité. Il devrait encourager la création d'autres projets du même genre à l'échelle du Québec dans l'information, la formation, l'action communautaire, le débat interculturel et la diffusion du pluralisme.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Soutien de 56 projets pour encourager les contacts interculturels enrichissants dans le cadre du Programme <i>Action diversité</i> entre 2009 et 2012. Le dernier appel de projets, lancé en février 2012, porte spécifiquement sur les inégalités vécues par les femmes immigrantes et des minorités ethnoculturelles; 17 projets sont subventionnés. – Mise en œuvre d'une approche partenariale renouvelée avec les acteurs socioéconomiques afin qu'ils accroissent leur prise en compte des besoins des personnes immigrantes et des minorités ethnoculturelles et fassent de la diversité ethnoculturelle un facteur stratégique de développement et de vitalité. Comme mesure d'appui financier à cette approche, le Programme <i>Mobilisation-Diversité</i> a été créé en 2012-2013. – Soutien, par le MICC, d'une partie de la mission des organismes suivants : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – La Fondation de la tolérance (en continu depuis 2008-2009); – Actions interculturelles de développement et d'éducation (en continu depuis 2008-2009); – L'Institut interculturel de Montréal (entre 2008-2009 et 2010-2011); – Vision-Diversité (entre 2006-2007 et 2010-2011). – Cette recommandation concerne également le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport et le ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale.
<p>A4. Que l'État accroisse également son appui aux initiatives analogues, aussi prometteuses, déjà en cours ou en préparation dans le monde scolaire et dans le secteur de la santé.</p>	<p>Cette recommandation concerne le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport et le ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (réseau de la santé).</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées aux pratiques d'harmonisation (cadre civique commun)	
<p>B1. Que l'État s'emploie davantage à promouvoir le cadre civique commun ou ce que nous avons appelé les valeurs publiques communes au sein de diverses institutions et dans le public en général.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Dévoilement, en octobre 2008, de nouvelles mesures mises en place par le MICC pour affirmer les valeurs communes du Québec, parmi lesquelles : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Signature par les candidats à l'immigration (immigration économique et réunification familiale) d'une déclaration par laquelle ils s'engagent à respecter les valeurs communes du Québec (février 2009). – Information sur les valeurs communes offerte à tous les nouveaux arrivants adultes francophones dans le cadre de la session <i>S'adapter au monde du travail québécois/Vivre ensemble au Québec</i>. Diffusée par des organismes communautaires dans 11 villes du Québec, elle joint près de 8 000 personnes par année. – Information sur les valeurs communes incluse dans les activités de francisation depuis août 2011. – Sept mini-capsules vidéo faisant la promotion des valeurs et les illustrant sont incluses au site Internet (avril 2009). Elles sont également utilisées dans le Service d'intégration en ligne (SIEL) en cours de développement. – Plus de 450 membres du personnel du MICC, dont des professeurs en francisation, de même que 80 préposés à l'accueil de la RAMQ sensibilisés au message gouvernemental à transmettre sur les valeurs communes. – Diffusion par le MICC du guide <i>À parts égales, à part entière : l'égalité entre les femmes et les hommes au Québec</i> à la clientèle. Ce guide est publié en dans neuf langues (en continu). <p>À ces actions du Ministère s'ajoute la déclaration du premier ministre à l'Assemblée nationale sur les valeurs communes du Québec (22 mai 2008).</p>
<p>B2. Que les gestionnaires d'institutions publiques intensifient les efforts pour :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Adapter à leur milieu et traduire en directives concrètes les grandes balises devant guider la gestion des demandes d'ajustement; 2) Poursuivre l'implantation de l'approche dite contextuelle, délibérative et réflexive. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Projet de loi n° 94, Loi établissant les balises encadrant les demandes d'accommodement dans l'Administration gouvernementale et dans certains établissements. <p>Cette recommandation concerne également la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse ainsi que différents ministères tels que le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (milieu scolaire), le ministère de la Famille et des Aînés (services de garde) et le ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux (réseau de la santé).</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées aux pratiques d'harmonisation (cadre civique commun)	
<p>B3. En conformité avec l'objectif de déjudiciarisation des pratiques d'accommodement, que l'État favorise la responsabilisation des acteurs ou intervenants des milieux institutionnels en s'assurant qu'ils ont reçu une formation adéquate. Par exemple, modifier le programme de formation des futurs enseignants pour y ajouter un apprentissage des questions interculturelles, et organiser des sessions spécialisées à l'intention du personnel en exercice.</p>	<p>Cette recommandation concerne la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse ainsi que le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.</p>
<p>B4. Que l'État s'assure que les établissements de soins disposent d'un budget suffisant pour combler les services d'interprète.</p>	<p>Cette recommandation concerne le ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux.</p> <p>Pour sa part, les réalisations du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Prise en compte par le Comité mixte sur l'accueil et l'établissement des réfugiés de la problématique de l'accès linguistique aux services publics, notamment pour les soins de santé (en continu). – Mise en place d'un comité interministériel MICC-MELS-MESS-MSSS pour améliorer l'offre de service d'interprétariat et faciliter l'accès aux services (décembre 2010).
<p>B5. Que l'État veille à la mise sur pied des mécanismes nécessaires pour que :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Se constitue au sein de chaque institution une expertise pratique en matière de traitement des demandes d'ajustement; 2) Soit diffusé au sein de chaque établissement, en particulier auprès du nouveau personnel, le savoir accumulé par les intervenants; 3) S'instituent des activités d'échange et de concertation entre les unités d'un même établissement ou entre établissements d'un même secteur; 4) Les parents nouveaux immigrants soient mieux informés sur les pratiques d'ajustement et sur le fonctionnement du système scolaire. 	<p>Cette recommandation concerne plusieurs ministères et organismes, dont le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, le ministère de la Famille et des Aînés, le ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux et le ministère de la Sécurité publique.</p> <p>Certaines mesures sous la responsabilité de différents ministères et organismes sont d'ailleurs prévues dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>. Les principales réalisations et les initiatives clefs qui découlent de ce plan d'action sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante :</p> <p>http://www.quebecinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca/fr/lutte-discrimination/realisations/index.html</p> <p>Pour sa part, les réalisations du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Soutien d'un projet de la Fédération des travailleurs du Québec (FTQ) pour l'organisation de visites d'entreprises par des personnes immigrantes, de formations aux instances syndicales sur la gestion de la diversité ethnoculturelle et de diffusion d'information sur le sujet (en cours); – Section du guide <i>Apprendre le Québec</i> consacrée au système scolaire québécois afin de mieux informer les parents nouveaux immigrants.
<p>B6. Nous approuvons l'initiative en cours à l'Assemblée nationale pour insérer dans la Charte québécoise une clause interprétative établissant l'égalité hommes-femmes comme une valeur fondamentale de notre société.</p>	<p>Adoption de la <i>Loi modifiant la Charte des droits et libertés de la personne</i> (juin 2008), pour faire valoir davantage la notion d'égalité des femmes et des hommes.</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées aux pratiques d'harmonisation (cadre civique commun)	
<p>B7. Que l'État mette sur pied un Office d'harmonisation interculturelle prenant la forme d'une instance paragouvernementale relevant de l'actuel Conseil des relations interculturelles. Œuvrant en complémentarité avec d'autres organismes déjà existants dans des domaines connexes, cet Office remplirait notamment des fonctions de formation, d'animation, de conseil, de recherche, le tout centré sur les pratiques d'harmonisation culturelle, y compris interconfessionnelle, dans notre société.</p>	<p><u>Action différente</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Intégration des activités du Conseil des relations interculturelles au MICC par suite de son abolition dans la foulée de la sanction, le 13 juin 2011, de la <i>Loi abolissant le ministère des Services gouvernementaux et mettant en œuvre le Plan d'action 2010-2014 du gouvernement pour la réduction et le contrôle des dépenses en abolissant et en restructurant certains organismes et certains fonds.</i> – Fonctions envisagées pour cet office déjà assumées, en partie, par le MICC ou par la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse. <p>À cela s'ajoute le recours régulier, par plusieurs ministères et institutions publiques ou privées, à des intervenants utilisant des pratiques de médiations interculturelles.</p>
<p>B8. En matière de congés religieux :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Que l'État encourage les administrateurs publics et privés à s'orienter vers la formule dite des congés payés avec contrepartie, assortie de diverses possibilités d'aménagement; 2) Que la CDPDJ produise un avis établissant des repères pratiques à l'intention des gestionnaires de tous les milieux de travail : explication du cadre juridique, conception d'outils pour statuer sur les demandes de congés religieux et proposition d'un éventail de formules conformes aux jugements antérieurs des tribunaux et adaptables à chaque milieu de travail; 3) Concernant les problèmes liés au régime de congés religieux dans les commissions scolaires (à savoir des congés supplémentaires payés), que l'État forme un comité d'experts mandaté pour trouver une solution équitable et conforme au cadre juridique actuel du régime des congés religieux, et ce, après consultation des principaux acteurs intéressés. 	<p>Projet de loi n° 94, <i>Loi établissant les balises encadrant les demandes d'accommodement dans l'Administration gouvernementale et dans certains établissements.</i></p> <p>Cette recommandation concerne particulièrement la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse et le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées aux pratiques d'harmonisation (cadre civique commun)	
<p>B9. Que l'État valorise l'excellence en matière de pratiques d'harmonisation dans les milieux de travail :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) En incitant les grandes sociétés d'État à affirmer un leadership dans ce domaine; 2) En honorant publiquement les employeurs publics ou privés qui se sont signalés par leurs efforts en matière d'intégration et d'harmonisation. 	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité totale ou partielle du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mise en ligne de la trousse <i>Diversité +</i> à l'intention des employeurs qui propose conseils, ressources et aides financières, intégrant des orientations pour l'élaboration d'une politique interne de la gestion de la diversité en entreprise et des bulletins d'information sur demande en collaboration avec le Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale et le ministère du Développement économique, de l'Innovation et de l'Exportation (mars 2011); – Collaboration à la mise en place de deux réseaux de dirigeants engagés dans la promotion de la diversité, soit <i>Leaders diversité</i> (MICC) et <i>Alliés Montréal</i> (MICC en collaboration avec la Conférence régionale des élus de Montréal); – Intégration d'un prix soulignant l'excellence en matière de gestion de la diversité au prochain Gala des Mercuriades organisé par la Fédération des chambres de commerce du Québec (2011-2012); <p>À ces actions s'ajoutent celles réalisées par différents ministères et organismes pour soutenir les employeurs dans l'accueil et le maintien en emploi une main-d'œuvre diversifiée. Certaines de ces actions sont prévues dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>. Les principales réalisations et les initiatives clés qui découlent de ce plan d'action sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante :</p> <p>http://www.quebecinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca/fr/lutte-discrimination/realisations/index.html</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
<p>C1. En matière de planification des taux d'immigration, que l'État s'assure de maintenir en équilibre le nombre d'entrées avec les ressources disponibles pour l'accueil, notamment à l'emploi et la francisation.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Hausse des sommes consacrées à la francisation de 20 % entre 2008-2009 et 2012-2013. – Hausse du budget du MICC de 10,7 % entre 2008-2009 et 2012-2013. – Hausse de 39,8 % des sommes consacrées à l'intégration professionnelle et sociale ainsi qu'à la promotion des relations interculturelles harmonieuses entre 2007-2008 et 2011-2012 alors que les volumes d'admission se sont accrus de 21,7 % au cours de la même période. – Investissement de 27 M\$ sur 3 ans annoncé dans le Budget 2012-2013 pour la mise en place et la bonification des mesures réalisées en partenariat avec le MESS et le MELS. – Hausse de 43 % du budget du Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants entre 2007-2008 et 2011-2012 grâce à une indexation des paramètres et une hausse du nombre d'accompagnements afin de tenir compte de l'augmentation des niveaux d'immigration. En 2012-2013, les sommes allouées ont été haussées de 15 % dans le cadre du nouveau Programme <i>Réussir l'intégration</i>. – Tenues, entre 2007-2008 et 2011-2012, de consultations publiques pour la planification pluriannuelle de l'immigration. – Dépôt, à l'Assemblée nationale, du Plan d'immigration du Québec pour l'année 2012 en conformité avec les dispositions de la Loi sur l'immigration au Québec (LRQ, chapitre I 0.2) et adoption des orientations de la planification de l'immigration pour la période 2012-2015. – Mise en place d'un <i>Dispositif de services intégrés pour les personnes immigrantes nouvellement arrivées</i> qui permettra de simplifier, d'accélérer et de rendre plus efficace le parcours d'intégration des personnes immigrantes et d'être plus efficaces, dans un contexte de ressources limitées.
<p>C2. Afin de combler une grave déficience qui se fait sentir présentement, que l'État hausse le financement consacré aux groupes communautaires et autres organismes de première ligne œuvrant à l'accueil et à l'intégration des immigrants, notamment pour consolider et développer le réseau d'organismes existants en évitant le saupoudrage.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Hausse de 43 % du budget du Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants entre 2007-2008 et 2011-2012 (soit de 7,460 M\$ à 10,7 M\$). – Le nouveau Programme <i>Réussir l'intégration</i>, qui intègre la plupart des activités du Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants (PANA), du Programme d'accueil et d'installation des réfugiés (PAIR) et une partie du Programme régional d'intégration (PRI), est doté d'une enveloppe de 15,5 M\$. Ce nouveau budget représente une hausse de 1,65 M\$ par rapport aux sommes allouées en 2011-2012, soit 15 %.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
<p>C3. Que l'État intensifie ses efforts en matière de francisation et d'intégration des immigrants par :</p> <p>1) Une meilleure coordination des programmes de francisation des immigrants entre les ministères concernés;</p> <p>2) La mise sur pied d'un groupe d'études pour revoir toute la question de la sous-représentation des membres des minorités ethniques dans les postes de l'administration publique et concevoir une démarche plus efficace;</p> <p>3) Une gestion plus concertée des programmes et des mesures d'intégration au sein de l'appareil gouvernemental, plus particulièrement entre les ministères de l'Immigration, de l'Éducation, de la Santé et de l'Emploi;</p>	<p>Les réalisations en francisation du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Référentiel commun rendu public en février 2012. Celui-ci est constitué de : l'Échelle québécoise des niveaux de compétence en français, qui permet d'établir le niveau de compétence en français des personnes immigrantes et du Programme-cadre de français pour personnes immigrantes adultes au Québec, qui devient la référence pour les concepteurs de matériel didactique (MICC-MELS-MESS); – Plan de mise en œuvre pour un guichet unifié d'accès aux services gouvernementaux de francisation adopté en février 2012. Ce plan donnera une information complète sur l'offre de service, simplifiera les demandes d'admission, dirigera les personnes immigrantes vers le service le plus approprié et permettra une reddition de comptes sur l'utilisation des services (MICC-MELS-MESS). – Mesures pour renforcer l'offre de francisation pour mieux répondre aux besoins des personnes immigrantes mises en place en 2008. Ces mesures sont maintenant intégrées dans les activités courantes du MICC. Elles permettent : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – De franciser plus de personnes immigrantes : le volume de la clientèle desservie par le MICC a sans cesse augmenté depuis 2008 et de nouvelles clientèles sont rejointes, notamment en milieu de travail; – De franciser mieux : en offrant des cours de français plus spécialisés afin de répondre aux besoins professionnels des nouveaux arrivants; – De franciser plus tôt, en offrant aux personnes sélectionnées la possibilité d'apprendre le français avant même leur arrivée au Québec, grâce à la francisation en ligne ou à des cours suivis chez l'un des 105 partenaires du MICC à l'étranger (principalement des Alliances françaises). – Des actions pour favoriser l'embauche et l'intégration des membres de groupes cibles au sein de la fonction publique sont prévues au Plan d'action <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>. Elles sont sous la responsabilité du Secrétariat du Conseil du trésor. – Versement au MICC de la totalité des sommes allouées à l'accueil, à l'intégration et à la francisation des immigrants en vertu de l'Accord Canada-Québec relatif à l'immigration et à l'admission temporaire des aubains depuis 2008-2009. Des ententes sont conclues avec le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport, avec le ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale et avec le ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
<p>4) Une meilleure articulation des politiques d'immigration et d'intégration aux objectifs de développement économique et social de notre société;</p> <p>5) Un effort intensif pour réduire le taux de chômage extrêmement élevé parmi les Québécois nés en Afrique et établis au Québec depuis moins de cinq ans.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité, totale ou partielle, du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Plan d'action ministériel <i>Intégrer mieux</i> (2008). – Depuis 2005, insertion en emploi de plus de 6 800 personnes (dont 40 % de femmes) grâce au Programme d'aide à l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités visibles en emploi (PRIIME) (taux de rétention en emploi de 82 % après la fin de la mesure) (MICC, MESS). – Financement de près de 100 000 accompagnements de nouveaux arrivants en installation et en adaptation au marché du travail en vertu du Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants entre 2008-2009 et 2011-2012. – Soutien aux organismes communautaires contribuant à l'intégration sociale, culturelle et économique des personnes immigrantes et aide financière versée aux fournisseurs de biens et services aux personnes réfugiées prises en charge par l'État en vertu du Programme <i>Réussir mon intégration</i>, en vigueur à compter d'avril 2012. – Travaux en cours visant la mise en place d'un Dispositif de services intégrés pour les personnes immigrantes nouvellement arrivées. Ce Dispositif permettra 1) de simplifier, d'accélérer et de rendre plus efficace le parcours d'intégration des personnes immigrantes 2) d'avoir une offre de service complémentaire et plus fluide, en éliminant les chevauchements et les ruptures ainsi qu'en clarifiant les rôles de chacun des intervenants 3) d'être plus efficaces, dans un contexte de ressources limitées (MICC, MESS). – Investissement de 27 M\$ sur 3 ans annoncé dans le Budget 2012-2013 pour la mise en place et la bonification de mesures suivantes réalisées en partenariat avec le Ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale et du ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport. La réalisation sous la responsabilité totale ou partielle du MICC est la suivante : – L'ajout d'un nouveau volet portant sur des stages en entreprises en lien avec le Programme Interconnexion de la Chambre de commerce du Montréal métropolitain et les nouveaux pôles régionaux (Québec, Gatineau et Sherbrooke) (MESS-CCMM-MICC). – La bonification du Programme d'aide à l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités visibles en emploi (PRIIME). – À la suite de la refonte des programmes de financement du MICC, création du Programme <i>Réussir l'intégration</i> lequel regroupe les subventions octroyées aux organismes communautaires pour accélérer le processus d'intégration des personnes immigrantes. Ce nouveau programme est doté d'une enveloppe de 15,5 M\$ ce qui représente une hausse de 1,65 M\$, soit 15 %, par rapport aux ressources qui étaient allouées en 2011-2012. – Attention particulière prêtée à cette clientèle par la publication d'un document portant sur cette question (Mesures pour renforcer l'action du Québec en matière d'intégration en emploi des immigrants : Une

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
	<p>réponse spécifique aux besoins des Québécois originaires du Maghreb, mars 2008).</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Lancement, en mars 2008, du Programme Défi Montréal qui vise notamment à faciliter l'insertion en emploi des personnes immigrantes d'origine maghrébine. – Accompagnement personnalisé et soutenu des nouveaux arrivants dans leurs démarches vers l'emploi mis en place en collaboration avec Emploi-Québec. Quelque 45 % des participants étaient originaires du Maghreb. – Insertion en emploi de plus de 6 800 personnes depuis 2005 grâce au Programme d'aide à l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités visibles en emploi (PRIIME) (taux de rétention en emploi de 80 % après la fin de la mesure). Le Budget 2012-2013 prévoit une bonification des allocations dédiées au programme PRIIME de l'ordre de 2 M\$ en 2012-2013 et de 3 M\$ pour les deux années suivantes (MICC-MESS). De nombreuses personnes originaires de l'Afrique du Nord participent à ce programme. – Projet sur deux ans (2010-2011/2011-2012) à même le Programme <i>Action diversité</i> (PAD) permet d'offrir des ateliers et des activités d'information aux futures mères et nouvelles mamans immigrantes, notamment celles en provenance du Maghreb. – Financement, en vertu du Programme <i>Action diversité</i> d'un projet du Collectif des femmes immigrantes visant à rejoindre 60 femmes, en majorité originaires des pays du Maghreb afin de les motiver à intégrer le marché du travail et de les préparer à confronter les préjugés dont elles pourraient être victimes (2010-2011).
<p>C4. Que l'État intensifie les mesures pour accélérer le processus de reconnaissance des compétences et des diplômes acquis à l'étranger. Parmi les mesures pressantes, nous recommandons :</p> <p>1) La mise sur pied d'un comité d'enquête indépendant mandaté pour faire la lumière sur les pratiques des ordres professionnels en matière de reconnaissance des diplômes;</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Signature d'une trentaine d'ententes avec les ordres professionnels pour accélérer et faciliter le processus de reconnaissance des compétences. – Signature de l'<i>Entente France-Québec sur la reconnaissance mutuelle des qualifications professionnelles</i> (17 octobre 2008). Au 31 mars 2012, les arrangements de reconnaissance mutuelle qui ont été signés en vertu de cette Entente couvrent 81 professions, métiers et fonctions réglementés. – Depuis 2008-2009, près de 6 500 personnes ont été accompagnées par le MICC dans leurs démarches d'accès aux métiers et professions réglementés. – La quatrième vague de projets de Défi Montréal comporte six projets portant sur le rôle des employeurs dans le processus de reconnaissance des compétences des personnes immigrantes. Ces projets représentent un investissement de 735 000 \$ sur deux ans et seront réalisés grâce à la collaboration de 19 partenaires majeurs.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
<p>2) L'établissement d'une instance indépendante permettant aux immigrants de formuler des plaintes et de demander une révision des décisions prises par les ordres professionnels;</p> <p>3) La clarification des rapports entre, d'une part, le Conseil interprofessionnel du Québec, l'Office des professions du Québec et les ordres professionnels et, d'autre part, les universités, les cégeps et l'Office québécois de la langue française, afin de dénouer les impasses qui empêchent de donner suite aux exigences de formation d'appoint imposées aux immigrants.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mesures concrètes et structurantes visant à aplanir les difficultés liées au processus de reconnaissance des compétences des personnes formées à l'étranger formulées par l'Équipe de travail sur la reconnaissance des diplômes et des compétences des personnes formées à l'étranger (Rapport présenté à M^{me} Lise Thériault, ministre de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles, 2005). Par conséquent, la création d'un comité d'enquête a été jugée non nécessaire. – Création d'un poste de Commissaire aux plaintes concernant les mécanismes de reconnaissance des compétences professionnelles (Loi sanctionnée le 4 décembre 2009). <p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité partielle du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Instauration d'un pôle de coordination pour l'accès à la formation prescrite par les ordres professionnels ainsi qu'aux stages regroupant des représentants d'organisations intervenant dans le processus de reconnaissance des compétences des personnes formées à l'étranger (OPQ, MELS, MICC, CIQ, MSSS, CREPUQ, Fédération des Cégeps). – Signature d'un accord de principe entre le CIQ et la CREPUQ en vue de la conclusion d'ententes de partenariat entre les universités et les ordres professionnels pour développer des programmes de formation d'appoint pour les personnes formées à l'étranger, avec le soutien financier du MICC et du MELS (janvier 2010) (CIQ, CREPUQ, MELS). – Travaux conjoints pour réviser les examens de français administrés par l'OQLF en vue de l'accès aux ordres professionnels, sur la base d'une échelle commune d'appréciation des connaissances du français (OQLF, CIQ, MICC). – Mise en place de différentes formations d'appoint requises par les ordres professionnels pour faciliter la reconnaissance des compétences des personnes formées à l'étranger depuis 2008, représentant un investissement de 3 M\$ annuellement (MICC, MESS)
<p>C5. Que l'État intensifie ses efforts afin de stimuler la régionalisation de l'immigration.</p> <p>1) Instituer des mesures incitatives pour les entreprises qui recrutent des immigrants (par exemple, des mesures fiscales) afin de stimuler la régionalisation;</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité totale ou partielle du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Progression du nombre de nouveaux arrivants établis à l'extérieur de la région métropolitaine de Montréal. En 2011, on retrouvait 37 528 immigrants récents établis hors de la région métropolitaine de Montréal. C'est 52,7 % de plus qu'en 2005. – Accompagnement d'entreprises souhaitant recruter à l'étranger des travailleurs qualifiés (Banque de placement en ligne, site Internet et guide). Quatre missions de recrutement ont été organisées en France depuis 2008 dans le cadre de l'événement <i>Journées Québec</i>. Deux nouvelles missions sont prévues en juin et en octobre 2012 (MICC, Emploi-Québec). – Création du projet Passerelle pour l'emploi en région afin de faciliter l'arrimage des emplois disponibles en région avec les candidats potentiels dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
<p>2) Accorder un financement ad hoc aux municipalités et aux nombreux organismes d'accueil et d'encadrement qui ont été mis sur pied hors de Montréal, afin de renforcer le réseau actuel;</p> <p>3) Accorder une attention particulière à la Capitale-Nationale de façon à en faire un deuxième pôle métropolitain d'accueil des nouveaux venus;</p> <p>4) Inviter les régions à faire connaître leurs besoins et à formuler des projets mettant à profit la main-d'œuvre immigrante;</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction, entre 2008-2009 et 2011-2012, d'un nouveau paramètre de financement dans le cadre du Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants pour les organismes d'accueil qui sont situés à l'extérieur des grands centres et où le MICC n'a pas de bureau. Ce paramètre permet à ces organismes de recevoir un financement supplémentaire. - Financement accru aux organismes d'accueil de réfugiés afin de renforcer leur capacité en vertu du Programme <i>Soutien à la mission</i>, qui remplace le Programme de reconnaissance et de soutien aux organismes communautaires autonomes à compter de 2012-2013. 12 des 13 organismes d'accueil sont situés à l'extérieur de Montréal. - Travaux de révision du Programme régional d'intégration ayant donné lieu à la mise en place du nouveau Programme <i>Mobilisation-Diversité</i> à compter de 2012. - Conclusion d'ententes d'une valeur totalisant plus de 5 M\$ pour la période 2008-2012 afin de soutenir l'établissement de personnes immigrantes dans la Communauté métropolitaine de Québec avec différents partenaires. - Progression notable de la Communauté métropolitaine de Québec à titre de deuxième pôle métropolitain d'établissement après la région métropolitaine de Montréal avec, en janvier 2011, 4,6 % de présence des personnes admises de 2000 à 2009 alors que le taux correspondant était de 4,1 % en 2010. - Subventions de près de 3,5 M\$, pour l'année financière 2010-2011, accordées aux CRÉ et aux municipalités excluant les CRÉ ou les villes de Montréal, de Laval et de Longueuil dans le cadre du Programme régional d'intégration. - Signature de 15 ententes spécifiques entre le MICC et les CRÉ et les municipalités hors Montréal pour favoriser l'attraction et la rétention de personnes immigrantes dans les régions.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
<p>5) Encourager et donner de l'expansion aux ententes de stages et d'échanges d'étudiants comme celles qui existent présentement entre la France et le Québec et qui amènent dans nos régions des étudiants étrangers;</p> <p>6) Déléguer plus de responsabilités aux instances régionales.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Signature d'un troisième protocole de coopération en matière de mobilité des jeunes Réunionnais, d'une durée de quatre ans, entre le Conseil régional de la Réunion et le MICC (janvier 2011). Depuis le début de la collaboration, plus de 1 000 jeunes réunionnais se sont inscrits dans les cégeps en région. — Déploiement en région du Programme <i>Interconnexion</i> visant à faciliter l'arrimage des emplois disponibles dans les régions de Québec, de Gatineau et de Sherbrooke (pôles régionaux) avec les candidats potentiels dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal (2012-2013) (MICC-MESS). — En appui à ce programme, bonification du projet <i>Passerelle pour l'emploi en région</i> grâce à l'ajout d'un volet stage permettant de compenser les dépenses encourues par un candidat de Montréal pour la réalisation d'un stage en région (2012-2013) (MICC-MESS). — Conclusion d'ententes, depuis 2004, avec 18 conférences régionales des élus et 10 municipalités ainsi qu'avec une vingtaine d'organismes communautaires pour attirer, accueillir et intégrer les nouveaux arrivants dans les régions et pour valoriser, auprès des populations des régions, l'apport économique, social et culturel de l'immigration. Pour les ententes 2012-2013, le MICC entend moduler davantage ces ententes en fonction des besoins des personnes et des priorités des milieux.
<p>C6. Pour faciliter l'intégration des nouveaux arrivants, que le ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles crée à leur intention un portail interactif afin de centraliser toute l'information sur les ressources et les services institutionnels (incluant les services municipaux et communautaires), qu'il s'agisse d'emploi, de logement, de santé, d'éducation, etc.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Déploiement de cours de francisation en ligne. — Développement de l'offre de service d'intégration en ligne, laquelle inclura un accompagnement socioprofessionnel personnalisé. — Développement d'un répertoire en ligne (travailimmigrants.com) visant à mieux faire connaître l'ensemble des services, projets et mesures destinés aux personnes immigrantes ou des minorités visibles par le Conseil régional des partenaires du marché du travail de Montréal dans le cadre de Défi Montréal. — Guide électronique et parcours personnalisé <i>S'installer au Québec</i> mis en ligne par Services Québec (septembre 2011). La grappe de service sera développée ultérieurement. — Depuis 2008, disponibilité sur Internet du guide <i>Apprendre le Québec – Guide pour réussir mon intégration</i>. Ce guide présente une synthèse des démarches les plus importantes à entreprendre pour réussir son projet d'intégration à la société québécoise. Disponible également en anglais et en espagnol, ce guide est actuellement en cours de révision.
<p>C7. Que l'État accroisse le soutien financier aux organismes d'appui aux femmes immigrantes.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> — Mise en place, en 2009, de la mesure Défi Montréal qui vise notamment des emplois pour les femmes immigrantes. À ce jour, trois vagues de projets ont permis de soutenir, au total, 29 projets pour un investissement de 2,8 M\$. La quatrième vague de projets sera annoncée en avril 2012.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'intégration des immigrants	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Soutien financier au Centre des femmes de Montréal pour offrir, dans le cadre des activités de francisation, de l'information et de la sensibilisation sur la violence conjugale et l'agression sexuelle. Au total, près de 50 000 \$ ont été alloués entre 2008-2011. - Inclusion, dans les divers appels de projets du ministère au nombre des critères d'admissibilité, de la nécessité de tenir compte dans les activités proposées des besoins différenciés entre les hommes et les femmes (en continu). - Volet de l'appel de projets du Programme <i>Action diversité</i> de novembre 2009 consacré aux problématiques de l'isolement des femmes immigrantes, de la prévention des agressions sexuelles et de la prévention de la violence conjugale ainsi qu'au soutien des femmes immigrantes et des communautés culturelles qui en sont victimes. - Projet triennal avec la TCRI visant à permettre aux femmes immigrées et racisées de faire le point sur leur situation, de mobiliser et de sensibiliser le milieu sur leurs difficultés et de faire émerger des solutions concrètes, novatrices et structurantes (2009-2012). - Dans le cadre des travaux de la TCRI, se sont tenus les 20, 21 et 22 janvier 2012 des <i>États généraux sur la situation des femmes immigrées et racisées au Québec</i>. À cette occasion, la ministre a annoncé son intention de consacrer 1 M\$ à cette problématique dans le cadre du troisième appel de projets du Programme <i>Action diversité</i>. À la suite de l'appel de projets lancé en février 2012, 17 projets ont été retenus.
<p>C8. Que le MICC prenne les mesures appropriées pour mettre à profit le bénévolat québécois aux fins de l'accueil et de l'intégration des immigrants, notamment pour leur donner accès aux réseaux sociaux.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prise en compte dans le Programme d'accompagnement des nouveaux arrivants de la capacité des organismes à recruter des bénévoles (MICC). - En 2012-2013, le Programme <i>Soutien à la mission</i> prévoit hausser le financement de base des organismes d'accueil des réfugiés pris en charge par l'État afin notamment de consolider leur réseau de bénévoles qui viennent en aide aux réfugiés.
<p>C9. Que le ministère actuellement responsable de l'immigration s'appelle désormais le ministère de l'Immigration et des Relations interculturelles.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - À considérer.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'interculturalisme	
<p>D1. Que l'État entreprenne une vigoureuse campagne afin de promouvoir l'interculturalisme au sein de notre société, afin qu'il soit davantage connu.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Trois campagnes de promotion de l'apport de l'immigration sous le thème <i>l'Immigration, c'est Bienvenue!</i> (automne 2009) et <i>Toutes nos origines enrichissent le Québec</i> (mars 2011 et mars 2012).
<p>D2. Pour mieux établir l'interculturalisme comme modèle devant présider aux rapports interculturels au Québec, que l'État en fasse une loi, un énoncé de principe ou une déclaration en veillant à ce que cet exercice comporte des consultations publiques et un vote à l'Assemblée nationale.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Interculturalisme au cœur de la politique d'intégration du Québec, depuis l'Énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration de 1990 et des actions du MICC. – Politique et plan d'action <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>, qui comprennent des actions en vue de favoriser le rapprochement interculturel – Cette recommandation concerne également le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.
<p>D3. Que l'État encourage, sous toute forme, les contacts interculturels comme moyens de réduire les stéréotypes et de favoriser la participation et l'intégration à la société québécoise. Dans cet esprit :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Mettre en œuvre des programmes d'immersion, de mentorat et de tutorat ainsi que de parrainage ou de jumelage, notamment sur le modèle de l'ancien programme d'échange étudiants entre Montréal et les régions. Dans le même esprit, intensifier les pratiques scolaires interculturelles, les diverses initiatives municipales et les programmes déjà existants; 2) Encourager, sous toutes ses formes, l'action communautaire; 3) Accentuer les efforts pour stimuler le tourisme régional auprès des membres des minorités ethniques montréalaises. 	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <p><u>Programmes d'immersion en emploi</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Insertion en emploi de quelque 6 800 personnes grâce au Programme d'aide à l'intégration des immigrants et des minorités visibles en emploi (PRIIME), créé en 2005 (taux de personnes en emploi de 80 % après la fin de la participation). Le Budget 2012-2013 prévoit une bonification des allocations dédiées au programme PRIIME de l'ordre de 2 M\$ en 2012-2013 et de 3 M\$ pour les deux années suivantes (MICC-MESS). – Offre de maillage professionnel en entreprise disponible dans toutes les régions du Québec. Au total, 842 personnes ont participé à cette mesure depuis 2008. Initialement sous la responsabilité du MICC, la mesure a été intégrée à l'offre de service d'Emploi-Québec. <p><u>Rapprochements interculturels et mixité sociale</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Financement de plusieurs activités (Semaine québécoise des rencontres interculturelles, Semaine d'actions contre le racisme, Mois de l'histoire des Noirs, etc.). – Programme de financement en mission globale grâce auquel le MICC a soutenu, en 2010-2011, 32 organismes œuvrant dans les champs de sa mission ainsi qu'un regroupement d'organismes communautaires au service des personnes immigrantes et réfugiées. À compter de 2012-2013, le Programme <i>Soutien à la mission</i> financera, en partie, le fonctionnement de base de 34 organismes, dont la Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes (TCRI) à titre de regroupement. – Soutien de projets avec des instances locales pour encourager les contacts interculturels enrichissants (voir section C5, alinéa 6). – Cette recommandation concerne également le ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale, le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport (programmes de jumelage) et la Société d'habitation du Québec (mixité sociale).

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées à l'interculturalisme	
<p>D4. Créer un Fonds d'histoires de vie des immigrants, placé sous la gestion de la Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec.</p>	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Soutien en 2008-2009, en partenariat avec la Ville de Montréal, de projets particuliers visant à faire connaître l'histoire de Montréal et de ses communautés en collaboration avec le Centre d'histoire de Montréal et le Musée de la Personne. – Cette recommandation concerne également le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport et le ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine, notamment la Bibliothèque et les Archives nationales du Québec.
<p>D5. Que l'État prête attention aux représentations qui ont été faites concernant les écoles dites ethnoconfessionnelles.</p>	<p>Cette recommandation concerne le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées aux inégalités et à la discrimination	
<p>E1. Que l'État s'emploie à mieux connaître et combattre les diverses formes de racisme – en particulier l'ethnicisme – présentes dans notre société. Dans cet esprit :</p> <p>1) Qu'une attention particulière soit portée à la lutte contre les crimes haineux et à la protection de toutes les personnes sujettes à la discrimination multiple (homosexuels, handicapés, etc.);</p> <p>2) Que la charte québécoise interdise l'incitation publique à la discrimination;</p> <p>3) Que des initiatives exceptionnelles soient prises pour lutter contre l'islamophobie et l'antisémitisme et pour combattre la discrimination dont sont l'objet tous les groupes racisés, notamment les Noirs;</p>	<p>– La lutte contre le racisme et la discrimination est au cœur du Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i></p> <p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <p>– Coordination du Plan d'action <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i></p> <p>– Soutien de trois projets visant à aider les victimes de racisme et de discrimination dans le cadre du programme <i>Action diversité</i> entre 2010-2011 et 2011-2012.</p> <p>À ces actions s'ajoutent celles réalisées par différents ministères et organismes pour lutter contre le racisme et la discrimination. Certaines de ces actions sont prévues dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>. Les principales réalisations et les initiatives clefs qui découlent de ce plan d'action sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante :</p> <p>http://www.quebecinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca/fr/lutte-discrimination/realisations/index.html</p> <p>Ces recommandations concernent particulièrement les ministères et les organismes suivants : ministère de la Justice du Québec¹, ministère de la Sécurité publique, ministère de la Santé et des Services sociaux, Sûreté du Québec.</p> <p>Des actions sont également prévues dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>. Les principales réalisations et les initiatives clefs qui découlent de ce plan d'action sont disponibles à l'adresse suivante :</p> <p>http://www.quebecinterculturel.gouv.qc.ca/fr/lutte-discrimination/realisations/index.html</p> <p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <p>– Mise sur pied, en 2009, du Programme <i>Valorisation jeunesse</i> afin de contribuer concrètement à aplanir les obstacles que doivent surmonter certains jeunes des communautés culturelles, particulièrement ceux des minorités visibles. Le volet 1 de ce programme (Place à la relève) a permis à près de 300 organisations d'offrir à 1 800 jeunes des emplois durant l'été 2009, l'été 2010 et l'été 2011. De plus, les tournées réalisées dans le cadre du Volet 3 (Confiance sans limites) et du Volet 4 (Trouve ta place!) ont rejoint, au total, plus de 10 000 jeunes.</p> <p>– Tenue de plusieurs activités annuelles favorisant le rapprochement interculturel, notamment le Mois de l'histoire des Noirs et la Semaine québécoise des relations interculturelles (MICC), la Semaine d'actions contre le racisme (MICC, Ville de Montréal).</p>

¹ Notamment par le *Plan d'action gouvernemental de lutte contre l'homophobie 2011-2016*, lequel comporte des mesures concernant les personnes immigrantes de minorités sexuelles.

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Recommandations liées aux inégalités et à la discrimination	
4) Que plus de ressources et de moyens soient donnés à la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse.	Cette recommandation concerne la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse.
E2. Que les mandataires et les organismes de l'État soient imputables de leurs résultats en matière de lutte contre le racisme et la discrimination et, à cette fin, mettent en place des mécanismes de reddition de comptes fondés sur des indicateurs de performance.	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Mécanismes de reddition de comptes et d'évaluation du Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i> intégrés au plan d'action. – Bilan du MICC dans son rapport annuel de gestion. <p>Cette recommandation concerne également d'autres instances gouvernementales (Secrétariat du Conseil du Trésor, ministère du Conseil exécutif) ainsi que l'ensemble des ministères et organismes de l'État.</p> <p>Il y a lieu de consulter également les rapports annuels de gestion des ministères et organismes associés au Plan d'action gouvernemental <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>, à la section relative à ce plan.</p>
<p>E3. Que l'Assemblée nationale donne suite à une recommandation de la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse visant à renforcer les droits économiques et sociaux reconnus aux articles 39 à 48 de la Charte québécoise. La commission recommande que les droits économiques et sociaux reconnus aux articles 39 à 48 de la Charte soient renforcés en fonction des trois axes suivants :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Ajout d'une disposition générale, avant l'article 39, prévoyant que la loi doit respecter le contenu essentiel des droits économiques et sociaux; 2) Extension aux articles 39 à 48 de la primauté sur la législation, prévue par l'article 52 de la Charte; 3) Entrée en vigueur graduelle de ladite primauté, limitée dans un premier temps aux lois postérieures, puis étendue aux lois existantes. 	<p>Mesures contenues dans de nombreux plans d'action ou programmes en vue d'assurer une plus grande égalité sociale et le respect et l'exercice des droits.</p> <p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Inclusion de cette préoccupation dans le Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i>, – Bilan des actions réalisées dans le cadre du Plan d'action <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i> par les ministères et organismes gouvernementaux publié dans leur rapport annuel de gestion depuis 2009. – Collaboration à l'élaboration d'un nouveau Plan d'action gouvernemental pour la solidarité et l'inclusion sociale 2010-2015 lequel a été dévoilé en février 2011. <p>Cette recommandation concerne également la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse.</p>
F. Recommandations liées à la langue française	
Aucune recommandation formelle dans le rapport.	

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Laïcité	
<p>G1. Que le gouvernement produise un Livre blanc sur la laïcité, dont le but serait de :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Définir ce qu'est la laïcité à partir de ses quatre principes (les deux premiers correspondant à ses finalités profondes et les deux autres se traduisant dans des structures institutionnelles essentielles); 2) Rappeler les grands choix faits par le Québec en matière de laïcité; 3) Défendre la conception ouverte de la laïcité choisie et mise en œuvre par le Québec; 4) Clarifier et soumettre au débat public les questions au sujet desquelles des consensus restent à construire. 	<p>Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Nombreuses déclarations ministérielles pour expliquer le concept de laïcité ouverte, notamment à l'occasion d'une séance d'interpellation sur ce sujet et lors des débats entourant l'adoption du Projet de loi n° 94. – Participation au Symposium international sur l'interculturalisme en mai 2011. – À ces actions du Ministère s'ajoute la déclaration du premier ministre à l'Assemblée nationale sur les valeurs communes du Québec (22 mai 2008).
<p>G2. Concernant le port de signes religieux par les agents de l'État :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Qu'il soit interdit aux magistrats et procureurs de la Couronne, aux policiers, aux gardiens de prison, aux présidents et vice-présidents de l'Assemblée nationale; 2) Qu'il soit autorisé aux enseignants, aux fonctionnaires, aux professionnels de la santé et à tous les autres agents de l'État. 	<p><u>Action en partie différente</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Dépôt du projet de loi n° 94, Loi établissant les balises encadrant les demandes d'accommodement dans l'Administration gouvernementale et dans certains établissements.
<p>G3. Que des mesures soient prises afin de rendre certaines pratiques en cours dans nos institutions publiques conformes aux principes de la laïcité ouverte. En conséquence, au nom de la séparation entre l'État et les Églises et au nom de la neutralité de l'État, nous recommandons que :</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Le crucifix au-dessus du siège du président de l'Assemblée nationale soit retiré et remplacé dans l'Hôtel du Parlement à un endroit qui puisse mettre en valeur sa signification patrimoniale; 2) Les conseils municipaux abandonnent la récitation de la prière durant leurs séances publiques. 	<p>Cette recommandation concerne la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse.</p> <p>Adoption par l'Assemblée nationale, le 22 mai 2008, d'une motion réclamant le maintien du crucifix en Chambre au nom du patrimoine et de l'histoire du Québec.</p>
<p>G4. Que le gouvernement fasse une promotion vigoureuse du nouveau cours d'éthique et de culture religieuse entré en vigueur en septembre 2008.</p>	<p>Cette recommandation concerne le ministère de l'Éducation, du Loisir et du Sport.</p>

Réalisations du ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) au regard des recommandations de la Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles

RECOMMANDATIONS	PRINCIPALES RÉALISATIONS DU MICC
Laïcité	
G5 Que l'État produise et diffuse chaque année auprès des gestionnaires d'institutions et d'organismes publics ou privés un calendrier multiconfessionnel indiquant les dates des diverses fêtes religieuses.	De tels calendriers sont déjà publiés par divers organismes.
Recherches à mener	
H1. Que l'État libère des fonds de recherche additionnels qui seraient consacrés, notamment, à divers sujets (l'interculturalisme, l'évolution des concentrations ethnoculturelles et leur signification, l'état et l'effet intégrateur de l'action intercommunautaire, etc.).	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Les réalisations sous la responsabilité du MICC sont les suivantes : – Mesures du Plan d'action gouvernemental 2008-2013 <i>La diversité : une valeur ajoutée</i> visant à mieux documenter la pleine participation à la société et à disposer de données fiables et objectives sur le racisme et la discrimination, réalisées en partenariat avec les universités.

BDGSPPII– 15 juin 2012

