HISTORY TEACHING IN AN INTERCULTURAL CONTEXT:

IMPLICATIONS FOR CITIZENSHIP

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DEDICATION

To the memories of Dorothy Morgan, Margaret (Peggy) Heller, and Dean Ellen Aitken.

ABSTRACT

Québec's model of cultural diversity, Québec Interculturalism, has been the object of considerable debate since Bouchard and Taylor released in 2008 their now famous report, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*. Among other things, the authors recommended that schools take more seriously Québec's Intercultural model as a means of bringing diverse cultures into a single society. In this dissertation I consider the uptake and implication of Intercultural ideals in Québec's History and Citizenship education course. This study involved three secondary school history teachers in Montreal Anglophone schools. Using Thacher's (2006) "normative case study" as the methodological framework, I combine curriculum documents, classroom observations, open-ended interviews, and photo-voice methods to illuminate the Intercultural model's shortcomings with regard to issues of power and identity. The guiding question for this dissertation is: how do the historicized power dynamics embedded within Québec's Intercultural policy shape history education in Québec? Two sets of tensions are found to be at the crux of the issue of history teaching in Québec: first the theoretical debates on history education do not take Québec's specific brand of cultural negotiation into account, resulting in a lack of research on the civic implications of history education particular to the Québec context. Second, the Intercultural model itself does not adequately deal with entrenched issues of power relating to marginalized identities, which raises many questions for how civic education is being carried out in the province.

RÉSUMÉ

Le modèle de la diversité culturelle du Québec, « l'Interculturalisme », a fait l'objet de débats considérables depuis la publication par Bouchard et Taylor en 2008, du rapport désormais célèbre, Construire l'avenir : Un temps pour la réconciliation. Entre autres, les auteurs recommandent que les écoles prennent plus au sérieux le modèle interculturel du Québec comme un moyen de rapprocher les différentes cultures au sein d'une société unique. Le but de ce projet est d'explorer l'absorption et l'implication des idéaux interculturels dans les cours d'histoire et d'éducation à la citoyenneté du Québec. Cette étude a porté sur trois enseignants d'histoire dans des écoles secondaires Anglophones de Montréal. Utilisant « l'étude de cas normatif » (Thacher, 2006) comme cadre méthodologique pour analyzer les documents pédagogiques, des observations en classe, entretiens ouverts, et méthodes photovoix sont combinées pour démontrer la lacune du modèle interculturel en ce qui concerne les questions de pouvoir et d'identité. La question directrice de cette thèse est : comment les dynamiques de pouvoir historicisées intégrées dans sa politique interculturelle de la diversité façonnent-elles l'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec? Trois séries de tensions se trouvent au cœur de la question de l'enseignement de l'histoire au Québec : d'abord, les débats théoriques ne prennent pas en compte la marque spécifique du Québec de négociation culturelle, ce qui se traduit par un manque de recherche sur les répercussions civiques de l'enseignement de l'histoire propres au contexte québécois. Corollairement, les débats théoriques ne prennent pas en compte les voix des professeurs d'histoire, qui forment les discours civiques pour les jeunes citoyens. Troisièmement, le modèle interculturel lui-même ne traite pas de manière adéquate les questions de pouvoir enracinées relatives aux identités marginalisées, ce qui soulève de nombreuses questions en ce qui a trait à l'approche de l'éducation civique dans la province.

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PREFACE

This dissertation is an original independent work by the author, Sarah DesRoches. The data collection reported in Chapter Six has been approved by McGill University's Research Ethics Board, (certificate #503-0511).

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Chapter One: Investigating Intercultural Citizenship Education as Practiced by Québec History Teachers

Overview of the Dissertation

My objective in this dissertation is to examine Interculturalism as a vehicle of liberal-democratic citizenship education in the Canadian province of Québec. As I discuss in this chapter, Intercultural citizenship has been at the center of recent political controversies in Québec, many of which have had to do with the role of schools and curricula in preparing the students for the demands of citizenship in a diverse society. In response to these political disputes, educational theorists have contested the nature and value of Interculturalism as a framework for civic integration, and thus citizenship education, in a liberal-democratic society. This dissertation takes up these debates, while also adding a perspective that has so far been missing from them — that of history teachers. To this end, I conducted qualitative research with three history teachers. I interviewed them and observed their classrooms with the aim of providing a concrete illustration of how (some) history teachers understand and enact the values and goals of Intercultural citizenship in Québec. There are two distinct but overlapping components to the study: the data that I collected in history classrooms constitutes the qualitative component of the study and my development of a philosophical analysis of Québec's Intercultural model constitutes the second major component. The qualitative study and the philosophical analysis will be presented in the chapters that follow.

My study of Intercultural citizenship focuses on history teachers because history education is widely regarded in the scholarly literature as especially instrumental for promoting the goals of citizenship education (Callan, 1994; Granatstein, 2007; Nash, 1970; Sandwell, 2006). The view that history classrooms are particularly relevant to citizenship education is further reflected in recently adopted curriculum reforms in Québec — most notably in the course (referred to as a "broad area

of learning"[1]), called "Geography, History and Citizenship Education." [2] Thus, while it is important to recognize that history classrooms are not the only places within which learning relevant to citizenship education occurs, my study focuses on history teachers because history classrooms are spaces that foster the kinds of knowledge, attitudes, and civic virtues central to "good" citizenship in liberal-democratic societies. Similarly, it is significant that history teachers are not solely responsible for the learning that occurs in their classrooms, their role (and their self-understanding of that role) is nevertheless a significant influence on how students encounter civic discourse. In this dissertation I draw upon contemporary scholarship of history education, which highlights the fact that history classrooms are complex and contested spaces. One important factor in understanding the nature of this complexity, and for understanding the reasons that history classrooms are contested spaces, is that the question of what it means to be a "good" citizen is a matter of theoretical debate. For this reason, view about the appropriate purposes of history education as a means of initiating young people into the knowledge, attitudes, and norms of democratic citizenship varies according to one's conception of democratic citizenship itself. In this light, of particular relevance for this dissertation is the fact that scholars who disagree about the value and worth of Interculturalism as a model of citizenship and citizenship education disagree in part because they differ in their evaluations of the model's emphasis on civic virtues such as integration, harmonisation, and dialogue.

A second important factor in understanding the complexity of history classrooms and history teachers is grounded in scholarly disagreements about the nature of history education and its role in civic formation. Precisely because history education is viewed as instrumental to civic

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[1] For reasons of convenience and clarity, I will simply refer to this as a "course" throughout this dissertation.

[2] The curricula within the elementary and secondary systems in Québec combine history with citizenship education. At the elementary level, the curriculum is entitled History and Citizenship Education (2006a); the secondary curriculum is entitled Geography, History and Citizenship (2006b). It is important to note that history and citizenship are combined at each level. This study will, however, focus on history and citizenship education at the secondary level.

education the work of scholars and in official curricula, the role of history teachers is an important factor to consider in evaluating Québec Interculturalism as a model of citizenship education. In this dissertation, scholarly debates about the role of history education in the process of citizen formation in schools, the nature and values associated with democratic citizenship, and the relationship between history education and citizenship provide the theoretical context and background for a qualitative study on the work of history teachers in Intercultural Québec. Ultimately, the dissertation presents a concrete portrait of how citizenship education is being carried out in Québec in order to provide a rich understanding of how particular teachers (re)construct the notion of Intercultural citizenship in the province.

As the preceding discussion indicates, the study of history teachers I present in this dissertation was designed and conducted with a broader scholarly purpose and context in mind — that is, in order to establish a new and significant perspective from which to evaluate Québec Interculturalism as a conceptual basis for liberal-democratic citizenship and citizenship education. Importantly, contemporary scholars are deeply divided on this question.[3] Proponents of the model (Bouchard, 2011; Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012; Morris, 2011; Taylor, 2012) argue that Québec Interculturalism provides a valuable and unique vehicle for advancing liberal and democratic values by promoting respect and recognition of cultural and religious diversity within a common and inclusive political society. According to this position, Québec Interculturalism is a valuable framework for guiding schools and teachers in the civic educational project of teaching "virtues necessary for Intercultural citizenship" (Waddington,

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[3] Throughout this dissertation I will refer to the "proponents" and the "detractors" of Québec's Intercultural model. A close reading will indicate that the "proponent" camp is mostly made up of philosophers or philosophers of education while the "detractors" are mainly working from sociological perspectives. In the interest of not (re)creating strict divisions between these approaches to the model, I have attempted to loosen these categories. Also, from a practical perspective, these categories cannot be cleanly divided. For example, Gérard Bouchard, one of the Intercultural model's most ardent supporters, is a sociologist.

Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012). These virtues include the capacity for dialogical engagement, recognition of the other, and the capacity for understanding the phenomenon of religion as a source of meaning in many people's lives. These virtues, according to supporters of the Intercultural model, serve as important moral and educational sources from which young citizens can draw in order to learn how to resolve political conflicts and disagreements in ways that both respect cultural and religious differences and promote social cohesion (Morris, 2011).

At the same time, and in sharp contrast, those who have been critical of Québec Interculturalism view it as a vehicle of oppression and exclusion. Specifically, critics of Québec's Intercultural model argue that it provides the political basis for governments to marginalize certain groups in the interest of focusing on similarity and, ironically, inclusion. For example, Leroux (2010) has critiqued Québec's "discourse on difference" (p. 110), arguing that this discourse "depoliticizes 'difference' in culture . . . thereby obfuscating [its] racialized dimensions " (p. 107). Québec's Intercultural approach to social cohesion, from this perspective, legitimizes exclusionary practices and racist attitudes. Other critiques railed against the Intercultural model on the basis of its limited capacity to deal with identity, specifically gendered identity, as complex and intersecting (Bakht, 2012; Mahrouse; 2010; Maynard & Ho, 2009). Scholars in support of this critique have elucidated how issues of gender are (mis)treated within the Intercultural framework. For example, in what she ironically refers to as a "politics of liberation," Ramachandran (2009) points to how a report produced by Québec's Conseil du Statut de la Femme (Counsel on the Status of Women) entitled, *Right to Equality: Between Woman and Men and Freedom of Religion*, reinvigorates antiquated and dangerous assumptions that limit what gender equality might look like. The report, falling in line with the Intercultural model, equates gender equality with religious secularism: "The right to equality between women and men ought to be observed under all circumstances and no infringement thereof should take place in the name of freedom of religion" (quoted in Ramachandran, 2009, p. 34).

Ramachandran (2009) disagrees, stating that "what this proclamation fails to recognize is the interlocking nature of oppression: since religion and culture have been conflated with race, the Conseil de Statut de la Femme effectively demands that a Muslim woman living in Québec identify exclusively as "woman"— constructed according to western norms" (p. 34). From this perspective, the Intercultural model restricts access to actual equality because it hinges on a white and western construction of feminism. The views presented in and through these debates present the basis upon which to consider history teaching within an Intercultural context.

Overview of this Chapter

This chapter will demonstrate how critiques of the Intercultural model raised by its detractors put forward a very different narrative on the value and possibility of Québec's approach to cultural inclusion than the version of Interculturalism forwarded by its proponents.[4] I demonstrate that by examining the ways in which history teachers approach and enact their practice we can not only better understand the role that history teaching plays in forming Intercultural citizens in Québec, but we can also perhaps close the perceptual gap between the model's proponents and its detractors. As examination of history teachers' practice provides a significant connection between how proponents and detractors perceive Québec's Intercultural model. More specifically, a careful consideration of the practice of history teachers helps to better understand the marginalizing dynamics and effects of Interculturalism (as these are played out in history classrooms) because it provides an important perspective from which to identify potentially promising reforms and improvements for Intercultural citizenship education. In spite of their clear relevance, the perspectives of history teachers are largely absent from contemporary scholarly discussions of Québec Interculturalism. Indeed, contemporary scholarly debates ignore the perspectives of history

[4] I will be using the terms "philosophers" and "philosophers of education" synonymously to refer to those who consider the Intercultural model by conducting philosophical analyses of its tenets.

teachers. This dissertation works toward rectifying this problem. However, in order show why the perspective of history teachers is both new and significant I first need to identify clearly, and in some detail, those perspectives that have been most dominant in contemporary debates about Québec Interculturalism. As such, I provide a more detailed overview of the concept of Québec Interculturalism and the often heated scholarly and public debates that this model has triggered. Ultimately, the purpose of this discussion is to clarify how my account of history teachers' practice provides a valuable vantage point from which to re-examine and buttress powerful criticisms advanced against Québec Interculturalism, and also to pave the way for much needed conceptual and practical reform. Prior to my discussion of how debates on Interculturalism are developing, and why history teachers' perspectives ought to play a role in these debates, I will provide a sketch of Québec's Intercultural model itself. I begin this discussion by introducing the Bouchard-Taylor Report, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*[5] because it is this document has crystalized the most coherent version of Québec's Intercultural model and therefore plays a significant role in defining the philosophical position on Interculturalism in Québec.

What is Interculturalism?

The influence of Bouchard-Taylor Report. In recent years, the notion of Interculturalism has taken on a renewed significance and urgency entered in the public discourse in Québec as a result of the debate about reasonable accommodation and Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor's subsequent report. In their report, Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) determined that there is no consensus on how Québec Interculturalism is defined. They state: "Québec Interculturalism as an

[5] It should be noted here that Québec Interculturalism has had a long history and has evolved over time (following Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, and Schwimmer (2012), a discussion of what some consider to be key moments in the construction of the Intercultural model can be found in Chapter Four. In this dissertation, however, my understanding of the Intercultural model is focused on the more recent iterations of the model, namely as it has been forwarded by Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor (2008).

integration policy has never been fully, officially defined by the Québec government" (p. 39). However, despite this admission, part of Bouchard and Taylor's work since 2007 has been to address this gap by developing, and publicizing, a defensible and coherent characterization of Québec Interculturalism (Scott, 2011). Bouchard and Taylor's popularization of the model launched it into public debates surrounding cultural integration in the province, with supporters of the model claiming that it is an attractive framework for balancing concerns of social cohesion with respect for difference, and critics condemning it for operating in racist and exclusionary ways. Nevertheless, Bouchard and Taylor's (2008a) account of the values ascribed to Interculturalism, and the mechanisms used to achieve these values, is the closest thing that the province has to a comprehensive account of Québec Interculturalism. I will now turn to Bouchard and Taylor's account of Interculturalism before citing some of the most prominent and prevalent critiques of the model.

Defining Interculturalism. According to proponents of the Intercultural model, its aim is to maintain a national community within Québec's borders; the Intercultural policy's official mandate is to coordinate diversity for the sake of supporting coherence. Bouchard and Taylor (2008b) describe Québec Interculturalism as a "policy or model that advocates harmonious relations between cultures based on intensive exchanges centred on an integration process that does not seek to eliminate differences while fostering the development of a common identity" (p. 287). Intercultural integration encourages all citizens to view themselves as part of, and contributing to, a dominant political community while at the same time maintaining their distinct cultural affiliations and identities. Leroux (2010) elucidates the specific expectation involved in fostering the development of a common identity: the necessity of maintaining the French language as Québec's official language within the public sphere. He relays the dominant understanding of Québec Interculturalism, explaining that it is a "set of institutional rights and responsibilities associated with policies on

tolerance and respect of differences within a French-language social environment" (p. 107). The reckoning of civic rights with responsibilities about language in Québec is extraordinarily complex. Politics attached to the French language in Québec have shaped perceptions surrounding civic identity and therefore how Québec citizens view, appreciate, and engage with diversity while maintaining a French identity. "Historically, the main impetus for the increasing salience of the discourse on Québec citizenship has been language — the idea of the French language as the primary vehicle for the preservation and flourishing of Québécois identity" (Gagnon & Iacovino, 2004, p. 29). From a civic perspective, the Intercultural model makes particular (linguistic) identity demands for the sake of securing this common Québécois identity. The question that lies at the core of debates surrounding the merits and limitations of the model is whether these identity demands are necessary for shared constructions of a Québec identity or whether they impede cultural integration. These issues, to a certain extent, are foregrounded in scholarly debates on whether Québec's Intercultural model is comparable to Canada's Multicultural model.

Having provided an overview of how Québec Interculturalism has been (loosely) defined, I will now provide an outline of debates surrounding Interculturalism/ Multiculturalism. It is important to note that my treatment of these debates is not comprehensive. Rather, my examination of how scholars are comparing and contrasting Québec's Intercultural model with Canada's Multicultural model is to offer basic template from which to make sense of their distinctions (because most readers will be more familiar with the Multicultural model). Second, this discussion provides the foundation for my discussion of the philosophical tenets of Québec's Intercultural model, which will call attention to the features of the model that its proponents find appealing. I will summarize current scholarly debates beginning with an explanation of an important background issue: an explanation of Québec Interculturalism as a response to Canadian Multiculturalism. This response is part of a larger attempt by Québec, as a minority nation, to articulate and insist upon its

"national distinctness" within a larger federal country. As such, in the following section I lay out current scholarly debates on the differences between Multiculturalism and Interculturalism to then delve into the philosophical tenets specific to Québec's Intercultural model.

Canadian Multiculturalism/Québec Interculturalism? Québec's Intercultural model is often regarded in relation to Canada's Multicultural model. One potential reason for this might be that Québec Interculturalism has remained relatively unknown outside Québec until recently, while the Canadian Multicultural model is entrenched in Canadian public discourse. The question of how, or if, the Intercultural model differs from the Multicultural model remains a matter of spirited debate (Leroux, 2010). Many scholars have used a comparative approach as a means of defining Québec Interculturalism; there has been an abundance of scholarship the weights Québec's Interculturalism's similarities to and differences from Canada's Multiculturalism (Nugent, 2006; Taylor, 2012; Waddington et al., 2012).[6] The most probable explanation for the dearth of comparisons between the two models is, as indicated above, that Québec Interculturalism has yet to be concretized. The model cannot be traced back to one particular place but rather it emerges as the result of a number of historical and political documents. As Nugent (2006) explains, Québec Interculturalism is mainly understood in and through a series of policies that have made substantial contribution to the ethos of cultural integration. She asserts that there is a general academic consensus emerging in the literature that Québec's policy of Interculturalism has

> evolved over time, building on the following: La Charte des droits et libertés de la personne du Québec (1975), Autant de façons d'être Québécois (1984), Au Québec pour

[6] I admit that there is significant overlap between the sociological and philosophical camps, as I have labeled them, and that these are by no means naturally divided categories. I intentionally reinforce the dividing line between these perspectives for the sake of rhetorical convenience; that is, to clearly map out the scholarly literatures on Québec's Intercultural model for the reader.

> bâtir ensemble – Énonce de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration 1990). (p. 26-27)

Though the combination of these documents points to an understanding of the general character of Québec Interculturalism, it remained nebulous until the publication of Bouchard and Taylor's (2008a) *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*. Comparing the Intercultural model to the Multicultural model has offered a touchstone upon which to compare and contrast the two models.[7]. I briefly outline the "pro" and "con" positions on Québec Interculturalism. In doing so, I have three separate but interrelated purposes in mind: first, to offer the reader a sense of how detractors have made sense of the Intercultural model itself, based mainly on how it has manifested in the public sphere; second, to begin the process of contrasting the ways in which philosophers of education are interpreting the potential of Québec Interculturalism with how detractors are currently interpreting the model; third, to offer a means of connecting the literature on the Québec Interculturalism with my discussion of how secondary history teachers are enacting the model (Chapter Five), with the view that teachers' enactments of the model ought to have a larger stage in debates surrounding the model.

Canada's official Multicultural policy is a product of Pierre Elliot Trudeau and the Liberal government's commitment to nationwide equality: "For although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other" (Trudeau, 1971, p. 8545). It is enshrined in Canadian law via the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The government of Canada states that,

> Canadian multiculturalism is fundamental to our belief that all citizens are equal. Multiculturalism ensures that all citizens can keep their identities, can take pride in their

[7] The Intercultural model is unanimously understood as a response to Canadian Multiculturalism (Nugent, 2006; Taylor, 2012; Waddington et al., 2012; Weinstock, 2012).

> ancestry and have a sense of belonging. Acceptance gives Canadians a feeling of security and self-confidence, making them more open to, and accepting of, diverse cultures. The Canadian experience has shown that multiculturalism encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding. (Canadian Multiculturalism, Government of Canada)

Multiculturalism is woven into the fabric of what it means to be Canadian, advancing the normative discourse about Canadian identity by branding Canadian society as progressive and inclusive. From this perspective, Canada is a place in which individuals from diverse cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds can flourish while contributing to the richness of Canadian society. The way in which the model negotiates cultural inclusion is through recognition of difference.[8] Specifically, "that the integration of (immigrant) minorities should proceed by means of 'recognizing' the 'culture' that constitutes a minority as a distinct group" (Joppke, 2004, p. 238). Therefore, in a Multicultural framework, processes of inclusion are premised on the principle of different but equal.[9]

Some scholars have forwarded the view that Québec's Intercultural model, at least from a policy perspective, makes no significant contribution to, nor does it depart far from, the Canadian Multicultural model (Levey, 2012; Meer & Modood, 2012).[10] According to this perspective, the

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[8] Charles Taylor has done a great deal of work to define and describe what is meant by recognition in a Multicultural context (see, *Multiculturalism: Examinig the Politics of Recognition,* 1994). Simply, his thesis is that lack of recognition, or misrecognition, causes harm and therefore a principle of equality must be adopted. A politics of difference, Taylor states, "asks that the give acknowledgement and status to something that is not universally shared" (p. 39).

[9] Canadian Multiculturalism has been critiqued from feminist and anti-racist perspectives for maintaining and preserving status quo power relations. For example, Eva Mackey (1999) has argued that Multiculturalism is "the great national bandage" [that] allows the state to highlight and manage diversity without endangering the project of nation-building" (p. 68). Similarly, in relation to Kymlicka's notion of Multicultural citizenship, Kukathas (1997) has argued that Multiculturalism compresses the complexities of identity arguing that it "masks rather than illuminates the complexity and fluidity of cultural diversity in the modern world, and offers an unduly rigid, static set of categories through which to assess the various claims and concerns of cultural community, and of the individuals who comprise them" (p. 412).

[10] Meer and Modood (2012) have argued that Québec Interculturalism ought to be considered "as complementary" to Multiculturalism (p. 175).

similarities between the two models outweigh their differences, even if they are espoused quite differently.[11] In her examination of the overlapping and contrasting features of the Multicultural and Intercultural models, Nugent (2006) concludes that the differences between the two models lie primarily in how they are taken up, in their respective social, political, and historical discourses rather than concrete differences in the policies themselves. Similarly, political philosopher Daniel Weinstock (2012) argues that, "the differences [between Multiculturalism and Québec Interculturalism] have been rhetorical rather than substantive" (p. 13).

Nugent (2006) argues that it is the discourses surrounding the Multicultural and Intercultural models that fuel the perception that they are in fact vastly different. She constructs a narrative for each model by tracing the contexts in which they were produced and adopted; these narratives reveal a gap between how the Multicultural and Intercultural models are being interpreted, despite their overall similarities. Here is a synopsis of the narrative that Nugent (2006) offers:

> When Québec needed to establish its own politics to integrate immigrates into the society and recognize the pluralism within its borders, it would have been politically Infeasible to call the approach multiculturalism. So, it becomes Québec Interculturalism, and for all its substantive similarities to Canada's policy, it is perceived quite differently" (p. 32).

Later, Nugent (2006) clarifies what she views to be the essential similarities between the models:

> It is evident that the policies are very similar in their origins, aims, and evolution. Each policy is limited by individual fundamental rights and freedoms as guaranteed in bills of rights and by the jurisdictions, respective language laws, and both place considerable weight on the value of participation in a common culture." (p. 32)

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[11] For example, Waddington et al. (2012) have argued that Interculturalism contains many overlaps with the Multicultural model, but with a few significant divergences (p. 316).

In this view, the Québec and Canadian models each uphold the values inherent to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and focus on the necessity of integration. Others have expressed similar analyses. For example, Blad & Couton (2009) have offered a more tempered perspective, stating that Québec Interculturalism is "a close cousin of Canadian multiculturalism with several important differences" (p. 652), but citing the emphasis on the French language as the most pertinent distinction.

Despite diverging opinions on the relationship between Interculturalism and Multiculturalism, there does seem to be an agreement that the Intercultural model places significant emphasis on affirming Québec as a minority nation within Canada. Therefore, it has built-in mechanisms for the purpose of securing and maintaining its status. While there is agreement that there is more emphasis on nation-building (for the purpose of increased cultural coherence) in Québec's model of cultural integration, disagreement arises between proponents and detractors is whether nation-building (for increased cultural coherence) is necessary, valuable, or just.
The question of nation-building (or in the context of history education, patriotism) is a pivotal marker that distinguishes the supporters of the Intercultural model from its detractors; I will therefore use the nation-building controversy as a conceptual hook to begin in earnest my illustration of contemporary debates about Interculturalism in Québec followed by a discussion about what history teachers can contribute to these debates.

Debates about Interculturalism in Contemporary Québec: Negotiating the Limits of Cultural Cohesion

In the following section I illustrate why supporters of the Intercultural model view Québec's particular brand of nation-building as not only necessary, but as a positive step toward cultural integration. I also outline the critical view, that Québec's form of nation-building presents the same

limits to cultural inclusion as traditional republican-style nation-building. Finally, I will explain why the perspectives of history teachers are essential to this conversation: essentially, as on-the-ground constructors of civic discourse, it is impossible for history teachers to position themselves in one camp or another because they are continually in the process of negotiating multiple and competing views on the merits and downfalls of nation-building; my contention is that educational research stands to benefit from taking seriously the voices of history teachers who have unique and well-founded contributions to make on the issue of Québec's Intercultural approach to nation-building.

From a philosophical perspective, the Intercultural model's focus on cultural preservation, with its particular approach to integration, is essential in the Québec context. What this means is that there is an emphasis on the *mechanisms* that facilitate cultural inclusion and it is more rigorous than in the Multicultural model. For example, Gagnon & Iacovino (2005) echo the philosophical position when they state that the idea of cultural convergence supports increased interaction while maintaining an essentially Québécois identity. "By definition," they argue that Québec's "model of social and political integration must recognize the primacy of a space of national convergence" (2008, p. 194, my translation). The philosophical defense of the Intercultural policy is that it offers a means of acknowledging the significant contributions of newcomers while preserving a deeply historicized and stable political community. Acknowledging the psychological and economic stresses involved in immigration for both newcomers and the host society, philosophers of education Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier, and Schwimmer (2012) go so far as to say that Québec Interculturalism

> provides a framework that remedies the defects of Multiculturalism without falling into the trap of a retreat into assimilationist nationalism. In this sense, Québec Interculturalism represents a gain over Multicultualism while pursuing the same set of mostly uncontroversial

> political ends: social cohesion, the fair integration of newcomers, and respect for cultural and ethical differences. (p. 429)

Using religious education policy as a platform for evaluating both models, Waddington et al. (2012) and Maxwell et al. (2012) conclude that the Intercultural model provides a more robust model for what they call "dialectical citizenship," a means of increased cultural understanding and therefore heightened cultural integration. Maxwell et al. (2012) argue that

> the central distinguishing feature of Québec Interculturalism is its elaboration of a paradigm for integrating citizenship from diverse ethnic, religious, and cultural backgrounds into an open-ended, ongoing project of collectively defining the public culture of the nation – a project based on dialogue, intercultural engagement, and inclusiveness. (p. 430)

Intercultural nation-building, for the philosophers, does not entail marginalizing minority communities, but rather integrating these communities into a larger whole, to which they will be equal participants. Through Intercultural mechanisms, such as dialogue, citizens can participate in cultural convergence without losing or sacrificing their individual identities.

The critical position views cultural convergence, or Intercultural nation-building, quite differently. Critics of Québec Interculturalism consider the model as one that facilitates the perpetuation of hegemonic social and political relations, concealing the ways in which power (re)constructs identities. For example, Leroux (2012) has argued that we ought to understand both the Québec (Intercultural) and Canadian (Multicultural) models as "deeply politicized tools for constructing national subjects" (p. 68). In a republican framework creating national subjects involves (and requires) bracketing certain facets of one's individual identity for the purpose of highlighting and legitimating the facets that meld into the national narrative. Several scholars have articulated the various ways in which Québec's Intercultural policy resonates with a republican style nation-building

project under a new name (Banting & Soroka, 2012; Juteau, 1993).[12] Juteau (2002) is highly suspicious of Québec's approach to nation-building, arguing that a national identity is totalizing and always subsumes and subjugates individual identity; she claims that

> What we are witnessing is an attempt by the Quebec state to define a universal national identity that would subordinate all others. The national model of citizenship is preferred over the postnational, the republican over the pluralist, the undifferentiated over the differentiated. (p. 442)

For Juteau it is inconceivable that the tension between national identity and individual identity be equitable, or even fairly, negotiated. As I have demonstrated, the issue of nation-building separates the proponents from the detractors on the merits and deficiencies of the Intercultural model. My purpose here was to provide another example of how these perspectives diverge on an issue that lies at the core of the question of cultural integration in Québec and has consequently been present in public debates. However, it is also important to point out that the voices of history teachers have not yet been included in public discussions on the relative merits and drawbacks of nation-building as a civic discourse for cultural integration.

History teachers, of course, do not have the luxury of situating themselves clearly on one side or the other on the debate as to whether or not to support nation-building. Within the context of history classrooms, especially in Québec, teachers are confronted with and consequently negotiate multiple and complex discourses that iterate both the need to promote attachment to nation (as forwarded by proponents) and meaningful critiques of nation-building (as forwarded by its detractors) in messy and incongruent ways. The necessity, therefore, to include a discussion about how teachers understand the model and to discover how they negotiate the complexity involved in

[12] For example, Blad and Couton (2009) have argued, uncritically, that Québec Interculturalism might also be labeled "Intercultural Nationalism."

constructing civic discourses (in the context of a culturally diverse nation-state) is vital. In the following section I outline three debates that have played prominent roles within Québec's social and political landscape within the past six years: Hérouxville's code of conduct; the public debates on reasonable accommodation; and the proposed Charter of Québec Values. [13] Each of these controversies has been centered on questions of identity and the limits of inclusion in the province.

Québec's "Intercultural Events"

The events, which I label 'Intercultural events,' unleashed and revealed a number of different perspectives on the question of integration and are therefore helpful in illustrating the social and political climate in which my study is taking place. Put in another way, my treatment of these events serves to clarify how debates surrounding integration are competing disputed. Ultimately, my aim is to demonstrate that, although history teachers are primary stakeholders in how these debates are carried out because they are primary agents in mediating civic discourses about social and political inclusion; despite this, theirs is a perspective that has been missing from the conversations so far.

Relatedly, I provide an overview of contemporary public debates about Québec Interculturalism to introduce readers unfamiliar with the debates to some of the most important contours and theoretical fault lines. It is important to keep in mind that my dissertation does not focus on these public debates per se but rather on how the Intercultural model plays out in the context of history and citizenship education in Québec and to highlight how history teachers might contribute to these debates. By introducing these debates, I am initiating the reader to the orientations that establish my interpretive framework. Drawing on two prevalent strands of

[13] For more information on Hérouxville's code of conduct see: Gilbert (2009); Stasiulis (2013); Tabachnick (2012). On Québec's Multani case see: Milot (2011); McAndrew, (2007); Wayland (2010).

scholarship on Interculturalism in Québec, I clarify the conceptual and ideological tensions that history teachers negotiate in their classrooms and, therefore, on which they have particular insights.

Hérouxville's code of conduct. The first event, in 2006, emerged when the Québec village of Hérouxville created a code of conduct that targeted newcomers via its highly editorialized comments on the illiberal, anti-woman practices of other, incoming cultures. Hérouxville is a dominantly white, Christian, and Francophone village of approximately 1300 residents. Their code of conduct, which included a ban on the public stoning of women and prohibited female genital mutilation, was widely condemned it for its explicitly insulting and xenophobic sentiments (Mookerjea, 2009; Stasiulis, 2013; Zine, 2012). Viewed as a culturally and religiously homogeneous village, the motivation behind this town charter was widely interpreted by scholars as a political manoeuver. As Tabachnick (June, 2012)[14] observes, "the 'charter' was created as a direct response to the wider discourse on multiculturalism and the application of reasonable accommodation in Québec and, more specifically, the island of Montreal, where the vast proportion of immigrants to Québec settle." The intent behind the code of conduct was to send a political message: their culture, which they understand as indisputably 'pure-laine,'[15] is being threatened by the tenets of the Québec and Canadian Charters (Gilbert, 2009). What might be viewed as wholly illiberal in its intent has been, ironically, forwarded by using "liberal-democratic language, such as concern for equality, as cover for their true desire to discriminate against people of different ethnic and religious backgrounds" (Tabachnick, 2012). In other words, Hérouxville's code of conduct was said to have exposed a long and thorny history of language and gender politics in a new and complex

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[14] Cited with permission by author.

[15] Referring to the label "old-stock" Québécois. This term is used unproblematically in colloquial settings as well as in some academic scholarship. For example, Blad and Couton (2009); Cooper (2012); McAndrew and Arcand (2012); use this term to refer to French-Canadians with strong roots to the land (Ireland & Proulx, 2004). From a critical perspective, the "old-stock" Québécois label has served as a binary construction of identity that has corroborated the strongly held "us" and "them" discourse on cultural difference.

configuration. Gilbert (2009) has labeled this a "politics of deterrence," a symbolic means of erecting walls that insulate them from the (perceived) risks of cultural loss. These scholarly critiques of Hérouxville's code of conduct offer a particular insight into how the Intercultural model is being manifested in Québec: the belief that Québec's right to cultural preservation ought to trump individual rights of self-expression, freedom of expression, or gender equality.

The case of Hérouxville is rife for critique from both sides of the Interculturalism debate: as demonstrated in the previous paragraph, the detractors' critique that the Intercultural model legitimizes rampant xenophobia under the guise of cultural preservation is very relevant here. However, that is not to say that the philosophers who endorse Québec's Intercultural model would support this code of conduct. To the contrary, I believe that those who hold a philosophical perspective would argue that the case of Hérouxville is aligned with a staunch republican model, rather than a liberal-democratic model. Further, philosophers might argue that rather than Hérouxville's code of conduct representing Intercultural values, that it is simply an outright (and very unfortunate) misinterpretation of the tenets of Interculturalism.

Bouchard and Taylor commission on reasonable accommodation. Second, in 2007, as the result of a series of events in Québec that gave rise to what had been called a crisis of accommodation (Waddington Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier & Schwimmer, 2012), the Québec government charged political philosopher Charles Taylor and sociologist Gérard Bouchard with conducting a province-wide Commission on Reasonable Accommodation. Waddington et al., (2012) describe the overall focus of the commission:

> The Bouchard-Taylor Commission's aims were to take stock of practices of reasonable accommodation across various sectors of public life, to gauge public opinion on this issue, and to draft a set of recommendation on dealing with difference that were consistent with Québec as a liberal-democratic society. (p. 2)

Their investigation included, but was not limited to, mandating thirteen "research projects, conducted by specialists from different Québec universities;" conducting thirty one focus groups; initiating fifty nine "meetings with experts and representatives of various sociocultural organizations;" facilitating a number of public consultations, including "four province-wide forums," and analyzing over nine hundred briefs from the public (2008a, p. 8-9). Each of these instruments was for the purpose of investigating (or taking stock of) Québécois' attitudes and practices surrounding reasonable accommodation.[16]In short, the proponents were interested in examining the climate of cultural inclusion in Québec, the outcome of which proved alarming for many detractors of the model. Despite what might have been read as an attempt to deal with its skeletons, some argue that these debates reiterated discourses of exclusion. Mahrouse (2008) has stated, "for those of us with antiracist commitments … this Commission [on Reasonable Accommodation] has been a disconcerting Pandora's box" (p. 18). Mahrouse (2008) asserts that multiple voices during this Commission perpetuated ignorance, intolerance, and even hatred. While the public events may have been an opportunity for listening across difference, or at the very least an exercise in tolerance, the Commission created what many, such as Mahrouse (2010), have critiqued as a spectacle in which public displays of intolerance were sanctioned.

Others, such as Maynard and Ho (2009), have raised issues concerning the lack of representation in the structure of the Commission itself. For example, the optics of the Commission exposed, at the outset, problematic approaches to ingrained issues of identity and power.

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[16] As Lori G. Beaman explains in her Introduction: Exploring Reasonable Accommodation (2012), "In 2007, the phrase "reasonable accommodation" began to seep into public discourse in Canada whenever disputes about the practices of religious minorities were at issue" (p. 1). She goes to explain that until the 2006 Multani case, in which a battle over a Sikh student's right to carry a kirpan to school was waged at the Supreme court, "reasonable accommodation" had "remained within the confines of law, and within the specific confines of employment law . . ." (p. 2).

> Th[e] racial dominance is inherent to the structure of the consultation, both in the selection of two white men to oversee the consultation, as well as the identities of the initially addressed consultees, the so-called "Québécois de souche," of French European descent (and thus white), having been seen to be the ones primarily necessitating a platform. (Maynard & Ho, 2009, p. 24)

Similarly, Concordia University's Simone de Beauvoir Institute spoke out against the discourse of accommodation adopted by the Commission. "The design of the Commission and the language of 'accommodation' assumes and perpetuates a system of power whereby 'hosts' act as gatekeepers for non-western 'guests'" (The Simone de Beauvoir Institute, 2007). These critiques revealed that the aim of the Commission, to cobble an illustration of attitudes and practices about accommodation in Québec, required that issues of power and identity be considered at the outset to avoid perpetuating what Maynard and Ho (2009) have dubbed a "twofold process both of domination and submission" (p. 24). Scholars critical of the discourse of accommodation point out how Québec's dominant narrative of inclusion (accommodation) actually reinforces Otherness and perpetuates exclusion.

The Commission on Reasonable Accommodation provides an explicit illustration of how philosophers maintain a sense of hope that mechanisms, such as dialogue, will (eventually) facilitate equal integration to all citizens of Québec. By contrast, detractors point out that Intercultural mechanisms, such as dialogue, are only serving to (re)produce a dominant identity thereby silencing and excluding others.

Charter of Québec values. Last, the recently proposed Charter of Values (Bill 60) titled, "Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests" (2013) prohibits government employees, or para-employees (such as daycare workers), from wearing ostentatious religious symbols. Just as in the case of Hérouxville, the government is drawing on a discourse of

gender equality as legitimization, claiming that they want to "ensure gender equality between men and women" and to affirm "the values of separation of religions and State and the religious neutrality and secular nature of the State." According to Bernard Drainville, author of the Charter, and those of a similar mindset, these tenets are enmeshed, co-dependent. The Charter makes not-so-subtle reference to the hijab as unwelcome within public institutions, stating that "[p]ersons must ordinarily have their face uncovered when receiving services from personnel members of public bodies" (2013, p. 6). Philosopher Daniel Weinstock has been quoted as claiming that the charter is a direct attack on Islam, making practicing Jews and Sikhs "collateral damage" (Saleem, 2013). Since the Charter was proposed in the fall of 2013, a public hearing has taken place and its contents have been grim to those opposed to the Charter. As Peritz reports:

> One man said he wouldn't want his prostate checked by a female doctor who wore a head-to-toe chador. Another said Montreal is already "strange" to the rest of Québec and could get stranger. A former nun said she switched cashes at Staples rather than be served by a woman in Muslim head scarf. (2014)

According to Peritz, the Charter has unearthed a set of perspectives that not only reveal a lack of acknowledgement of how diversity contributes to cultural flourishing, but a view of culture deeply saturated in ignorance and bias. This analysis also reveals the deeply conflicted nature of feminist politics in the province, with multiple women's groups claiming divergent positions on the issue. Since the proposal of this yet-to-be-imposed charter, the social climate in Montreal specifically has become rife with tension, with several hostile incidents against Muslims being reported in the media. Québec's proposed Charter might be read by detractors as the latest in several years of public debate that exposes the webs of interconnections between categories of identity, such as language, religion, gender, and the ways in which power mediates these connections. Supporters of the Intercultural

model, by contrast, might argue that this Charter is representative of the worst types of xenophobia and is therefore not at all in accordance with the tenets of the Intercultural model.

Synthesis

Many detractors have connected the mistreatment of cultural and religious minorities during these events with the shortcomings of the Intercultural model (Adelman, 2011; Mahrouse, 2008; Seidle, 2009). The creation of Hérouxville's code of conduct, the Bouchard-Taylor Commission on Reasonable Accommodation, and the recent proposal of Québec's Charter of Values have all raised questions surrounding the (in)adequacy of the Intercultural model. For example, Dupré (2012) has argued that Québec's recent championing of secularization stifles cultural pluralism and therefore impairs the aims of the Intercultural model; the "Intercultural events" described above all hinge upon strongly held views of Québec nationalism, premised upon a commitment to secularism. Therefore, these events do provide a point of entry into current critiques of the Intercultural model by laying the groundwork to assess how proponents and detractors approach the model differently and why a conversation between these perspectives would be beneficial in the context of history and citizenship education.

To reiterate how the debates between proponents and detractors have taken place: on one hand, some scholars believe that these events are significant in that they serve to highlight trends of cultural intolerance that were, if not caused by Québec Interculturalism, reinforced in and through the Intercultural model. On the other hand, other scholars consider these events as examples of how the actual unfolding of political events in Québec betray the principles of Interculturalism and Intercultural citizenship. On this view, Québec Interculturalism is not a conception of politics that determines how people actually behaving in the political arena, but is rather a normative framework of citizenship whose principles might, if applied in a critical and constructive say, serve as a basis for

learning how to live together respectfully according to liberal and democratic principles. As such, these orientations to Québec Interculturalism are quite sharply in tension with the other. My discussion of the three examples above has served as a means of concretizing and crystalizing how these conflicting interpretations to Québec Interculturalism are reflected in light of recent and widely publicized debates in Québec. Now that I have provided an outline of these debates, the remainder of my dissertation will focus on how the discourses produced in and through the debates surrounding these events inform teachers' treatment of issues surrounding cultural integration (such as identity, patriotism, and power) in their classrooms to flesh out what teachers have to contribute to these discussions. As agents in the (re)constructions of Intercultural civic discourse, history teachers are already participating in these debates in and through their practice. However, despite their ongoing engagement in teasing apart the controversies surrounding Intercultural citizenship, teachers' voices have yet to be heard. In the following chapters, I feature the practice of history teaching as central to the construction of Intercultural citizenship, thus positioning teachers' voices as integral to debates on Québec's model of cultural integration.

Contribution to Research

Despite the fact that my critique of Québec Interculturalism draws heavily on the work of others, my dissertation does shed new light on how unequal, oppressive, and marginalizing power dynamics of Québec Interculturalism play out in a particular educational setting — history classrooms — with a special focus on teaching practice. The focus on history classrooms and teachers is especially important because it is within such settings that young people are exposed to Québec Interculturalism for the first time in a sustained way, as a captive audience of teachers who are continually (re)constructing the narratives through which students encounter what Québec Interculturalism means from a citizenship perspective. Also, and perhaps most importantly, this

study sheds light on the value of secondary school history teachers' perspectives on the Interculturalism, specifically in relation to history and citizenship education. My claim here is that stakeholders in the promotion of just and equitable civic discourse within Québec need to have a vested interest in the experience and perspectives of those who are on the "front lines" of framing civic values: history teachers.

From a scholarly perspective, while my dissertation critiques the normative gaps and shortcomings that inform the practice of Intercultural citizenship education in schools, the purpose and contribution of my dissertation is not exclusively devoted to illuminating the potential harms of Québec's Intercultural model. Throughout the dissertation, I treat the philosophical literature with skepticism, in particular because it tends to underplay and even ignore precisely those unequal power dynamics mentioned above. However, I also attempt to fairly and accurately depict why supporters of the Intercultural model continue to see value in its potential.

My goal is ultimately to engage with the normative ideals and purposes that represent the best ethical and educational possibilities of Intercultural citizenship (Chapter Seven) by concluding with an account of how philosophical theorizing about the education aims and aspirations of Intercultural citizenship education might be improved by the critical account provided in this dissertation.

Design of the Dissertation

This dissertation is divided into two main parts. The first part is a philosophical analysis of the concept of Québec Interculturalism as it has been understood and interpreted by contemporary scholars, with a special focus on scholars whose focus is on the educational dimensions of Intercultural citizenship. In Chapters Three and Four I develop this philosophical analysis of Québec Interculturalism, within the context of contemporary debates in political and educational

philosophy about citizenship education in culturally diverse, liberal-democratic societies. The second part of the dissertation is a qualitative empirical study of three Anglophone history teachers working in Montreal schools. In Québec, as elsewhere, an important aspect of history teachers' mandate is to initiate young people into the norms, values, and ethical principles that constitute a society's prevailing understanding of good citizenship (scholarly debates surrounding these obligations will be explored in Chapter Three). The purpose of the qualitative study in this dissertation was to capture a better understanding of how practicing teachers actually understand, respond to, resist, challenge, or otherwise interpret and enact the idea of Québec Interculturalism in their classrooms. The qualitative study is presented in the form of a normative case study of history classrooms in Montreal, a methodological approach that draws on Thacher's (2006) notion of the normative case study. In Chapters Five and Six I provide a detailed account of the normative case study, explaining its particular use in this study. In Chapter Seven I offer some reflections on the idea of *thinking interculturally*, which I suggest is a promising avenue for exploring how the critical perspective on Québec Intercultural Citizenship (contained in this dissertation) may point the way toward a more constructive and inclusive educational approach.

Layout of the Chapters

In the present chapter, I have provided a narrative of contemporary public debates surrounding issues of inclusion and accommodation in Québec: Hérouxville's code of conduct, the Commission on Reasonable Accommodation, and finally, and Québec's proposed Charter of Québec Values (Bill 60). My description of these events satisfied three overlapping main purposes: first, to provide an overview of current public debates in Québec, illustrating the social and political context of my study. Second, to offer a broad characterization of two sides of the debates: those

who support the Intercultural model and those who critique it. Third, to highlight history teachers voice as significant to but also absent from, these debates.

In Chapter Two, *In the Field*, I detail my study design, outlining how my use of philosophical inquiry and empirical data supports my methodological approach, the normative case study. I describe the various methods that comprise my study and explain how they are well-suited to the overall research purposes of this dissertation: philosophical inquiry, open-ended interview, classroom observation, curriculum document analysis, and photo-voice.

In Chapter Three, *Constructing Civic Identities In and Through History Education*, I bring together two sets of theoretical debates on history and citizenship education in the context of culturally diverse societies (from the fields of philosophy of education and history education), connecting them to current debates on history education in Québec. Broadly, debates in the literature in philosophy of education and history education focus on the question of whether nation-building is a legitimate educational aim in culturally diverse societies. Québec's Intercultural model emphasizes cultural coherence and nation-building, thereby articulating a unique form of patriotism. The debates about whether teaching history from a patriotic perspective or not is justifiable offer meaningful analysis on issues of history and citizenship education but do not adequately deal with the nuances of teaching practice (or the voices of history teachers). My illustration of the tensions in the theoretical debates in the next chapter provides the groundwork for my discussion of how cultural diversity is treated in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course as well as how Montreal secondary school history teachers are making sense of these tensions in Chapter Six.

In Chapter Four, *Intercultural Citizenship Education in Québec: (Re)producing the Other in and Through Historicised Colonial Patterns,* I outline the tenets of the Intercultural model and present the example from the Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course in Québec to illustrate the shortcomings of the model. Specifically, I point to how the treatment of Aboriginal cultures in the

curriculum and textbooks reflects the inadequacies of the Intercultural model to deal with complex and historicized issues of power in the province.

In Chapter Five, *The Normative Case Study Approach: (Re)constructing Québec Interculturalism in History Classrooms,* I present my methodology, the normative case study, explaining how it reconciles philosophical inquiry with qualitative data from practical and philosophical perspectives. One of the crucial components of the normative case study is the analysis of thick concepts through analysis and examples. Therefore, in this chapter, I explain what is meant by a thick concept, and argue that although Québec Interculturalism is forwarded as a heavily prescriptive (thick) concept, there remains a lack of understanding about the explicit prescriptions in the model, making Québec Interculturalism a moderately thick concept. Following this, I detail how this methodology is relevant to my analysis of the ethical dimensions (relating to power) of the Intercultural model.

In Chapter Six, *The Normative Implications of History Teaching in Québec: Exploring Teachers' Perspectives,* I present and analyze my data. Drawing heavily from interview transcripts, I engage with a conversation with teachers about the limitations of Québec Interculturalism. I begin by describing how the teachers identify their subject positions (linguistic and gendered) and create connections between these positions and their views on citizenship, diversity, and Québec Interculturalism. To push the analysis further than a causal and structural account of identity, I draw out some of the specific ethical implications of teaching history from an Intercultural perspective, as it is currently practiced.

In Chapter Seven: *Thinking Interculturally*, I draw from a literary model of Québec Interculturalism, developed by McDonald (2011). Thinking Interculturally is a rhetorical move that constructs communities according to shared values rather than national borders. I present it as a discursive strategy that might be taken up in history classrooms: a means through which history teachers might reinforce the significance of the French language by drawing from Francophone

communities outside of Québec. Thinking Interculturally theorizes communities across borders. Finally, I argue that thinking Interculturally provides history teachers with a tool to construct Francophone movements and cultures in inclusive ways, thereby formulating more inclusive views of citizenship and belonging.

Chapter Two: Study Design

In this chapter I outline the main tools of inquiry that have structured my study and analysis. I have two main purposes. First, I describe my use of open-ended interviews, classroom observation, analyses of curricular documents, and photo-voice as a means to unpack the ethical issues within the Intercultural model. Each of these tools enabled me to explore how the teachers understand and engage with Québec Interculturalism in their practice; this was to gain a sense of how the Intercultural model is being constructed. Second, I describe how I use these tools in order to develop the philosophical and normative dimensions of my inquiry, which play a central role in my analysis in subsequent chapters; this will help orient the reader to chapters in which I discuss debates about Québec Interculturalism and history teaching in which I describe how each of these are underwritten by competing and conflicting philosophical conceptions of citizenship and identity (Chapters Three and Four). It will also set the stage for my discussion in Chapter Five, which describes my normative case study of how Québec Interculturalism is enacted in the context of history classrooms. In this respect, my discussion in the present chapter explains how my chosen methods combine philosophical inquiry and qualitative data to provide a deepened analysis of Québec Interculturalism as a public value.

The chapter is divided as follows: first, I provide a general overview of the study, including my research sites, participants, and how I gained access. Second, I elaborate my use of philosophical inquiry as a mode of inquiry and in relation to qualitative data. My rationale in this section is to elucidate what philosophical inquiry does as a research method as well as its particular role in combination with empirical data. Third, I clarify my understanding of "methods" in research design

(as opposed to methodology) and then I outline the methods that I took up in the study.[17] Fourth, I discuss my approach for analyzing the qualitative data.

Overview of the Study

The qualitative component of the case study took place from January to April 2012 in three secondary school history classrooms in Montreal private schools. I decided to conduct my research in private schools for practical reasons. Access to private schools is much more straightforward than the public school system. The fact that my study involved private schools requires some explanation to avoid potential misunderstandings for readers who may be unfamiliar with the way in which private schools in Québec are both (partially) publically funded and also, as a result, subject to state regulation. Significantly for my study, private and public schools are subject to the same provincially mandated curriculum requirements. Thus, private schools are beholden to the same curricular competencies as publically funded schools (Magnuson, 1993). Therefore, private schools in Québec have a public mandate to teach the same competencies and skills associated with Intercultural citizenship, as do public schools. The reason this point is significant in the context of the present dissertation is that within Québec, unlike in other contexts, the fact that the study involved only private schools did not affect the underlying purpose of the research. Private schools in Québec are subject to the same curricular requirements; in short, research in private secondary school history classrooms offered me the same opportunities to consider the issue of how Québec Interculturalism is being treated in history classrooms as it would have in public schools.

I obtained access to the participants via personal contacts. Because all three schools are private, the only official permission required was sought directly from their headmasters, and this contact was made via e-mail. In my initial communication with the headmasters, I provided a brief

[17] These are: interviews; observations; photo-voice; field-notes; document analysis; hand-outs; textbooks; curriculum documents.

outline of the study, which was selected from my application for ethics approval.[18] The outline provided the headmasters with the overarching aims of the study as well as the tools that I would use to collect data. In my communication with the headmasters, I highlighted several times that students were not the focus of the study, and therefore no reference to any student would be made in the study. All headmasters agreed readily via e-mail.

My participants were three white women history teachers in secondary three and four (equivalent to grades 9-10 in most other North American contexts), whose ages ranged from mid-thirties to mid-fifties. That my participants were all women, or that they were all white was not an intentional choice on my part, but it does speak to interesting gender and ethnic dynamics.[19] They are all established teachers, having taught for more than five years. Sam is a native of Montreal who identifies as a bilingual Francophone, and who teaches history in French at an English institution. Dante grew up and was educated in Alberta, but has lived in Montreal for many years. She identifies as an Anglophone from outside of Québec. Lastly, Anna was born and raised in Montreal and speaks three languages fluently: French, Greek and English.[20]

On the Role of Philosophical Inquiry

One central methodological aim in this study is to illustrate how normative case studies have the potential to significantly contribute to teachers' and researchers' deliberation about and analysis of ethical complexities that arise in the work of history teachers in Intercultural classrooms. The normative case study makes a specific contribution by enabling an exploration of political and ethical

[18] Ethical approval was secured by the Ethics Review Board at McGill University on May 25, 2011.
[19] As I will discuss in Chapter Six, the teachers identified gender dynamics as an issue that arises in their practice. Ethnicity is an under-current in the project; while the teachers did not explicitly discuss their ethnicity, it does play a role in terms of how they positioned themselves within Québec. The fact that they did not discuss their ethnicity points to the false perception of whiteness as neutral.
[20] All names have been changed to preserve the anonymity of the participants.

norms embedded in the Intercultural policy with the ethical complexities of history teachers' practice. This approach facilitates a deliberative process; first, to hear how teachers are making sense of the Intercultural model and its implications for citizenship education. Second, for me, as a researcher to provide critical reflection on teachers' deliberations in order to highlight some of the complex forces that shape and influence their ethical deliberations about (Intercultural) citizenship. I go into more detail on the normative case study in Chapter Five. For now, the important point is that the normative case study method involves applying normative (and particularly ethical) philosophical ideals and principles to a practical context — in this case, the context of history teachers' practice where the norms of Intercultural citizenship are under negotiation. Simply, the combination of philosophical inquiry with various techniques of qualitative research is meant to provide a set of analytic tools that serve both descriptive and normative purposes in analyzing the practice of history teachers in their classrooms. The focus was designed to enable me to traverse the established boundaries between theory and practice.

This dissertation is thus a philosophically oriented project that makes use of qualitative data. Specifically, I use philosophical analysis as a means of teasing out the implications of normative concepts, such as Québec Interculturalism, citizenship, identity, and power. Identifying the implications of these concepts is necessary because they provide prescriptions for what is essential to, and ought to be excluded from, civic life. The normative case study approach facilitates a philosophical analysis of concepts by considering real life contexts, such as the ways in which teachers deliberate on issues relevant to (Intercultural) citizenship. Using qualitative data to elaborate philosophical inquiry avoids the artificiality that often arises when philosophers engage with only thought experiments. Therefore, ethical implications of these concepts are explored from philosophical perspectives, using the experiences and insights of teachers as significant tools of ethical analysis.

Significantly, an assumption upon which this project is constructed is that Québec Interculturalism and citizenship are contested concepts, meaning that there are different and competing theoretical perspectives. For the purpose of this project, these contested concepts refer to the ethical norms that govern how citizenship education is carried out in Québec. For example, is Québec Interculturalism a mode of cultural assimilation or a dialogical framework for respecting cultural diversity within a common frame of citizenship? My interest is in examining the multilayered assumptions that participate in how these ethical norms are constructed. The ways in which histories and politics are anchored in the concept of Québec Interculturalism or citizenship have meaningful implications for how they are enacted. In attending to the nuances of a concept we have the potential to shape possibilities of experience. Drawing from the work of Winch (1958), Smeyers and Depaepe (2008) contend that, "the concepts we have settle for us the form of the experience we have of the world" (p. 627). The ways in which the concept of citizenship is understood patterns expectations for civic life, for example, how we conceive of the limits of inclusion. My aim is to work toward establishing more inclusive conceptualizations of Québec Interculturalism and to have these taken up in the context of history and citizenship education. Part of what must be done to arrive at this is to consider what this concept means in an ideal sense to then examine its practical, empirical applications.

Writer Jeanette Winterson (2012) has referred to the "boring binary," speaking to the deeply embedded, and false distinctions, categories, and constructed divisions within western culture. The notion of the boring binary is meaningful in this context because, as I discuss in the following chapter, there is a pressing need to revisit and challenge our thinking on citizenship education. Specifically, the question of whether it need be entirely patriotic or whether it ought to resist patriotism in all its forms. In the context of history and citizenship education, these boring binaries remain entrenched in how our world is experienced and consequently how knowledge is produced.

Another pertinent outcome of these boring binaries is that there remains a methodological chasm between empirical and philosophical research. This divide is observable in field-related disciplines, in the disciplinary conventions associated with sociology and philosophy, for example. Approaches to knowledge and knowledge production remain isolated in many cases.[21] For example, the field of philosophy of education has traditionally relied on philosophical inquiry as its methodology (Ruitenberg, 2010), even while drawing from social science literature. While some philosophers of education have relied on qualitative data to inform their analyses (exemplified most notably in the work of John Dewey), it is by no means the rule. Despite this, there has been a renewed interest among some philosophers in the Anglo-American tradition to the value of making use of qualitative data (Feinberg 2006; Levinson, 2012). Following this call, I deconstruct the view that philosophy and empirical data need remain boring binaries. Rather, I argue that they are necessary allies, specifically in regards to issues of policy and education from a social justice perspective. My contention here is that working through categories such as generalizability/particularity and action/theory, the case study can show, rather than tell. Thus, the case study offers a means of acknowledging the constructed nature of these categories so as to work toward a more astute and just set of theoretical claims. This is especially relevant to Québec's Intercultural model because it is a policy that is situated within the current political climate in the province.

Study Design: Methods

The purpose of this section is twofold: first, to describe the methods that I used to collect qualitative data in secondary school history classrooms. My second purpose is to explain how these

[21] However there are fields that attempt to work past these divides, producing new ways in which to understand the world. Many examples can be drawn from the field of History and Philosophy of Science. See Kuhn's *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1996). Also, scholars John Law (2004) and Annemarie Mol (2002) have brilliantly enacted assemblage methodologies, which serve to explicitly subvert "boring" and "binaried" conceptions of reality.

particular tools played a role in helping me to answer my research question, "How are English secondary history teachers in Montreal (re)constructing the Intercultural policy in their classrooms?" This section is therefore dedicated to describing my research tools in relation to how they enabled further insight into the ways in which Québec Interculturalism is being constructed and enacted in the context of citizenship education. First, I provide a general comment on how I understand the distinction between methods and methodology; this discussion is important because methods and methodology are often used interchangeably. Second, reminding the reader of my research question, I provide a short overview of how I understand the relationship between my choice of methods in relationship to this question. Third, I outline each of my methods by discussing how I made use of them in relation to the literature on qualitative research strategies. The discussion in this section leads up to my final section in this paper, in which I explain my strategies for analyzing the qualitative and philosophical data.

I understand methods as related to, but also distinct from, methodology. According to this distinction, methods are the means through which I gained insight into how Québec Interculturalism unfolds, particularly in history classrooms and with a focus on teachers. The case study approach, upon which my study builds, is characterized by what Stake (2000) has called, "the arbitrariness of the methods" (p. xii). Within this approach it is possible to employ any number of methods based on what best serves to answer the research question. Robert Yin (2009), expert on case study research, argues that the six forms of data collection in a case study method are: documents, interviews, archival records, direct observations, participant observation, and physical. The methodology itself can integrate any number of tools to collect data in any combination. Stake refers to this as "a palette of methods" (p. xii) available to the researcher, and claims that there are any number of ways in which to structure a case study. The appearance of arbitrariness created by the "palette of methods" is rectified by and through the research question itself. That is, the case

study methodology allows for flexibility in terms of its methods for the purpose of allowing the researcher to take up methods that best answers his or her research question.

My research question, "How are English secondary history teachers in Montreal (re)constructing the Intercultural policy in their classrooms?", sought to gain insight and knowledge of 'on the ground' practices of Intercultural history classrooms. The primary means by which I gained this knowledge was by interviewing teachers one on one, and by observing them in their classrooms. I also employed tools such as photo-voice, field notes, and document analysis (Appendix A – Data sources) in my inquiry. As I detail below, I chose these methods as a means of understanding how the Intercultural discourse is being enacted and constructed in secondary school history classrooms. I understand Québec's Intercultural model as fluid and therefore in flux. I chose the following set of methods as a means of exploring how citizenship, specifically Intercultural citizenship, is being presented within history classrooms. It is my contention that the ways in which history teachers present the model constructs the model because it shapes students' views of the value of cultural diversity, the limits of inclusion, and how power is (and ought to be) negotiated. As such, in my discussion of these methods, it is important to keep in mind that I am not using these methods for the purpose of revealing a *direct, or causal relationship* between Intercultural tenets and how they are enacted, but rather how these tenets are being shaped in and through the teachers' practice, thereby determining the civic values that are being embraced and promoted in these contexts. In this sense, this chapter is a prelude to my following chapter that discloses current debates on the roles of patriotism in history education in the fields of philosophy of education and history education.

Open-Ended interviews. My study is based on six interviews in total, two with each of the three participants. The six interviews took place between September and December 2011, before the observation component of my study (January-April 2012). Each interview lasted between forty-five

and seventy minutes, depending on the participants' propensity, willingness to go into detail, and time constraints. In the interview process, perhaps more than in any other component of the study, I was concerned about how to negotiate what Seidman (1998) has labeled an "I-Thou" relationship with the history teachers. Here, "the interviewer's goal is to transform his or her relationship with the participant into an "I-Thou" relationship that verges on a "We" relationship" (p. 96). I wondered how I might prepare for and structure an interview while viewing myself as a participant (in the traditional sense) in the process. In the first stages of preparation for the interviews, I was torn between adopting a more traditional or structured approach that would elicit specific perspectives from the participants, and a post-structural approach in which I would play an active role in the interview situations. To deal with this, I took up Seidman's (2006) notion of an interview guide as a tool that "asks participants to reconstruct their experience and to explore their meaning" (p. 92). Rather than setting up an interview that asked participants to, as Seidman puts it, "test hypotheses, gather answers to questions, or corroborate opinions"(p. 92), in other words, positioning participants as "question answerers" with little to no control over the direction of the exchange, and myself as a "question asker," who steers the interview, this model rejects these rigid positions. Soon after I began the interview process, I realized that this rigid distinction between researcher and participant was not sufficient in describing our roles in this process.

The prospect of interviewing teachers was a concern to me because, as much as the literature on qualitative interviewing practices discusses constructive approaches to knowledge production (Stage & Mattson, 2003), the issue of how to negotiate power dynamics in this process was a concern for me. Essentially, it was very important to me that I not enter these conversations as an expert on Québec Interculturalism, positioning the teachers as non-experts; inasmuch as I do not believe it is possible to get outside of this dynamic, I was interested in mitigating it as much as possible. For this reason, I found Fontana's perspective on the interview process quite helpful. As

Fontana and Frey (2003) have pointed out, the postmodern infuses the modern so that the two become indiscernible. In other words, it is impossible, due to established (power) dynamics, to avoid to some extent being a "question asker" and positioning the teachers as "question answerers," enabling our interviews to be conversational and interactive. However, I acted as the person who provided the prompts for these conversations. Therefore, my approach to interviewing reflected an open-ended process in that it fell somewhere between a structured and an unstructured format. For example, the first and second interviews were structured quite differently in terms of how many questions I asked the participants (thirteen in the first and five in the second). More importantly, our interactions shifted in subtle but important ways as I became more comfortable with the process, and as the participants and I forged a stronger relationship. As we became more comfortable with one another, specifically by the second interview, the interviews became more conversational. As I describe below, the second interview was very much guided by the teachers. The teachers narrated their reasons for choosing particular images and this narration led each teacher in very different directions. Despite my belief that the teachers' initiative in the second interview demonstrated a shift in our power dynamic, I do not believe that we ever moved outside of it for the simple fact that I was the one who initiated the research.

The interview component of my research was crucial to enable me to engage in teachers' (re)constructions of Québec Interculturalism. Creswell (2003) notes that interviews in qualitative research have the aim of, "eliciting the views and opinions of the participants" (p. 188). My interviews with Sam, Dante, and Anna sought to extend this aim to also allow myself and the teachers to (re)articulate the tenets of Québec Interculturalism in relation to citizenship and history education. For example, in the first interview I asked questions such as, "can you briefly define Québec Interculturalism?" and "how does this differ from Multiculturalism?" I later asked how they made sense of the Intercultural model in relation to their teaching practice. In the first and second

interviews I sought to engage with the teachers on their experiences as history students and also as citizens to articulate how their own histories play a role in their current practice. As is articulated below, I intentionally conducted the first and second interviews in different stages. As is made clear by my interview guides (see Appendix B – Interview Guide), I planned the first interview in more detail than the second, wanting to cover the teachers' educational life story, their views on history teaching, citizenship, the connections between history education and citizenship, and finally their understanding of the Intercultural model. The second interview contained only two stages: the first was a short review of the overall themes we'd broached in the first interview and the second stage was an open-ended discussion of the images the teachers produced using photo-voice.

First interview. The first interview with each participant was more structured than the second, and focused on the participants' educational and professional trajectories, how they understand citizenship, their perspectives on the Québec Education Plan (QEP) and finally, their understanding of Québec's Intercultural policy. Using thirteen pre-constructed questions, we spent a significant amount of time discussing the participants' educational background and how this informed their decision to become history teachers. I was particularly interested in how they relayed their memories of being students of history themselves, because as Atkinson (2002) notes, "the stories we tell of our own lives today are still guided by the same patterns and enduring elements" (p. 121). Discussing the teachers' life stories was crucial to begin the interview process as it enabled me to make links between how they made sense of their own history education, their perspectives on citizenship, and their practice; the life story approach also illuminate how their current teaching practices and political leanings are informed. As Atkinson (2002) explains, "telling a life story makes the implicit explicit, the hidden seen, the unformed formed, and the confusing clear" (p. 125). For the purpose of the project, the ways in which the teachers' narrated the relationships between their

history education, their views on citizenship, and how they describe their practice were indispensible in understanding how the teachers' ideas on citizenship have evolved.

Following the (academic) life stories of the participants, we discussed their views on how civic identity is shaped in and through history education and their views on how the history curriculum has shifted since the implementation of Québec's reform. All three participants taught in the province before and after the curricular reform in 2008. The final stage of the first interview included a brief discussion of Québec's Intercultural policy; it was meant as a prompt because each of the participants were asked to produce images of how they view the Intercultural model between the first and second interviews. It was here that the interview was intended to begin the process of (re)membering and (re)constructing their knowledge of Québec Interculturalism and how it applies. At the end of my first interview, I asked the participants to produce five to ten digital images that reflect how they understand Québec Interculturalism. I left my instructions very open, giving them few details about my expectations. I explained very briefly that I wanted to get a better sense of how they understand the model, asking them to take photos (that would be used for the second interview) that would help to elucidate how they view the model.

Second interview. The second interviews were conducted, whenever possible, one month after the first interview. This was meant to allow the participants enough time to take photos and send them to me electronically.[22] In the second interview, the participants and I co-constructed the analysis of their images to tease out the nuances of their interpretations of Québec Interculturalism. I was interested in the specifics of what constitutes Intercultural practices and/or symbols for teachers. These images enabled a textured engagement with their relationship to Québec Interculturalism. Specifically, this analysis made clear when and where there were conceptual tensions or gaps in how teachers described the Intercultural model. For instance, when Sam

[22] In one case, the interview was done much later do to scheduling conflicts.

discusses a photo of a Lebanese restaurant with a French sign near her home, she discusses this as an example of how immigrants need to adapt to Québécois culture, neglecting to point out the expectations surrounding integration placed on established Québécois as well.[23] The integration of visual methods within a case study has the potential to deepen and broaden our understanding of how the participants make sense of Québec's Intercultural policy.

In the second interview we briefly revisited the notion of citizenship and the teachers' perspectives on the Intercultural model to give the teachers a chance to elaborate on or modify the statements made in the first interview. The second interview consisted of fewer questions than the first because the second half of the interview was guided by a discussion of the participants' photos. My intention was to engage in a discussion about how the teachers viewed the nuances of Québec Interculturalism using visual data. This component of the interview followed what Fontana and Frey (2003) might label an unstructured interview. The tone of the second set of interviews was conversational (Kvale, 1996), and ended up going in very different directions based on the participants' perspectives. Briefly, these discussions touched upon the tensions involved in the French/English divide in Montreal, and the difficulties of overcoming these tensions; the experience of being a woman history teacher; and the lack of discussion on how to actually teach from an Intercultural perspective in the curriculum. I found the photo-voice approach to be very generative, but not for the reasons that I'd intended; rather than focusing on the nuances of the images, it ended up functioning as a launching pad, initiating our conversations. Also, my impression throughout the second interview was that the teachers had been reflecting on the Intercultural model and how it shapes their practice; I believe that at least part of this can be attributed to the teachers having taken photos between the interviews. In their descriptions of the images, the teachers provided narratives

[23] Québec's Moral Contract outlines expectations for integration. This contract will be described in Chapter Four.

about what they were thinking as they captured their shots. As a result, the ways in which they made sense of the relationship between the image and the Intercultural model filtered into our conversation. My sense is that the actual photos became less important than the act of taking them because this act prompted the teachers to think further about the Intercultural model in relation to their practice. In the second interview, after a few questions that allowed us to revisit issues surrounding citizenship specifically, we looked at the photos they had taken, using a laptop computer.

Observations. I observed each of the participants teach four separate classes (with the exception of one participant, whom I observed teaching three classes) between January and April 2012. The scheduling of my classroom observations was based on the teachers' schedules. Via e-mail, the teachers informed me of which classes would be available for me to observe. If there was a test, student presentations, or any other disruption, these classes were not considered appropriate to observe. For the most part, these classes took up different sections of the curriculum, and therefore covered different themes. For example, I observed one participant teach a class on the history of Aboriginal cultures in Québec, and another on Contemporary Québécois cultures. My intention throughout the observation process was to create what Angrosino and Pérez (2003) have described as a "context of interaction." This context involves adopting and negotiating a situational identity, in which both researcher and participants negotiate their roles as participants within the construction of Québec Interculturalism. As I outlined in the first chapter, the Intercultural model consists of philosophical as well as sociological components. While my area of expertise was on the philosophical implications of the model on citizenship education, the teachers' expertise was on the applications of this model in the context of citizenship and history education. The purpose of organizing this interaction, then, was to shed light on the inner workings of the model, specifically as they relate to history teaching.

Photo-Voice. My attempt to create a context of interaction (Angrosino & Perez, 2003) was further reinforced through the use of photo-voice. My choice to integrate photo-voice into my study was based on three main reasons. First, it allowed me to engage in an explicit process of meaning-making with the participants. Second, it provided two alternative epistemological data sets. The images captured and communicated insights that may have been lost if we merely relied on words. The data set was also normative in that it helped to enrich and give detail to teachers' evaluative attitudes toward Québec Interculturalism (including citizenship, cultural diversity, and inclusion). Third, this method fractures traditional notions of power associated with data – namely that it is, or even can be, neutral or objective. Visual methodologies trouble the nature by which data is encountered and understood from a positivist perspective (Banks, 2007) because they subvert the dominant rationalist and objectivist scientific approaches to knowledge. The subjectivity of the producer of the image becomes explicit in the product itself. As Harper (2000) explains, "the decisions of the image-maker have profound effects on the kinds of sociological statements that result from their images" (p. 721). Therefore, the teachers' images make statements about the nature of cultural inclusion in Québec: its limits and also its possibilities. The use of visual methodologies in qualitative research in general disentangles the understanding of reality as objective and incontestable. In the context of this project, it elicits analysis on the Intercultural model, rather than simply viewing it as an already defined set of policies to which the citizens of Québec need to adhere, highlighting the significance of participation in meaning-making. Teetering between post-structural and constructivist paradigms, this means of data collection invites co-creation and meaning-making, while also troubling the very notion of "data" (and the power dynamics involved in both research and data). As Pink (2004) elucidates, visual methodologies "invite new ways of working with people, words and images with an emphasis on the *processes* of research and representation" (p. 3). I found this approach to be helpful in gaining more access to the ways in

which the positionality of the teachers plays a role in how they are constructing the Intercultural model.

Field notes. I recorded my observations using field notes. These consisted of diagrams of the classroom, including the physical layout and décor. I paid special attention to posters, art, and student assignments on the walls, as these have a significant impact on my reading or interpretation of the space itself. I understand a classroom in the way that Stephen Harold Riggins (1994) theorizes the living room: a space that teeters between public and private. As Riggins explains, the living room "constitutes a transactional space for the household as well as a stage for selective contacts with the outside world" (p. 101). Classroom spaces represent spaces in which intimacy and cohesion are built, but they are also forums, or as Riggins puts it, "stages" that are spaces of exposure. The details that I was particularly attentive to because of their capacity to expose were: sketching(s) on a blackboard, posters, and student assignments because these offered further insights into how the Intercultural discourse is being conveyed, and therefore constructed, in the context of citizenship education. Simply, the field-notes shed light on what types of civic values are espoused within the classroom space. These illustrations of citizenship feed into the shaping of the Intercultural discourse by reinforcing normative ideals.

Document analysis. In addition to photo-voice, interviews, and classroom observations, I also analyzed three different sets of documents relevant to history and citizenship education in Québec: teacher handouts, textbooks, and official curriculum documents (i.e. the QEP). I focused on the documents that I perceived as being relevant to Québec's Intercultural policy in that there was some treatment of cultural diversity, power, or identity. The purpose of my study is to consider how Québec Interculturalism comes together as a constellation, specifically in relation to history education. I am interested in the interplay between the ways in which these educational documents treat issues such as cultural diversity and identity and how teachers interpret these portrayals. In

short, the analysis of pertinent documents provided insight into how the dominant discourse around Québec Interculturalism is being constructed.

The handouts were in the form of supplementary information, in-class activities, and evaluations. Teachers produced some of these handouts while others were retrieved from textbooks or from the official curriculum.

The second document was the English History textbook, Panoramas (2009), that has been approved for use in Québec. Two of the three teachers used this textbook. Sam (who teaches in French) used *Repères* (Thibeault, Charland, & Ouellet, 2007), the original textbook from which Panoramas was translated. [24] One reoccurring issue on the theme of Indigeneity that exemplifies a limited perspective on Québec identity is that the treatment of Indigenous peoples is discussed in Chapter One (The First Occupants) and is not mentioned until the last chapter in which it is discussed in terms of the social issues that surround Indigenous populations. As I discuss at length in Chapter Four, the issue of residential schooling in the province is not mentioned, thereby leaving the impression that there is a significant gap in the histories of Indigenous peoples in the province while undermining the undercurrents of colonization that have positioned these groups as social and political liabilities.

An absent narrative of power also emerged in the Social Science: History and Citizenship (2006) curriculum document mandated by the Québec education course. This document outlines expectations for history teachers, describes the relevant competencies, and provides outlines of lesson plans. This curriculum is particularly telling because it illustrates provincial expectations

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[24] The chapters are as follows: Student Textbook A. Chapter 1- The First Occupants (circa 1500); Chapter 2 – The Emergence of a Society in New France (1534-1769). Chapter 3 – The Change of Empire (1760- 1791). Student Textbook B. Chapter 4 – Demands and Struggles in the British Colony (1791-1850); Chapter 5 – The Formation of the Canadian Federation (1850-1929); Chapter 6- The Modernization of Québec Society (1930-1980); Chapter 7 – Issues in Québec Society (since 1960).

concerning civic identity; it provides a roadmap that highlights significant landmarks, while necessarily excluding others. For example, the curricular competencies mandate that students: examine social phenomena from a historical perspective, interpret social phenomena using the historical method, and construct his or her consciousness of citizenship through the study of history (QEP, p. 296). These competencies emphasize the notion of historical continuity, or the idea that what has happened in the past informs and shapes how we understand the present. However, as I argue in Chapter Four, residential schooling, a critical phenomenon in the history of Québec, has been omitted from the curriculum. I will discuss this more in-depth below, but for now it is important to keep sight of curricular documents as objects of analysis that are highly complex, political, and steeped particular historical realities. The normative issues that I am attempting to highlight here are the ways in which the curricular documents treat cultural diversity and the power dynamics that serve to reify difference.

Analyzing the Data

Beginning with my transcripts, my analysis was initiated by coding the data according to four categories: identity, power, Québec Interculturalism, and gender. I chose the first three categories because based on my philosophical research on the Intercultural model, these categories emerged as central matters of discussion and also of contention. I also considered gender because all three teachers were women, and they each discussed their gendered identity in relation to history teaching in either overt or implicit ways in the interviews.[25] The case that I am considering in this study is Québec's Intercultural model as it pertains to citizenship and history education. Therefore, I thought that the teachers' treatment of identity and power would help me to unpack the model. I began with

[25] The teachers' discussion and analysis of gender in relation to their practice will be discussed in Chapter Six ("Gendered Identity"). Briefly, these issues pertain to self-monitoring in terms of discussing issues considered to be too 'feminist' in their classrooms. Second, teachers discussed obstacles to negotiating the perceived tension between their feminist ideals and integrating minority cultures, which may not adhere to these same ideals.

the assumption that the categories of identity and power might be viewed as separate, but by no means discrete, so that I would easily be able to tease them apart. With this assumption, I created four separate word documents, one for each category, and pasted statements from interview transcripts that pertained to each category. For example, I categorized the following statement from Dante under the category "power" because I think it illustrates her view of the ways in which governments define and determine norms about diversity.

> I think it offers a different lens to look at cultural diversity. We've been, we've had to change glasses to look at immigration and cultures and that lens that we've been using has changed over time, reflecting societies' values. The challenge is not to confuse a government's agenda with the society's values at the same time. So a government's policy does not necessarily reflect societies' values because the government has an agenda. (Dante, line 282)

I soon realized that my categories needed to be further defined because, for example, when Dante discussed her own identity or when she discussed her views on civic identity, the power category was too broad. This is how I arrived at categories such as gendered, civic, and linguistic identities: by broadly categorizing and then honing in on the specific themes that emerged from the interview transcripts. I then used observations, field-notes, and document analysis to support these categories or as reason to conflate and/or expand them. My thinking was that to gain a sense of how the Intercultural model is being enacted in the context of citizenship education, I needed to work with two types of categories: first, categories that have been explicitly discussed and defined, such as the concept of Québec Interculturalism itself, as well as concepts that emerged in and through my specific project, that focuses on three women history teachers.

My first set of analyses were problematic in that they were quite causal, meaning that I was interpreting the teachers' particular positioning as a determining factor in their views on cultural diversity and integration. As I discuss in Chapter Six, I had been interpreting the teachers' views on

identity as being directly associated with, or caused by their linguistic positioning within the province. Once again, an example from my interview with Dante illustrates this point. Dante — who comes from an English-speaking province outside of Québec — expressed irritation over the subtleties of language politics in the province. This was a problem because first, it is a simplistic understanding of how identities shape perspective and second, it is not aligned with the normative case study, which focuses on what ethical tensions might tell us about how to improve public normative values. It was not until I began to think more deeply about how teachers are responding to social and political power dynamics that I was able to begin making significant links between the theoretical model and the teachers' practice.

As I explain in Chapter Five, the normative case study requires that theory be informed by specific examples. Therefore, I focused on two specific lessons: "A Multicultural Quilt: From Early Immigrants to the Cultural Communities of Today" and "Aboriginals & Anglophones in Québec." Of the five lessons that offered insight into how Québec Interculturalism is being constructed in history classrooms, these proved most pertinent in light of our interviews. Using these examples as touchstones, I elaborated an analysis of the specific tensions that emerge as a result of slippages in understanding of the implications of Intercultural citizenship and the resultant (re)production of oppressive power dynamics.

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness arises as an important issue in qualitative research. The question of how or if research is valuable is traditionally measured according to whether findings can be generalized to other contexts. Flyvbjerg (2006) claims that the issue of generalizability is "overrated as the main source of scientific progress" (p. 226) while the "the force of the example is underestimated" (p. 228). The case embedded in theory takes the argument past the question of generalizability, of

simply being applicable to other contexts. Rather, the theory-based case can and does extend and inform theory by providing tangible points of reference. The normative case study approach does not refer to validity and/or trustworthiness in the same way that a traditional case study would. The aim of the case study is not to be able to generalize findings, but rather to gain a better sense of how normative values can be improved as a result of a small and specific set of examples. The goal is therefore to look deeply into the case for the purpose of identifying how specific tensions limit possibilities for an equitable civic discourse about cultural diversity and integration in Québec.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I initiated the reader to the most compelling aspect of my methodology: the combination of normative and qualitative research. I explained how this combination, under the label of "normative case study" served to contribute to my ultimate research purpose, which was to explore how history teachers are assessing, negotiating, and ultimately constructing Québec Interculturalism in their classrooms. Given that the intricacies of the normative case study as methodology will be discussed in Chapter Five, in this chapter, I clarified the methods that I took up in this project: open-ended interview, observations, field-notes, document analysis, and photo-voice. These tools permitted me to explore some of the normative ethical issues within the Intercultural model, particularly as it relates to history and citizenship education. The methods described in this chapter allowed me to gather history teachers' varied and nuanced interpretations of Québec's Intercultural model; specifically, they allowed me to focus on how teachers understand, engage with, and enact Québec Interculturalism.

An ethical evaluation of the Intercultural model as it pertains to history and citizenship education requires an analysis of its constitutive concepts. The concepts that I have narrowed down, based on my philosophical research and the experiences of the three history teachers are: power,

citizenship, identity, and gender. The methods that I have described in this chapter have helped me to tease out the normative implications of the Intercultural model, focusing specifically on how these concepts are treated in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course and how they are enacted and understood by teachers.

It was important to consider and reflect upon teacher practice in the classroom within the larger policy context that informs it. To this end, I scrutinized the theoretical framework that is currently in place to stabilize Québécois' understanding of Interculturalism (specifically the work of Bouchard & Taylor, 2008a; Bouchard, 2011; Taylor, 2012); I did this for the purpose of examining how the model influences teachers' understanding of the civic implications of Québec Interculturalism and how this knowledge is translated into practice.[26] Using open-ended interviews, classroom observations, and photo-voice, I was able to inquire into how Québec's Intercultural model is being interpreted and practiced by history teachers. As I elucidate in Chapter Five, each of these methods are aligned with the normative case study because they enable practical considerations of the entangled issues that are involved in the construction of Intercultural citizenship. These methods allowed me to better assess the architecture of the model in terms of its normative dimensions.

Provided with an overview of the practicalities of the study, the role of philosophical inquiry, and the methods that I used to collect qualitative data, the reader should have a sense of the overall direction of my study. What I have started to elucidate, and what will become clearer in my subsequent theoretical chapters, is that the Intercultural model has normative implications for how students understand citizenship. More meaningfully, the Intercultural model shapes students' views

[26] It is important to note that all three participants pointed out that the word *Intercultural* or *Québec Interculturalism* is scarcely represented in their textbooks or in the curriculum. The three participants' understandings of Québec Interculturalism have been primarily shaped by the media's treatment of reasonable accommodation in Québec. Their understanding of Québec Québec Interculturalism, then, has been deeply influenced by Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor's articulations.

of what is expected and also what is possible in terms of cultural inclusion. Relatedly, through my discussion of the sociological critiques of the Intercultural model in Chapter One, concepts of power, gender, and identity are ingrained in how we approach cultural integration. Chapter One provided a general view of the tensions surrounding the study, illustrating the context in which it is based. It also identified a gap within current debates on Interculturalism: namely, the voices of history teachers. This last chapter described my study design and my rationale for my choice of methods. Having provided the background of the study, I use the following sections to move into the substance of the project: namely, a discussion of the ways in which history education can, or ought, to shape narrative for the purpose of generating inclusive, equitable civic discourse. In the following chapter, I draw out some of the tensions surrounding patriotism in history education in the fields of philosophy of education and History Education. While I do not put myself in a role to adjudicate these conversations, I pay specific attention to how issues of power and identity are treated in and through the approaches to history education that I discuss. Following this, in Chapter Four, I provide a critique of the ways in which the philosophical tenets of the model are translated in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course.

Chapter Three: Constructing Civic Identities In and Through History Education

The educational task of preparing young citizens to negotiate cultural complexity and diversity becomes increasingly significant as globalizing trends continue to heighten face-to-face interactions among people of different ethnic and linguistic origins and religious affiliations. History education has traditionally been associated with shaping civic identities, in turn making history teachers central shapers of the discourses through which students understand and enact their civic identities (Barton, 2004; Brighouse, 2003; Sandwell, 2006). The aims of history and citizenship education are therefore much contested. As Ken Osborne (2003) writes, "In Canada, as elsewhere, historians are engaged in a profound and often fierce debate over the nature and purpose of the study of history" (p. 588). Scholars and educators disagree on the types of civic education that should be taken up in history classrooms and on how significant the aim of civic identity formation should be in relation to other central educational aims (such as promoting accurate historical knowledge or equipping students to critically evaluate dominant historical understandings and narratives) (Brighouse, 2003). These debates within the fields of history, history education, and philosophy of education have profound political implications. For example, as I lay out in some detail below, a history curriculum that hinges on an established set of indisputable facts contains a very different set of assumptions about the roles and responsibilities of a "good" citizen than one that focuses on interpretive skills. Relatedly, different approaches to history teaching enact divergent perspectives on the ways in which power ought to be negotiated, thus providing distinctive frames through which to understand identity (and consequently diversity). I examine the epistemic assumptions that guide the former "old" approach to history education with the later "new" approach. As I demonstrate in this chapter, in the context of Québec, these debates are particularly a propos given the tensions between promoting cultural coherence while integrating diversity in the province. My inquiry into the scholarly research on

history education will also set up the presentation of my qualitative data in Chapter Six in that it reveals that the "old" and "new" approaches to teaching history are often presented as binaries — in opposition, having no relationship to one another — and that this scholarly distinction is unhelpful when deliberating on history teachers' actual classroom practice. As I illustrate, the reiteration of these binaries as comprehensive approaches to history education are not only a poor template for how history teaching actually happens, it circumscribes the ways in which teachers might construct historical narratives.

In Québec, as noted in Chapter One, the task is complicated by the province's status as a minority nation in a multi-nation state. In practice, the project of integrating citizens from diverse backgrounds might be viewed as incongruous with the aim of preserving a coherent political community in any context. Nonetheless, in Québec these tensions are apt to become especially intense due to its legacies of cultural preservation.[27] Québec's history of colonization, which has instilled a sense of vulnerability to external linguistic domination by the Anglophone Canadian majority, has fueled nationalist impulses within Québec. The flaring of these nationalist sentiments can in turn make liberal-democratic values themselves become vulnerable because of the looming possibility that they will be sacrificed or suspended in order to serve the perceived higher priority of reclaiming the collective identity that is under assault. Within this context, discussions about how to balance the rights of minorities within a socially and politically cohesive majority culture continue to activate incendiary debate, as evidenced by the case of Hérouxville's code of conduct, Québec's debates on reasonable accommodation, and the proposed Charter of Values, discussed in Chapter One. At the heart of these events lie divisive beliefs over how Québec identity ought to be defined and, relatedly, the civic roles and responsibilities connected to Québec's identity, all of which

[27] Details on how legacies of cultural preservation have arisen in Québec's recent history can be found in Chapter One of this dissertation.

underscore the complexities involved in citizenship education. I examine diverse paradigms in the scholarly literature on history and citizenship education because these inform the ways in which Interculturalism is being understood, articulated, and constructed within Québec.

This chapter is divided into four parts. First, I offer an overview of the debate within the field of philosophy of education between one of the most vocal supporters of patriotic education, Eamonn Callan (1994; 1997; 2011), and an equally vocal critic, Harry Brighouse (2003; 2006). This debate centers on whether there is a role for patriotic sentiment and, if so, what are the confines or limitations of its role? I argue that despite cultural diversity being a central issue to questions about how or if we ought to promote emotional attachment to nation, it is left out of this particular debate. Next, I consider three different paradigms as articulated within the literature on history education: "old history," "new history," and "historical consciousness." I present some of the current debates about these paradigms, highlighting the degrees of inclusion (and exclusion) embedded within each paradigm. I do this by highlighting their core civic ideals in relation to (teacher) identity and cultural diversity. Relatedly, I examine their merits and shortcomings in light of their treatment of power dynamics between members of majority and minority groups in culturally diverse societies. My purpose here is to outline how theorists are treating issues of power and identity in two sets of literature on history education, to provide a richer articulation of how these same issues emerge in an Intercultural context in the following chapters.

I engage with the scholarly research on history and citizenship education because, just as I explored competing interpretations of the Intercultural model in Chapter One, I want to provide a framework with which to interpret the ways in which actual history teachers are interacting with the Intercultural model. As I will demonstrate, central to the scholarly debates on history education in culturally diverse contexts is the role of cultural coherence; specifically, these debates hinge on the question of whether patriotism ought to be promoted as a civic virtue. In the final section, I connect

these theoretical debates on history and citizenship education with Québec's current curriculum. I begin my discussion of Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course by way of introducing some of the controversies surrounding this particular curriculum.

Philosophical Paradigms: The Aims of History Education

The field of philosophy of education has hosted numerous debates surrounding patriotism and its role in citizenship education. The guiding questions emerging from these debates include: in culturally diverse contexts, such as Québec, what are the ethical considerations of teaching history education for the purpose of emotional attachments to nation-states? Is teaching history education in a way that promotes cultural coherence through attachment to one's nation a social and political necessity? Or does it constitute a shortsighted and perhaps xenophobic approach to history teaching? Is it valuable or even possible to affirm shared identities in multicultural societies? Scholars such as Brighouse (2003; 2006a; 2006b), Callan (1994; 1997; 2011), and Miller (1995; 2000) have been grappling with these questions and defining the most salient positions on patriotism within philosophy of education. The questions and issues that arise within this debate have particular significance for history and citizenship education in Québec (due to the emphasis on cultural coherence within the Intercultural model). By using two of the most prominent and polarized figures in the debate on patriotism, Callan and Brighouse, I provide a brief outline of the perspectives on patriotism that shape the current debate, drawing parallels between how they overlap with, or reflect, an Intercultural approach to education.[28] My ultimate aim in this section is to

[28] Political philosophers (Berns, 2007; MacIntyre, 1984; Tamir, 1993) as well as philosophers of education (Hand, 2011; Merry, 2009) have been exploring the ethical implications of patriotism for some time. However, the debate most clearly focused on the legitimacy of patriotic education is the one between Brighouse (2006a; 2006b; 2003) and Callan (2011; 1997; 1994). This debate captures the central issues surrounding the role of history education specifically in promoting patriotism. Broadly, these debates center on the question of whether history teaching can promote a morally and politically justifiable sense of patriotism, or whether the use of history teaching undermines both

demonstrate how certain criticisms that philosophers of education have advanced against patriotic education serve to highlight key concerns about Québec Interculturalism as a framework for managing diversity in a liberal-democratic context.

Callan (1994; 1997; 2011) argues for the promotion of a coherent national identity by shaping students' emotional and intellectual attachments to the nation. For Callan, a specific approach to history education is central to this task. He views history education as a vehicle for promoting a critical attachment to the nation by conveying a realistic and complete picture of the nation. This must be done according to Callan in a way that acknowledges how injustices committed by or in the nation betray the ideals of the nation. He hopes that history education can accomplish two distinct but overlapping aims: to enable students to evaluate the nation's history realistically and critically, while maintaining hope for a nation that lives up to its democratic ideals. For a patriotic model of history education to be enacted, Callan argues, an element of coercion is necessary in shaping students' emotional attachment to their nation, but this persuasion is tempered by the "warts and all" critical component.

In his influential article, "Beyond Sentimental Civic Education," Callan argues that to maintain a healthy connection with the public sphere people must be drawn into it. Callan's fear is that unless young people can be drawn into a connected national polity, the very survival of the polity is threatened. In Callan's (1997) view, without a citizenry who possesses strong affective and cognitive attachments to the nation,

> the institutions of liberal democracy seem poised for collapse […] because the shared public morality that once enlivened them has vanished, and therefore, they survive only as a

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the fundamental political values of liberal-democratic society while also threatening the distinctive educational aims associated with history education.

> pointless system of taboo or a modus vivendi among antagonistic groups who support it only so long as their support serves their interests. (p. 2)

Callan (1994) is concerned that if history education lacks emotional attachment to the political whole possibilities for justice are confined by the view that "the political order is worth supporting [merely] to advance private interests" (p. 191). From this perspective, the idea of a healthy political attachment to one's nation is captured in the idea of civic virtue. The role of history education is to promote patriotism by cultivating civic virtue in young citizens. However, he also contends that although patriotic civic education is necessary, it ought not be "sentimentalized." Callan's position is that political emotion is necessary for the promotion of patriotism, but that this must be tempered with a pedagogy based on reason. Literature, in his view, along with history, is a mechanism that allows students to develop emotional and cognitive capacities enabling them to view the historical narratives presented to them in a critical light. As Callan (1994) puts it, "There is no reason outstanding historical scholarship should not be the product of educated despair or any other politically sterile attitude one cares to imagine" (p. 212). In his view, if history is fraught with tensions and atrocities, then history writing and teaching should reflect the reality of historical atrocities while highlighting how they interact with democratic ideals. To promote a sense of cohesion, history education ought to be carried out with the intent of highlighting social and moral complexities that characterize historical figures' choices and actions. Considered in light of the tenets of democracy as exemplars of commonly held ideals, students are given the opportunity to engage with the ideal while grappling with the difficulties involved in how the tenets of democracy might be applied. Students are then able to use these narratives as insights into both the strengths and deficiencies of democratic societies past and present, enticing them to continually move toward these ideals. The emotions that emerge from learning and thinking about history can, according to

Callan, serve to articulate a patriotism in which citizens are drawn to act in the public sphere, motivated by emotional as well as intellectual attachments.

Brighouse (2003) responds to Callan's (1994) work by opposing patriotic education on the grounds that any pedagogic coercion is illegitimate. His claim is that that even if the coercive aspects of patriotic education could somehow be justified (for example because they could be shown to increase students' capacities for treating others justly), history education would be an inappropriate vehicle for promoting it. Brighouse argues that teaching for patriotism is problematic for two reasons. First, he argues there is a question of legitimacy surrounding the creation of civic attachment in schools. He questions whether it is justifiable for schools, as tools of the state, to be charged with spinning the narratives through which students identify and from which they draw their understanding of public civic life. As Brighouse (2006a) argues, "If we allow the state to use that system to produce sentiments in the populace which are designed to win consent for it, it thereby taints whatever consent it subsequently enjoys as being non-legitimizing" (p. 109). Essentially, Brighouse is concerned with patriotic education being a form of manufactured consent (Lippmann, 2004), in which the state acts as the media, creating and recreating the images, narratives, and symbols that reinforce "love of country" thereby (re)creating a social sphere in which patriotism is viewed as neutral. For Brighouse, being critical of the narratives that shape our social and political "scapes" is essential to active civic life, and history education that does not place significant emphasis on the critique of these dominant narratives risks creating complacent citizens. He is dubious that critically infused patriotic education is sufficient to counteract the manipulative effects of manufactured consent that even the most liberal and critical forms of patriotism might include. Brighouse levels two further arguments against Callan's position in favour of sentimental patriotic education.

The first argument that Brighouse presents in his chapter, *Should we Teach Patriotic History?* (2003), is that even if it is possible to identify some ideal of patriotism that does not necessarily entail coercion (and therefore could serve as a suitable aim of education in liberal-democratic societies), it does not follow that such an ideal could serve as a feasible part of liberal-democratic citizenship in the context of diverse societies. As he points out, in democratic societies, lofty moral ideals about civic virtue compete for citizens' allegiance with offensive, aggressive, and chauvinistic forms of patriotism. Brighouse (2003) claims that "in many actually liberal countries, even those with relatively inoffensive national identities, patriotism all too often cuts against justice" (p. 163). As such, patriotism as an explicit aim of history education raises the grave concern that the morally vicious conceptions of patriotic education will overwhelm attempts by even the most conscientious educators to instill more civically virtuous forms of patriotism.

The second argument that Brighouse (2003) presents appeals to pragmatic concerns pertaining to the ways in which connecting a concern for patriotism to history education can corrupt the purposes of history education itself. The issue with integrating patriotism into the history curriculum is that it risks jeopardizing other, more important purposes of history education. The use of patriotic emotion runs the risk of creating "romantic myths" and "factually inaccurate views of the way that social changes occur" (p. 113). Brighouse's position is that history education has many other socially and politically important roles to fill, such as teaching student to work with historical facts, and to make connections with and learn how to negotiate conflicting perspectives; his sense is that the added task of honing patriotic sentiment risks neglecting other crucial educational aims.

While the Intercultural model has significant overlap with both Brighouse and Callan's brands of patriotism, it also diverges from each of them. The Intercultural model's emphasis on cultural coherence is enabled by specific mechanisms, such as dialogue, that are particularly relevant for history and citizenship education. Callan might argue that while such a mechanism might serve

to bring students together (drawing them into the polity), there is no guarantee that it will be based on the reasoned learning that Callan advocates. From another perspective, Brighouse might argue that an Intercultural approach to history education, in promoting nation-building, might eclipse the significance of other forms of identity, such as cultural, religious, or gendered.[29] This ongoing debate among philosophers of education centers on the question of how citizenship ought to be constructed in relation to the state (particularly in the context of history and civic education). At the core of the debate of whether or how to assert patriotic values is the question of how civic identities are positioned in relation to one another. The guiding question of this debate might be: what amount of coherence is required for a shared civic identity? The issue lies in the fact that both focus on education grounded in concerns about the nation. Brighouse and Callan's common focus on the nation as the focal point of citizenship education distorts the issue of how can and ought to educate for citizenship in diverse societies. Whether history and citizenship education is aimed at emotional attachment to national values or as a means of fulfilling other social roles (such as education on how political institutions function), it remains the case that countries such as Canada are increasingly globalized. The debate between Callan and Brighouse (due to their preoccupation with how or if nationhood ought to be promoted) does not take seriously the implications of education for diversity and inclusiveness. The literature on Québec Interculturalism emerging from the field of philosophy of education, while emphasizing the role of identity in nation-building, fails to pay sufficient attention to historical power differentiations that continue to shape identity relations. Whether we ought to promote national solidarity in history classrooms (and how) is a question that unleashes a number of complex issues about identity and power.

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[29] As we saw in Chapter One, there have been multiple critiques of Québec's Intercultural model for its limited capacity in dealing with diversity in meaningful ways (Bilge, 2013; Mahrouse, 2010).

The themes of patriotism, identity, and power in the context of history education will resurface in my discussion of Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course in the following chapter and again in Chapter Six when I analysed the qualitative data that I collected in my work with history teachers. In those sections, I focus specifically on questions surrounding which identities are included in the curriculum, how historical conflicts are taught, and on the implementation of the treatment of power within these historical narratives for the aims of history teaching; despite the centrality of these issues, they remain unspoken within philosophical debates on what types of civic attachments ought to be promoted within history classrooms. In the following section, however, I focus on how identity is embroiled in the practice of history teaching. I then outline some of the competing approaches to history and civic education that have been advanced by scholars within the field of history education. I focus specifically on how proponents of these diverging models envision and theorize the roles of identity, subjectivity, and belonging in relation to citizenship education in diverse societies.

What is History Teaching? And Who Are History Teachers?

As illustrated by the debates within philosophy of education, history teaching is embroiled in controversy and debate, often surrounding questions of identity and belonging. "This increase in public interest in history and concern over what school history should include has, I think, in part been sparked by issues of identity, both individual and collective" (Coffin, 2006, p. 1). Put in another way, controversies over whether to teach patriotism in schools are determined by competing assumptions about what the underlying purposes of history education are. Coffin's (2006) claim speaks to the tug-of-war that occurs between individual (identity based) and collective (patriotic) interests. As a result, approaches to history education within the literature are often compartmentalized along ideological lines; they are expressed as distinct or divorced from one

another. The problem that this poses for history education is that these frameworks do not equip students to deal with the complexities of power relations or multifaceted identities, increasingly at the forefront of civic and political conflict. While scholarly literatures on history education are divided, as I illustrate in Chapter Six, the practice of history teaching treats historical discourses as contingent and constructed. In practice, there can be no clear-cut distinction between the "old" and "new" dominant paradigms, however they are used in academic literature to clarify two positions that forward distinctive values. Although there may be overlapping values, each paradigm is presented as occupying oppositional, and at times confrontational, positions. These debates are often a manifestation of ongoing tensions between the two dominant paradigms, or traditions, that shape how history is understood and therefore taught. The "old" and "new" traditions might be understood as products of different times, or as emerging from different ideological frames, and therefore positioned as discrete and competing. However, this would be a superficial analysis of how actual history teachers approach their practice. In the following section I describe the implications and assumptions that inform the two dominant and competing paradigms in the field of history education. In the short term, the purpose of this discussion is to elucidate the assumptions about the role of teachers that belie each of these paradigms and the implicit implications for the role of teacher identity in taking up these models. I consider the ways in which these models acknowledge, value, and negotiate teacher identity to demonstrate how it is directly related to Québec's Intercultural model's treatment of cultural diversity.

Questions about the role of teacher subjectivity are central to debates on how we ought to approach history teaching. The "old" and "new" models of history education endorse vastly different perspectives on the role of teacher identity, cultural diversity, and belonging. The personal and political merge in history education; the particular ways in which historical narratives, evidence, and artefacts are treated shape students' perceptions of social categories, their legitimacy, the power

dynamics in which they are embedded, and how they position themselves within these categories. History education, in its aims to promote civic-minded dispositions, is also centered on issues of personal (and by extension, political) identity. History teachers play formative roles in these processes by either overt or obscure means. It is impossible for a history teacher to not imbue a complex set of values relating to his or her own positioning, relationship to power and, by extension, messages about how cultural diversity ought to be managed, tolerated, or embraced regardless of curricular constraints that mandate neutrality. Issues of identity are therefore central to this practice (Williams, 2003). Britzman (1994) contends that the ways in which we interact with the world and understand ourselves are firmly rooted in our specific social and cultural positionings. She claims that "our identities, over-determined by history, place, and sociality, are lived and imagined through the discourses or knowledge we employ to make sense of who we are, who we are not, and who we can become" (p. 58). This also applies to teachers who, despite often being represented one dimensionally, are yet subject to the same messy social, political, and personal forces as everyone else. Acknowledging the messiness of these forces constitutes a rejection of the commonly held belief that teacher identity can be "unproblematic and singular in nature" (Weber and Mitchell, 1996, p. 109), and that teachers can and ought to be neutral transmitters of the curriculum. Depending on the model of history education, there are varying degrees of allowance for acknowledging teacher identity as integral to the process of civic formation. In the following section, I illustrate competing paradigms in history education from the perspective of their proponents; my purpose is to demonstrate their embedded assumptions surrounding the role of teacher identity, which allows me to assess how amenable they are to dealing with the complexities of cultural diversity.

Paradigms in History Education

In this section I detail how two dominant and competing paradigms in the scholarship on history education respond to invitations toward culturally inclusive citizenship education. I do this

by illuminating the overlaps and tensions in how philosophers of education and theorists of history education approach issues of diversity. First, it will become clear that similar discussions and debates about the aims of history and citizenship education in the philosophical literature are reflected in the literature in history education. The goal here is to illustrate the compatibility of the two literatures by showing how different models of history education embody different, and at times competing, understandings about how history education ought to respond to the educational challenges of citizenship education in culturally diverse contexts. Second, through this discussion I also make clear how these fields diverge in terms of their preoccupations. History education theorists, on the one hand, are more concerned with evaluating and changing, where necessary, the actual pedagogy and curricula of history teaching in schools. Philosophers of education, on the other hand, are primarily interested in clarifying questions of principle, especially in distinguishing the aims or purposes of education in diverse democratic societies. My purpose for bringing these two literatures into dialogue is to provide a fuller picture of the practical and philosophical challenges that history teachers face. While it might appear that teachers interested in cultural preservation will adopt the "old" paradigm of history education, while those committed to cultural inclusion will adopt the "new," it is not that simple for two reasons. First, people are internally complex, often embodying multiple and conflicting commitments. Second, the Intercultural model promotes cultural preservation *as well as* cultural inclusion, thereby complicating the possibility of history teachers positioning themselves firmly in one camp or the other.

"Old" history. Peter Burke (2004) coined the term "new history" referring to the diversification of the object of historical study. He uses the "old" and "new" labels specifically in relation to economic history; I borrow this pair of labels to refer to the distinction between patriotic ("old") and social ("new") history. Of course, these are not neutral terms. Burke (2004) has elucidated his position on these paradigms by stating, "As in the history of culture more generally . .

. movement[s] or trends are often brought to an abrupt end not because they have exhausted their potential, but because they are supplanted by competitors" (p. 5). While it is clear that the "old" paradigm continues to hold sway in some conservative circles, Burke's claim points to how he positions himself within the literature; it also makes clear the values associated with the categories of "old" and "new" history. "Old" history refers to a modernist approach, in which facts are knowable and truths are objective. Pedagogically, it resembles what Paulo Freire (1993) has referred to as the "banking model of education:" it functions on the mutual understanding that education is "an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor" (p. 53). The teacher is therefore positioned as politically neutral, with an absolute access to knowledge. "Old history" is a product of Freire's banking model because it treats facts as static and neutral or as an unproblematic knowledge set to be passed on. The aim of history as a discipline, according to the "old" history paradigm, is to provide "a truthful account relating directly to a real and knowable past" (Timmins, Vernon, & Kinealy, 2005, p. 12). Canadian scholar Ken Osborne (2003) elucidates how the main concerns of modern historians have "been with the doings of political elites, the decision-makers who shape domestic and foreign policy" (p. 586).[30] Political historians consider history from a macro-level, describing notable shifts in political spheres and the major players who advanced these shifts. With a specific concern for evidence-based reliability, the purpose of "old" history is overtly connected to the creation of historical narratives; these inculcate a common history to produce a particular type of civic identity.

Within the "old" paradigm, the study of history is primarily concerned with the promotion of an emotional solidarity with one's nation; therefore, in this approach it is essential to provide current citizens and future civic leaders with a stable knowledge set that avails them of a common

[30] Osborne has used the term, "political" historians to describe those whose work focuses on grand-narrative history from a modern perspective.

cultural literacy (Hirsch, 1988) and promotes a sense of national unity and pride. The specific selection of narratives that make up the historical body of knowledge paints a picture from which citizens gain a sense of who they are, based on a secure knowledge of where they come from.

The "old" paradigm of history education is premised on the assumption that the knowledge is not produced but rather natural, neutral; this epistemic position has proven to be deeply problematic from the perspective of ethnic, religious, gendered, and linguistic diversity. As I illustrate below, this "old" paradigm in history education is contrasted with the "new" and "historical consciousness" paradigms in that they present alternative approaches to pedagogy and difference. However, as I point out, the assumptions embedded within the "old" model of history education negate the complexity of identity in the formation of civic discourses.

J.L. Granatstein (2007) has been one of the strongest advocates of "old" history in and through his critique of what he perceives as the loss of a specifically Canadian set of historical knowledge. He contends that there has been a systemic destruction of this body of literature, what he labels an "unthinking conspiracy to eliminate Canada's past" (p. 3). In his award-winning and best-selling text, *Who Killed Canadian History*, Granatstein (2007) laments the loss of history not only in our schools but also in the media and in public discourse. "There are no heroes in our past to stir the soul, and no myths on which a national spirit can be built – or so we are told" (p. 3). In what he has called "multicultural mania," he argues that the Canadian government endorses and (financially) supports the study of minority groups and as a result, the history of Canada is, "distorted out of all recognition" (p. 85). This, he claims, comes as no small loss. The "common sense" of cultural literacy that Granatstein advocates for Canadians echoes E.D Hirsch Jr.'s (1988) defense of a similar American history. In his book, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know,* Hirsch articulates a defense of standardized curricula in favour of achieving a "higher level of national literacy" (p. 1). He defines cultural literacy as a "network of information that all competent readers possess," or as a,

"standard national language" (p. 2). The following passage from Granatstein (2007), in which he describes the value of preserving common historical narratives, articulates this shared position,

> History is important because it helps people know themselves. It tells them who they were and who they are; it is the collective memory of humanity that situates them in their time and place; and it provides newcomers with some understanding of the society in which they have chosen to live. Of course, the collective memory undergoes constant revision, restructuring, and rewriting, but, whatever its form, it reveals anew to each generation a common fund of knowledge, traditions, values and ideas that help to explain our existence and the mistakes and successes of the past. (p. 5)

In other words, knowing about our past fosters our focus on similarities, rather than accentuating what differentiates us from one another. In a plea for stronger national identity, Granatstein claims that it is incomprehensible that, as a society, we have not passed on the threads that bind us to our children or to newcomers.

"Old" history reinforces coherent historical narratives that support patriotic sentiment (Callan, 1994) and a strong sense of national identity. One of the characteristics of this model is that teaching is viewed as an objective process in which the role of teachers is simply to relay dominant narratives; teachers ingest and then regurgitate these narratives. The "old" interpretation of history (and history education), which often centers on military history, remains the dominant historical discourse and one that continues to have considerable currency, thus continuing to influence understandings of citizenship education at the provincial and national levels. For example, as was recently reported, "Stephen Harper's Conservatives have launched a review of Canadian history seemingly aimed at placing greater emphasis on the nation's involvement in armed conflicts" (Harper tories, 2013). Granatstein believes that there is a particular Canadian identity that ought to be transmitted for the sake of preserving established cultural values. Identity, from these

perspectives, is more or less graspable and therefore we are able to pass it on; it is stable and rests on national allegiances. Other facets of one's identity (ethnic, religious, linguistic) are minimized to support national unity.

The dangers embedded in such a set of pedagogical practices are multiple. First, this construction of history is deeply flawed due to its systematic exclusion of marginalized perspectives. Barring the contributions of marginalized populations for the sake of cultural coherence portrays, in the best of circumstances, a very narrow and therefore misleading illustration of history. For example, a history curriculum that focuses solely on the experiences of soldiers in combat marginalizes the experiences of those who were not in battle (usually women). Second, from a social justice perspective, it perpetuates oppressive social structures, normalizing the empowerment of specific groups of people. In Granatstein and Hirsch's version of history, the heroes are European white men and social values are often militaristic; this constitutes the dominant western narrative but has been, and continues to be, contested as further entrenching white European hegemony. The "old" model can be read as one of mis-education, naturalizing the empowerment of a few at the expense of the working classes, women, and religious minorities, for example.

The question of patriotism always raises serious concerns because there are always strong undertones (or overtones) that reinforce us/them dynamics, undermining discourses that support cultural inclusion. Therefore, Callan's (1994) support of a model of history education that prioritizes the development of patriotic civic virtues leaves much to be desired in terms of educating *for* inclusive citizenship. "New" history enacts a very different set of assumptions about the role of history teaching in supporting diverse civic identities. Within this framework, history needs to be conceptualized as a fluid enterprise that digs deep into the values and politics of both teachers and learners and must include a variety of narratives. In the next section I offer a bit of background on

the political and theoretical foundations upon which scholar have constructed the "new" history education paradigm.

"New" history. The rise of a number of social and political movements in the 1960's, as well as the advent of postmodern critique of modernist structures, drove formation of new approaches to knowledge. The fields of History and History Education were impacted by this shift. Women's rights movements, class wars, and the civil war in the United States "put a premium on understanding historical forces acting from below" (Timmins et al., 2005, p. 14). Rooted in a clear critique of the "old" epistemology in which power is concentrated in the dominant male, Eurocentric values, these discourses frame the "new" approach to history and history education. These new historical narratives sought to shift the historical emphasis on great figures in history (usually men) to focus on the lives and experiences of ordinary people. "Social and cultural historians, by contrast, concentrate not on the state, but on society, and, more often than not, on specific sub-groups within it. They see the world in terms of gender, ethnicity, race, class, locale *mentalité,* culture, discourse, and other such categories" (Osborne, 2003, p. 587).[31] These shifts promoted a more inclusive vision of social and political realities and attempted to level the playing field for historically marginalized groups; however, issues of nation-building or creation of common civic bonds were completely excluded from history and citizenship discourses produced in this framework. Within the humanities and social sciences, texts that contest the dominant narrative have been labeled counter-discourses (Foucault, 1980) or counter-narratives (Giroux, Lankshear, McLaren, & Peters, 1996) for the purpose of identifying and legitimizing perspectives that aim to subvert dominant narratives and have thus been marginalized from literature, philosophy, and the social sciences.

[31] Here Osborne conflates social and cultural history, a conflation that Peter Burke has rejected.

The postmodern ethic invoked a profound reconceptualization of the aims of history. Timmins et al. (2005) state, "at a deeper level, aspects of New History also pose a fundamental challenge to the aim of objectivity, enshrined in the academic discipline since its inception" (p. 17). Patriotism is dependent on the assumption that the specific brands of knowledge that are presented as fodder for nationalism are also considered as objective reality. The opening up of counter-discourses in history education specifically invites issues of cultural identity and diversity as legitimate. In this new paradigm, narrowly constructed notions of social and civic identities are questioned and destabilized in favour of acknowledging diversity as a legitimate category of knowing. While "new" history undoubtedly offers a more inclusive set of civic discourses, it purposefully bumps up against any possibility of nation-wide solidarity, raising questions for how it might be taken up in the Québec context.

Teachers play a significantly different role in the "new" paradigm of history education than they do in the "old." This framework relies on the highly interpretive nature of history and the exceptionally fluid nature of socially constructed categories. The question of representation is at the heart of how (new) cultural historians understand their field. "It has become common to think and speak of the 'construction' or the 'production' of reality (of knowledge, territories, social classes, diseases, time, identity and so on) by means of representations" (Burke, 2004, p. 74).[32] Teachers, as

[32] Peter Burke's *Cultural History* provides an example of a "new" approach to history. In the introductory paragraph of his influential text, "What is Cultural History?, Burke (2004) argues that this approach to history offers means of assessing the internal dynamics of historical narratives, offering an entry into history that traditional historians cannot access (p. 1). A centerpiece of cultural history is an attention to culture and how it is represented, or constructed. Burke agrees that the term "culture" remains a slippery one, its meaning having shifted historically and still being used differently in different contexts. He positions himself in stark contrast to thinkers such as Granatstein (2007) who contend that the past can be envisioned as an unchanging, static entity. Burke (2004) understands culture as a "wide range of artefacts (images, tools, houses and so on) and practices (conversation, reading, playing games)" (p. 29). Cultural history, then, is not limited to the "meta," but rather is concerned with the minutiae of what shapes the experience of everyday life.

purveyors of historical narratives, construct and re-construct these social categories in and through their practice.

In the "new" paradigm, teaching and learning history is less about inculcating a specific knowledge set, or even language. Rather, it involves the acknowledgement that, in and through the re-telling of historical narratives, the narratives themselves are transformed. Teachers and learners of history are not simply consumers but are also producers. The following passage typifies this model of history education, in which the narratives are very much contingent and subjective. "Teachers' social location, their politics, as well as their philosophies of education have profound effects on how their practice is carried out, and thus the aims of history education itself" (Husbands, Kitson, & Pendry, 2003, p. 25). The question of subjectivity as integral to these aims has profoundly political connotations and emerges from a specific set of epistemic assumptions. The "new" approach to history education reinforces a complex, fluid, and indeed subjective worldview. In fact, Chris Husbands (1996) argues in favour of history education as a means of confronting complexity, which requires negotiating multiple positions. "It is more imperative than ever to engage pupils in enquiries into, and dialogue about, the legacies of the past" (p. 133). That the nature and legitimacy of "facts" are under scrutiny contributes to an increased urgency for historical *engagement* rather than historical *training* in history education. These processes of engagement require that subjectivities, including teacher identity, be recognized as not only unavoidable, but as a valid means of interpreting historical knowledge.

The view that history, and history education, is a semiotic study of cultural phenomena, is anathema to the values and aims of the "old" approach. These models represent opposing and extreme views, in the context of liberal-democratic citizenship. Understanding the "old" and "new" as discrete and opposed is problematic for two reasons: first, the adversarial positioning of these templates of history education is theoretically flawed, because the distinct constructed nature of

these categories cannot bear out in practice; history teaching is much messier than either of these models allow. Second, a dichotomized understanding of history poses specific obstacles for citizenship education because, on one side, power is left virtually unchallenged while on the other, the world is constructed as a series of narratives to be deconstructed, leaving little space to build attachments for the purpose of nation-building. In the "old" model, the expectation is that history teachers will act as puppets, forwarding required sets of facts to construct an unproblematic (unproblematized) and sanitized version of history. It is assumed that their identities, convictions, or personal histories play no role in this process. On the other side, the "new" model rejects any values associated with a common historical discourse, working on the assumption that this is always and everywhere an exclusionary act of hegemony and/or oppression.

This debate poses a specific set of issues for history teaching in Québec. First, as I elaborate in the following chapter, Québec's Intercultural policy claims to view diversity as culturally enriching the province. Despite its emphasis on promoting a rich cultural and historical repertoire, there is a disconnect between how the Intercultural model views culture in relation to diversity (as perpetually shifting) and the static nature of "old" approaches to history education. Second, the "new" model is also insufficient in a Québécois context because historical struggles to maintain a national identity make it very unlikely that the province will adopt a curriculum that limits possibilities for nation-building. Third, and perhaps most importantly, while ongoing academic debates between supporters of the "old" paradigm and the "new" paradigm offer insight into conceptual and ideological issues surrounding history education, they are not helpful in capturing the intricacies of history teaching in that they limit the possibilities of understanding how historical discourses might be, and are, constructed. In the following section, I discuss "historical consciousness" as a synthetic model by elucidating how it borrows from both the "old" and "new" paradigms.

"Old" and "New": the false binary. As the work of Bruno Latour (1993) has shown, the perception that postmodernism has instilled, imposed, or even destroyed past ways of knowing is a faulty perception. Relatedly, reinforcing the theoretical division between what constitutes the "old" history and the "new" history is inadequate. Rather, these two paradigms in history education might be thought of as overlapping and entwined. It is theoretically simplistic to position the "old" history against "new" history (or "modernity" against "postmodernity"). It is likewise an oversimplification to proceed on the assumption that postmodern approaches were not embedded within modern conceptions of history. Clearly, "new" approaches to history draw attention to the weaknesses within the "old" conception of history, its most significant contribution being the recognition and allowance for more nuanced and complex narratives to emerge; the "new" model also enables the acknowledgement of narratives (formerly conceived as neutral and objective) as always situated in a specific space of knowing. This recognition necessarily shifts the work of history teachers from the role of all-knowing fact dispensers to specifically positioned purveyors of historical narratives. More specific to this project, the construction of these approaches to historical knowledge and teaching poses significant challenges to the belief that learning history ought to shape future citizens who thrive in culturally diverse societies. Equitable treatments of diversity are effectively left out of each of these approaches. In the "old" model, questions about power dynamics are shut out of conversations, leaving little possibility for political dissent or critical perspectives about the past. In the "new" model, viewing the world as socially constructed constitutes a de-valuation of the lived realities of historically marginalized groups (Yancy, 2008). Yancy (2008) has pointed out that "post" movements in social thought often restrain conversations about the suffering caused by social and institutionalized oppression; without these conversations, we may appear to be moving toward inclusive dialogue, while actually ignoring recurring and traumatic social and political dynamics. "New" or cultural history appears to be an example of what Yancy (2008) is leery of, challenging the

aim of fostering a form of integration that does not take account of historical and historicized relations of oppression in our history classrooms. Seixas (2006) and Lee (2004) echo these perspectives of history education. They offer more potential for history educators to foster classrooms that challenge the dogma of "history from above" ("old" history) without abandoning encouragement of civic participation and inclusive practices.

The debates on the value of patriotism in history and citizenship education in both fields, philosophy of education and history education, shed light on how debates on history education in Québec are being constructed. That is, the specific tensions and controversies within these debates are reflected. The view that history teaching *either* promotes cultural coherence *or* is sensitive to issues of identity is short-sighed. In the following section, I illustrate Seixas (2006) and Lee's (2004; 2011) positions on the need to teach history education in a way that engages in complexity and that supports culturally diverse identities. My purpose here is to illustrate how this paradigm falls between the dichotomy set up by the "old" and "new" models by engaging with historical knowledge as a combination of fact-based and constructed. I illustrate that, despite its heightened attention to issues of cultural diversity, the historical consciousness model is not suitable as a model of history education in an Intercultural context for two reasons: first, because it does not work toward the construction of a coherent national community, as is established within the Intercultural policy. Second, as in the current literature surrounding the Intercultural policy, this model does not facilitate an analysis of how power shapes historical narratives (and therefore civic identities), which makes it a problematic choice within a province that has had such deep historical struggles. Simply, while this third model is a more culturally sensitive model of history education, it is not equipped to deal with the complexities of historical power dynamics within Québec.

Historical consciousness: challenging the "Old" and "New" binary. In this section, I begin by challenging the construction of "old" and "new" models of history education by

elucidating how these are in fact false theoretical constructions that are not sufficient in dealing with tensions that emerge from debates about how or whether to treat minoritized voices within the context of history education. Specifically, I forward the notion of historical consciousness as a synthesis of, and therefore an improvement upon, the polarized theoretical debates presented so far in this chapter that nonetheless remains insufficient in the context of Québec.

Seixas (2006) and Lee (2004; 2011) each engage with the possibility of history as a mediating space in which we can consider the past as a shaping force of present and future realities. More specifically, they both conceptualize history as a field of contestation, in which the foundations of knowledge, the nature of facts, and the question of power all need to be considered rigorously, thus offering substantive contributions to how history education is theorized and, ideally, carried out. Lee's historical literacy (2011) and Seixas' historical consciousness (2006) each offer means of approaching history teaching that avoid the traditional trappings of history education: falling into either the "old" or "new" paradigms. In the following section, I outline the main tenets of both Lee's and Seixas' approach to history and history teaching for the purpose of exemplifying how it can and ought to avoid the risk of falling into the paradigmatic pitfalls of "old" and "new" models discussed above.

Historical consciousness is a model of historical literacy that is prominent within literatures on ethics (Chinnery, 2010) and history education (Straub, 2005; Wineburg, Mosborg, Porat, & Duncan, 2007;) and has recently been developed into a practical approach to history education by high school history teacher and scholar Seixas (2006).[33] Specifically, Seixas' model is aimed at habituating students to think through diversity; citizens become historically conscious through the capacity of working through questions that, "are not just about the past: they form a link between

[33] Historical consciousness has also been explored in an American context (Barton, 2004) and in a Canadian context (Sandwell, 2006).

past, present, and future (Seixas, 2006, p. 15).[34] Seixas (2006) defines historical consciousness as the "individual and collective understandings of the past, the cognitive and cultural factors that shape those understandings, as well as the relations of historical understandings to those of the present and the future" (p. 10); he deals explicitly with history as a unified project. First, Seixas (2006) sees a need to reconcile the often at-odds relationship between official and public history, between the history of the historians and public memory, or popular history (p. 10).[35] From a teaching perspective, this means extending the questions, concerns, and issues brought forth by history scholars in a way that makes them relevant to the daily lives of students. Here, Seixas (2004) is advocating *praxis* in the Freirean sense (1993), in which pedagogy is launched from a theoretical foundation and then rearticulated according to the realities of how it plays out in practice. The philosophy of history plays an important role in how history education is conceptualized and carried out, yet history teaching itself must take into account other theoretical approaches, such as psychological, social-scientific, and educational-research traditions. There is a clear emphasis on interdisciplinary ways of knowing and learning, thus allowing for more complex and rigorous appreciations of the relationships between past and present, collectivity, and diversity.

Dispositions Towards Diversity

Seixas (2004; 2006) and Lee (2011) both contend that globalized realities, such as heightened interaction in both physical and cyber spaces, are making it increasingly important to think through and adapt to diversity. Lee argues that there is a specific set of dispositions that must be developed

[34] An example of one such question is: "How should we judge each other's past actions? By extension, what debts does my group owe to others and/or other groups to mine? These questions encompass reparations, land claims, restitutions, and apologies. The BC government's referendum on land claims merely gives new shape to the question of who owes what to whom in a way that rests fundamentally on historical interpretations" (Seixas, 2006, p. 15).

[35] Seixas (2006) clarifies, "Our common, collective, or public memory is built and maintained through a range of structures, symbols, and practices: statues, commemorations, place names, symbols, films (p. 11). Theorist Kerwin Klein (1995) has also named this, "structural memory."

and honed to build one's historical consciousness. According to Lee (2011), these are threefold: first, to work with and analyse evidence; second, critical thinking; third, respect of difference (p. 62). These dispositions constitute a significant move away from both the "old" and "new" models because students are asked to engage with diverse perspectives with the aim of teasing out individual responsibility to the group. "Citizenship is the relationship specifically of the individual to the modern state, which has the legitimate power to exercise the collective will of its members" (Seixas, 2006, p. 12). The dispositions that I outline above are, from a historical consciousness perspective, necessary to the shaping of citizens and therefore necessary to teaching history from this perspective; they integrate the concerns about potential illiberal implications of teaching patriotism in schools raised by Brighouse (2006a; 2006b) with a critical approach to reconciling the debates between "old" and "new" paradigms in history education. I briefly elaborate on each disposition and how they differ from the requirements of the both "old" and "new" models of history education.

The first disposition Lee (2011) promotes is the ability to "produce the best possible argument for whatever stories we tell *relative to our questions and presuppositions*, appealing to the *validity* of the stories and the *truth* of singular factual statements" (p. 65, [emphasis in original]). Here, Lee is advocating a "respect for evidence," as well as knowledge of how to treat and analyze this evidence. In the "old" model of history education, this evidence would not require analysis because it would be presented as an objective artefact whose only function is to support the legitimacy of the dominant narrative. In the "new" paradigm, facts or evidence would be viewed as constructed in and through discursive power dynamics (Foucault, 1980), excluding possibilities of constructing narrative about civic unity. This disposition exemplifies how teachers can, in a practical sense, make use of both the "old" and "new" paradigms to facilitate history lessons that engage with epistemic questions on the nature of objectivity and subjectivity. What is also of interest here is how subjectivity and objectivity interact and how they might be broken down. The advantage of this

disposition is that students engage with objects that, in one sense, tell the story of a unified nation, while in another sense acknowledge the many narratives that participate in the construction of the meanings of that object.

The second disposition promoted by Lee (2011) might be defined as criticality or critical thinking[36] (McLaren, 2005; Freire, 1993), although Lee does not use this term. History education must bring out the ability to question and even disrupt one's own assumptions and presuppositions, which involves analyzing artifacts or evidence with a critical spirit. Specifically, students must be asked to engage with the stories that they themselves may not tell, or the stories that they do not agree with, because these disrupt previously held values or beliefs. An example of this might be the telling of Canada's fraught track record in race relations. A faulty, dangerous narrative about Canadian identity is that we are an inclusive nation, welcoming of diversity. This is a belief that many Canadians cling to, notorious for its history (and perhaps continued practice) of flagrantly racist policies. However, a closer investigation into the policies surrounding the Residential School system, the turning away of Jewish people from Pier 21 during World War II, or the (mis)treatment of Chinese and Japanese workers during the building of the pan-Canadian railroad might conflict with the inclusive narrative that many Canadians have adopted. A critical disposition, as Lee (2011) describes it, must involve being open to encountering narratives that tear away, or even explode, the commonly held and deeply ingrained image of Canada as a welcoming and inclusive nation. While Lee's approach to history education coincides with how Callan (1994) might carry out a history lesson, their ideological standpoints are very much opposed. In Callan's view, history education ought to be carried out by interpreting history from multiple perspectives, because examples of

[36] Ira Shor (1992) defines critical thinking as, "Habits of thought, reading, writing, and speaking which go beneath surface meaning, first impressions, dominant myths, official pronouncements, traditional clichés, received wisdom, and mere opinions, to understand the deep meaning, root causes, social context, ideology, and personal consequences of any action, event, object, process, organization, experience, text, subject matter, policy, mass media, or discourse" (p. 129).

historical figures who have fought for justice, for example, could become powerful sources of a critical and more inclusive history. This is something that Lee would support, however, this support does not extend to Callan's position that historical narratives ought to "attach" young citizens to their nation. Here we see that the question of critical thinking in history education is more than simply a "yes" or "no" issue. Specifically, challenging dominant narratives can become a sticky issue, particularly if honing attachment to one's nation is a priority.

Seixas' (2006) discussion of the "Need for Value Commitments" describes a third disposition essential for history education in diverse societies. In it, he makes explicit that an encounter with diversity in a liberal-democratic context must be respectful of other ways of life and beliefs. Since the ways in which we understand other cultures and ethnicities is shaped partly through the process of learning history, it is crucial that this process not simply dismiss the Other on the basis of its 'foreign-ness,' but rather that cultural difference be assessed in relation to, rather than disconnected from, one another. Seixas argues that with rapidly proliferating technologies and globalizing trends, the current moment in history requires that we be adaptable to change and open to Others, although

> these requirements are particularly difficult to reconcile with practices of collective memory that seek to draw immutable boundaries about groups by establishing fixed identities based on biological difference or on the moral codes rooted in the revelations of canonical texts. (p. 15)

The careless treatment of cultural groups and historical conflicts runs the risk of reinforcing xenophobic or intolerant trends from the past. As such, history education needs to develop the capacities necessary to differentiate between just or oppressive measures that occurred in the past to then consider how these are manifested today. In Seixas (2006) and Lee's (2011) views, the critical

interpretation of historical narrative is to question, critique, and deconstruct the power structures that are reinforced within the "old" paradigm of history education.

Under the umbrella of liberal democracy, history students need to be able to encounter and negotiate difference. For both Seixas and Lee, history education ought to enable students to engage with history in a way that promotes critical thinking as well as cultural attachment. This is crucial for the purpose of learning to navigate complex social and political realities:

> Awareness of the past and the claims we make about it come in many forms, and in a world where people wield stories about the past to defend themselves or to demand proper recognition of their communities, people are rightly cautious about claiming that any particular kind of story is better than others. (Lee, 2011, p. 65)

Willingness and ability to negotiate complexity are viewed as essential qualities of citizenship to deal with the nuances of diverse and globalized contexts. This approach differs from the "old" model in that multiple perspectives are integrated and validated within history classrooms. Conversely, it does not go as far as the "new" model in that it aims to construct common civic bonds in and through the development of these competencies. Within the conversation between promoters of "old" history and "new" history, the historical consciousness model provides a meaningful third-way approach to history education.

Historical consciousness provides an approach to education that takes into account the concerns for anti-democratic dangers of patriotic education, as forwarded by Brighouse, while also providing a critical framework for reconciling the debates between the "old" and "new" paradigms in history education. My rationale for this discussion has been to elucidate the ways in which the very question of patriotism in history and citizenship education hinges on the question of what the aims of history are; an emphasis on patriotism becomes more or less defensible depending on how the role of history education is understood. In the context of Québec, the question of whether

teaching history from a patriotic perspective is necessary, justifiable, or problematic is reliant upon how stakeholders view the nature of culture, the necessity of cultural cohesion, and the complexity of identity. Lee (2011) and Seixas' (2006) historical consciousness model provides a rich and prescriptive account of history education that exemplifies Brighouse's abstract critiques of the dangers of nation-building, patriotic education. In the context of the dissertation on a whole, the combination of Brighouse's critiques with the dispositions (outlined by Lee (2011)) and historical consciousness model provides a powerful analytical tool for critically evaluating the ways in which Québec's Intercultural model treats the issue of patriotism in its Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course. In the following section, I briefly illustrate some of the controversies surrounding this curriculum as well as some scholarly analysis of these controversies. My aim here is to connect the theoretical debates on the legitimacy of teaching patriotism in culturally diverse contexts (outlined in this chapter) with some of the conversations and critiques surrounding history education in Québec.

History Education in Québec: Controversies and Critiques

As is reflected in the scholarly literature, there are multiple points of dispute when it comes to history education. The Québécois context is no exception. In this short section, I begin my discussion of history education in Québec by highlighting some of the specific issues of controversy that have arisen. This discussion will be more developed in the following chapter, in which I describe the architecture of Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course. In this section, I merely introduce the reader to some of the points of contact between theoretical debates on history education and the debates surrounding Québec's current history curriculum.

In 2006 Antoine Robitaille published an article regarding Québec's history and citizenship curriculum in Montreal's *Le Devoir*. Titled, "Québec is considering a 'less political', non-national, and

less 'plural' curriculum," this article pointed to a sense of anxiety surrounding the loss of a structured and informed historical narrative that favoured "ethnic" issues over nationalism. Robitaille laments the loss of patriotism ("old" history) in favour of more constructivist, identity centered approaches ("new" history) crystalized this debate. His concern reveals the dichotomized nature of the debates that have developed within each of these fields, as illustrated above. As Éthier and Lefrançois (2012) have pointed out, Robitaille's analysis was inaccurate because it was drawn from incomplete drafts of the History and Citizenship curriculum (p. 22). Despite the inaccuracy, Éthier and Lefrançois (2012) argue that the article inaugurated a heated public debate amongst historians, history educators, and the public over "the supposedly new excessive focus placed on the cultural plurality of their society and on the influence of 'British thought' in developing parliamentary institutions" (p. 22). Regardless of its basis in misinformation, this article reveals a great deal about the heated nature of history and citizenship education in Québec.

Until recently (2007), Québec students were subject to a history curriculum that focused narrowly on constructions of Québec nationhood (Létourneau, 2008). The new course, according to Létourneau (2008), was a product of its time in that it integrated many of the principles that were informing civic discourses in Québec, such as inclusive citizenship and Interculturalism. Lefrançois, Éthier, and Demers (2013) argue that, "the official discourse [claims] that history education has broken away from chauvinistic narratives, be they Canadian, Québécois, male, and so on, and from the mechanical memorization of 'facts'"(p. 120). The new history education curriculum, according to some, was a positive step toward embracing Intercultural ideals.[37] However, as I point out below, drawing from Létourneau, this position remains contentious.

[37] The values specific to Québec's Intercultural model and the ways in which the History, Geography, and Citizenship Education course support these will be discussed in the following chapter.

In his article, "Transmettre la culture comme memoire et identité : au coeur du débat sur l'éducation historique des jeunes québécois," Létourneau (2008) offers a fascinating analysis of not simply the debates that surround history education in Québec, but the general context in which these debates are situated. Létourneau (2008) points out that these debates are often polarized between two "powerful currents of ideological/political thought: the 'conservatives' on one side, and the 'reformists' on the other" (p. 44, my translation). These ideological camps can be translated into what I have been referring to as "old" and "new" history. The categorization refers to a somewhat simplified but telling description of how the discourse on history education is often viewed in binary terms. As Létourneau (2011) describes, for critics of the new course, there exists a synchronicity between history and identity, and to alter the teaching of history would be to change Québec's identity (p. 48). The conservative camp therefore resisted change in the curriculum because they saw it as a threat to Québec identity and its common historical values; they are in favour of maintaining the principles and practices associated with the "old" paradigm. The reformist camp, as Létourneau (2008) illustrates, sees transition as necessary in order to "take account of the diversifying reality of Québec society" (p. 45, my translation). Aligned with the "new" paradigm, the reformist camp views cultural inclusion as essential to the contemporary Québécois project. Létourneau's analysis of the discourses on history education as polarized, and therefore incompatible, is aligned with the prevalent view that history education must be positioned in one camp or the other. More significantly, these analyses of how the history curriculum has been received in Québec begin to elucidate how the issues explored by scholars play out in a particular, Québécois, context.

Conclusion

I have highlighted several points about the ways in which issues of identity, power, and cultural diversity are treated in the scholarship on history education within the fields of philosophy of education and history teaching. For the philosophers of education, the issue of patriotism remains relevant within culturally diverse societies. Questions about how much or how little to focus on cultural coherence via the use of patriotic sentiment in history education remains a matter of legitimate debate. What this discussion revealed, however, is that there is insufficient attention to culturally diverse *identities* or issues of power to provide a meaningful model of history education in the context of Québec. Put simply, the question of whether or not to foster patriotic sentiment in history classrooms must also be critiqued on the basis of unsettled power dynamics. How can teachers ethically draw students into a state that, based on my discussion in Chapter One, many have critiqued as displaying blatant xenophobia? Issues related to power and identity also arose in my discussion of the "old", "new", and "historical consciousness" models of history education. The "old" and "new" present us with false binaries in that they are often defined against one another. The issue here is that the way in which this dichotomy is deployed implies a false closure of the possible ways of constructing and understanding historical narrative. The "historical consciousness" model emphasizes diversity in a thin, or even perhaps celebratory, sense but does not engage with the ways in which power constructs, reinforces, and marginalizes cultural difference.

Central to this dissertation is the exploration of how history teachers in Québec are negotiating the multiple frames that constitute the theoretical landscape about teaching history for citizenship education. The "old," "new" and "historical consciousness" models of history and history education offer landmarks to understand how social and political perspectives surrounding diversity are treated within the literature. Each model has distinct implications for where power is located, how cultural diversity is valued, and the roles of history teachers in enacting their

subjectivities and negotiating power. Québec's Intercultural model borrows from each of these models, but does not implement any one entirely. Québec Interculturalism promotes national unity in the form of patriotism, while integrating mechanisms to meaningfully engage with cultural diversity. Conversely, there is a strong emphasis on continually shifting and fluid identities, as is promoted within the "new" and historical consciousness model, but it remains entrenched in a discourse of nationalism. As I illustrate in the next chapter, the already complex set of issues surrounding teaching history for the sake of civic education in diverse contexts is made more complex within an Intercultural context. A rationale for this is that Québec's history as a minority nation and at the same time a dominant cultural identity is translated into the Intercultural model itself, resulting in particular civic identity demands; these demands are echoed in how history teaching is expected to be carried out in Québec. In the following chapter I delve into this complexity by firstly outlining the philosophical tenets of Québec's Intercultural model and then examining them in relation to Québec's approach to history and citizenship education. To this end, I explore the expectations of an Intercultural civic identity and consider the ways in which Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course foster this particular form of civic identity.

Chapter Four: (Re)producing the Other in Citizenship Education: A Critique of Québec's Intercultural Model

In the opening chapter I noted that proponents and critics of Québec Interculturalism interpret the model in conflicting ways. In this chapter I interrogate the philosophical foundations of Québec Interculturalism as articulated by proponents of the model. In doing so, I draw upon and expand criticisms that have been forwarded by the model's detractors. My purpose is not simply to reiterate previous critiques, but to show how these critiques bear on a philosophical conception of Québec Interculturalism as an ideal for liberal-democratic citizenship education in a diverse context. The philosophical conception of Québec Interculturalism that I have in mind draws heavily on Bouchard and Taylor (2008), who highlighted ethical and political ideals of integration, harmonisation, and dialogue as key theoretical components of Québec's model of Intercultural citizenship. Supporters of the Intercultural model (Bouchard, 2011; Taylor, 2012; Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, and Schwimmer, 2012) claim that it provides the basis for fostering social cohesion, while at the same time acknowledging the attributes of a diverse social and political landscape. Interculturalism, in this context, is touted as a sound theoretical foundation for an approach to civic education that reinforces shared membership in a national community while also promoting principles of equal treatment (regardless of cultural or religious affiliations). However, in this chapter, I interrogate this conception in order to reveal its shortcomings with regard to issues of power and identity. A significant deficiency is that although Québec's Intercultural model contains an emphasis on the importance of equitable and just social integration, the lingering distinction between Québécois and Other remains embedded in the model.

The problematic ways in which the Intercultural model deals with power relations become especially visible when considering Québec's curriculum. In this curriculum, geography, history and citizenship, are clustered as a single course and includes interrelated and discipline-specific

competencies that promote civic engagement. I discuss the absence of narrative about Québec's dark history of residential schooling of Aboriginal peoples within this course as a means of exemplifying unethical power relations. My contention is that this absence in the curriculum provides a potent example of how Québec's Intercultural policy is re-enacting many of the injustices it claims to be working to remedy. The terms set out by the Intercultural policy offer a tepid and inadequate conception of inclusivity that end up marginalizing citizens[38] who are most vulnerable, resulting in a model of *exclusive inclusivity* that is disheartening. What this means is that the model boosts diversity as central to the progress of Québec, however, diversity is only really acknowledged and promoted when it does not risk disrupting established power dynamics.

The layout of this chapter is as follows: in the following two sections, I review the scholarly literature on Interculturalism in Québec from proponents of the model, drawing mainly on philosophical conceptions as developed by Bouchard and Taylor (2008) and Waddington et al. (2012). Specifically, I take up Waddington et al.'s account of the historical events that gave rise to the Intercultural model.[39] I then argue, following Waddington et al. (2012), that these events entwine social and political realities in Québec's history, making the Intercultural model a deeply politicized, historicized, and insular approach to managing cultural diversity. In the second section, I elucidate

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[38] As Osler and Starkey (2002) point out, citizenship is an exclusionary category, meaning that non-citizens are excluded from democratic processes and therefore not able to participate fully (p. 145). Similarly, Cohen (1999) has argued that the tenets upon which the modern concept of liberal-democratic citizenship is based – the principle of democracy, a legal status, and a political identity – are exclusionary in the context of heightened globalisation, thereby also critiquing the concept of "citizenship." Taking these critiques into consideration, it is important to maintain and reframe the scope of this project. As was outlined in Chapter One and Chapter Three, in this dissertation I am centrally concerned with how History and Citizenship Education in Québec enacts Intercultural relations in the context of cultural diversity. The question of how non-citizens, such as refugees, might be treated within this framework is outside the purview of this project.

[39] I acknowledge that Waddington, Maxwell, McDonough, Cormier, and Schwimmer (2012) are by no means the first to forward these particular events as constitutive of the implementation of Québec's Intercultural model.

how Québec's Education Program (QEP), by adhering to Intercultural principles, secures problematic power relations between "Québecois" and Others.

Interculturalism in Québec: Coordinating Diversity[40]

As Jocelyn Maclure (2004) has argued, "The nation cannot be separated from its narration. It does not exist *in itself*, but is rather disclosed in the representation that its members make of it" (p. 33 [italics in original]). Following Benedict Anderson (2006), Maclure is making the case that nations are not natural or neutral, that they require on-going reinforcement in and through language. The production of the Intercultural model provides a compelling example of how narratives of nationhood are slowly constructed in and through time.[41] Québec's adoption of the Intercultural policy is the culmination of years of struggle to reconcile the province's primary aim, maintenance of the French language, with pressure to adapt to the realities of globalisation. These adaptations, or reactions, have had a profound influence on Québécois' ability and willingness to recognise diversity as something positive. Waddington et al. (2012) have articulated an account of the evolution of the Intercultural model in three moments: the Quiet Revolution, Canada's adoption of the multicultural policy, and the moral contract; they state that these moments have further entrenched the false

[40] Coordinating diversity refers to Bouchard (2011) and Taylor's (2012) descriptions of the Intercultural model as one of cultural management within the French linguistic frame. Therefore, the term refers to the opposing tasks of cultural integration (coordination) as well as respecting cultural difference. It is this on-going tension that, according to these proponents of the model, distinguishes the model from both the Multicultural and Republican models.

[41] Fittingly, scholars such as Taylor (2012) and Nugent (2006) argue that the Intercultural model has a particular rhetorical quality that differentiates it from the Multicultural model. However, it is important to note that although Taylor (2012) and Nugent (2006) argue that the most substantial way in which the Intercultural policy differs from the Multicultural policy is its rhetorical quality, they adopt different stances on the matter. Nugent (2006) argues that the differences between the two models are *merely* rhetorical, "that they [the Multicultural and Intercultural policies] are very similar in their origins, aims, and evolution" (p. 32). By contrast, Taylor (2012) argues that the rhetorical differences are meaningful: "The 'inter' story starts from the reigning historical identity but sees it evolving in a process in which all citizens, or whatever identity, have a voice, and no-one's input has a privileged status" (p. 418).

perception that Québécois' culture and identity is stable and static, thereby stabilising the belief that pluralism taints an established and otherwise pristine culture. The three events discussed offer concrete indications of the expectations surrounding citizenship, specifically in relation to diversity for citizens of Québec, namely, how they might accommodate and integrate the Other while preserving their own identity. According to Waddington et al. (2012), these touchstones tell the story of how Québécois have been expected to encounter the Other, and how these expectations have shifted in recent history. As I demonstrate, these particular manoeuvres that sought to define Québec against Canadian values have instilled destructive patterns in how the province acknowledges and recognizes diversity. The continued emphasis on an "us/them" dynamic has ingrained simplistic constructions of identity, an outcome of which has been a pendulum swing in terms of religious tolerance. As these touchstones illustrate, the evolution of the Intercultural model demonstrates a fixation on similarity and establishes firm boundaries on what constitutes Québec identity and what does not.

A Historical Overview: Three Events

The Quiet Revolution. The Quiet Revolution inaugurated Québec Interculturalism by instilling a definitive secular Québécois character (Adelman, 2011).[42] In 1960, the election of Liberal Premier Jean Lesage ushered in a period of social and political transformation within Québec (Behiels, 1985). Lesage's project was paradoxical and complex because he campaigned in favour of

[42] Relatedly, authors such as Juteau (2002) have argued that the Quiet Revolution was also the inception of the creation of ideological borders between Québec and the rest of Canada. A specific means by which these divides were reinforced were interventionist governmental practices designed to insulate Québec from Anglicisation; one example of this being new policies and laws regarding immigration and citizenship through which the "Québec governments started to promote a more inclusive definition of membership in the Québécois nation based on French Canadian culture and language within a territorial state" (Winter & Simkhovych, 2012, p. 10). My discussion of this ideological separation will take place in the next section. This section will focus specifically on the Quiet Revolution's introduction of secularism as a dominant civic discourse.

moving away from traditional religious values without a complete social and cultural upheaval. As Behiels and Hayday (2011) state "The term [Quiet Revolution] reassured nervous Québécois — Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone — that the long-overdue transformation in the governance of a modernized, urbanized, and rapidly secularizing Québec society was not going to be unduly disruptive and destabilizing" (p.184). The reason this was paradoxical is because previous to the Quiet Revolution, conservative politics, deeply entwined with the Roman Catholic Church, secured Québec's resistance to social and technological modernisation (Dupré, 2012).[43] During the Quiet Revolution, Québec's demographics shifted dramatically, from rural to urban life and from agricultural to industrialized economies. The most significant reform, however, was the move away from the dominance of the Roman Catholic Church to the adoption of secular values. The absence of religion in the public sphere became a public "ideal" (Adelman, 2011) and an "identity marker" (Dupré, 2012) in Québec.

The turn toward secularism was a necessary relief from the hegemonic grip that the Catholic Church had held over the province. A quote from Jean-Paul Gignac in 1970 illustrates Québecois' difficulties with Roman Catholicism: "The men and women of my generation were very traumatized by the Catholic Church" (as citied in Gauvreau, 2005, p. 3). However, as I discussed in Chapter One and as I will return to in later chapters, this swap, Roman Catholic Christianity for secularism, has

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[43] In his chapter, *Catholicism and Secularization in Québec*, Gregory Baum (2010) argues that the Quiet Revolution in Québec constituted a period of "effervescence"(borrowing Emile Durkheim's term). Prior to 1960, he explains, "The provincial government . . . protected traditional pre-modern cultural ideals, restricted religious and political pluralism, and refused to regard the state as responsible for the social development of the population" (p. 150).
Pointing to the interconnected relationship between the Church and the government, Baum (2010) explains: "It [the Roman Catholic Church] assumed full responsibility for the organization of schools and colleges, hospitals and health care centers, and assistance to people in need" (p. 150). He therefore characterizes the Quiet Revolution in Québec as "the collective experience of peoples at dramatic turning-points of their history" (p. 151). Similarly, Gold and Tremblay (1982) have stated that "[t]he 'Quiet Revolution' was essentially a 'technocratic revolution'" (p. 103).

been heavily critiqued on the basis that it has simply replaced one set of oppressive structures for another.

Québec's Rejection of Canadian Multiculturalism. As Waddington et al.'s (2012) forward, the second key moment in the construction of the Intercultural model was Québec's rejection of Canadian Multiculturalism (Dupré, 2012; Levey, 2012; Nugent, 2006; Talbani, 1993; Waddington et al., 2012).[44] The basis of Québec's adoption of an Intercultural policy arose out of a desire for a sense of independence from the rest of Canada. The inclination to carve out its own space and to define its own distinct identity led to a categorical rejection of the pan-Canadian Multicultural policy. As Waddington et al. (2012) argue, "Québec's opposition to Multiculturalism is grounded in the belief that the Canadian government's policy of Multiculturalism is a betrayal of Québec's historical status within the Canadian federation and undermines Québec's grounds for seeking greater political autonomy" (p. 314). According to this view, under the Multicultural model, Québec would be relegated to one of many minority cultures within the Canadian panorama of cultural diversity – and this is a primary cause of contention (Nugent, 2006). Adherence to the Multicultural policy would subvert Québec's distinct historical trajectory and reference points, its unique contributions to the Canadian identity, as well as its aim to preserve the French language. In other words, Interculturalism is viewed as offering a means of partial or limited integration within Canada, releasing Québécois from the fear of loss of their linguistic culture while providing a sustainable means of remaining within Canada (Blad & Couton, 2009). Social and political disruption was pivotal to the construction of Interculturalism because it set in place social, political, and cultural structures to insulate Québec from the rest of Canada ideologically (Juteau, 1993; Waddington et al.,

[44] A more in-depth discussion of Multiculturalism, specifically in the context of its relationship to Québec Interculturalism, can be found in Chapter One.

2012). These practices might be viewed as the embryonic stages of Québec Interculturalism because they instantiated boundaries between Québec and Canadian cultures.

The Moral Contract. The third and final significant moment in Québec's adoption of the Intercultural model, according to Waddington et al. (2012), was the adoption of the moral contract. In 1990, the Liberal government produced a document entitled, *Au Québec Pour Bâtir Ensemble*,[45] which defines the nature of, and expectations surrounding, cultural integration in Québec. The following three tenets characterize integration from an Intercultural perspective: a society in which French is the common language within the public sphere; a democratic society in which participation and exchange is encouraged; and an open society that values the contributions of pluralism and liberal-democratic values (Ministère des Relations avec les Citoyens et de l'Immigration, 2001). In 1993, the Superior Council of Education produced a paper that followed up on the implications of the moral contract in an educational context (Balthazar, 1995). As Balthazar (1995) explained, "in this paper the Council urged Québec schools to take responsibility for introducing immigrant children to the fundamental values of Québec society, enumerating the following elements of the 'common public culture' into which immigrants are to be integrated" (p. 88). This moral contract and the Superior Council's appended report indicate a concerted effort toward Intercultural integration of minority cultures into the fabric of Québec. As I discuss below, these practical efforts at integration have actually limited possibilities of integration by reasserting the dominance of a Québécois linguistic culture.[46]

[45] *In Québec, Building Together*

[46] I make this argument through my discussion of the philosophical implications of Québec's approach to integration as defined in and through the moral contract.

Philosophical Tenets of the Intercultural Policy

In Bouchard and Taylor's (2008a) introduction to their report on reasonable accommodation, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*, they state: "the theme of integration in a spirit of equality and reciprocity will guide our analysis and proposals. This concern will imbue the entire debate on accommodation and all of the questions stemming from it" (p. 12). My contention in this section is a critique of *equality,* rather than equity, as their guiding premise.[47] Bouchard and Taylor's (2008b) reliance on the assumption of equality as being possible, and in fact optimal, leads them to a flattened appreciation of the deep social and political crevasses that have shaped the history of Québec. The Quiet Revolution offers a meaningful example of how intensely the people and province of Québec believed that protection from Otherness was essential to preserve their linguistic culture.[48] The fierce intent to preserve Québec as a stable entity remains etched in the minds of many Québécois. The expectation that the citizens of Québec will buy into a model of integration that requires a response/ability toward the Other seems to overlook the deeply seated and unequal power dynamics that have defined Québec for centuries and that, in many ways, remain.[49] A careful consideration and analysis of historicised power dynamics and how they shape attachments to social and political communities would enable a complex appreciation of how to overcome historical tensions that may continue to isolate these communities from one another. Such an analysis might also call into question the very language of equality to address issues of power and

[47] The etymology of equity is *epieikeia,* a concept taken up by Aristotle. In a legal context, equality is aligned with distributive justice, which is "that everyone should have his [sic] due according to his rank and worth and the notion that the same treatment applies to all persons irrespective of their rank or worth" (Chroust, 1942-1943, p. 121); equity, by contrast, offers an "indefinite standard" (Aristotle as cited in Chroust, 1942-1943, p. 124) of justice, meaning that individual cases require investigation. Epieikeia has also been translated as gentleness, fairness, and uncountable.

[48] It was a provincial ethos that, to this day, has symbolic remnants, including the crucifix on Mount Royal and in L'Assemblée Nationale.

[49] Québec's proposed Charter of Values (2013) offers a good example of the current government's resistance to cultural change and deep acceptance of cultural diversity.

identity, and how this language reifies divisive power dynamics. In the following section, I interrogate some of the assumptions embedded in the expectations surrounding integration. To do so, I explore three central premises upon which the model is constructed: integration, harmonisation, and dialogue.

Integration. In this section I discuss the assumptions surrounding diversity embedded in the tenet of cultural integration. Proponents of the Intercultural model, such as Bouchard and Taylor (2008a), argue that the moral contract is aimed at all members of Québec society and that it highlights immigration as "essential to the development of Québec society" (p. 38). According to Bouchard (2011), the moral contract is meant to clarify the rules of engagement for both newcomers and established Québécois. For newcomers, the moral contract outlines their rights and responsibilities as they enter Québec society. For established citizens, the moral contract clarifies the parameters of integration from a specifically Intercultural perspective. More succinctly, "the state offers to support the immigrant in his/her integration efforts. In exchange, the immigrant must take on the responsibility to integrate successfully" (Winter & Simkhovych, 2012, p. 10). The view that the moral contract presents a mutually beneficial exchange, however, has been contested (Mahrouse, 2010; Stasiulis, 2013; Symons, 2002). One compelling argument against the legitimacy of the moral contract is that its subtext indicates that the responsibilities associated with integration lie solely with newcomers. In the words of Bertelsen (2008),

> For the Québec government, this 'moral contract' identifies the three critical points with which *arrivées*[50] must agree if they wish to join Québec society. Agreement on these tenets is essential because it produces the grounds upon which successful integration can be achieved. (p. 50)

[50] newcomers

According to Bertelsen (2008), the moral contract offers a very different perspective on who is responsible for integration as it explicitly places the onus on newcomers. Newcomers' role in integration is indicated specifically in the title of the document itself: *Le Québec : une société ouverte: Contrat moral entre le Québec et les personnes qui désirent y immigrer,* which can be translated as, *Québec is an open society: Moral contract between Québec and persons wanting to immigrate*. Currently, the discourse about this contract reflects the policy's perspective on integration, pinpointing newcomers as its target audience (as exemplified by Bertelsen's statement above). This accepted discourse on newcomers reifies the perception that the responsibility of integration falls only on those from outside Québec.

Harmonisation. Accommodation and harmonisation carry similar connotations within the Intercultural framework. Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) define harmonisation as a set of practices that seek "to promote purposes and collective ideals such as equality, cooperation and social cohesion, the creation of new forms of solidarity and the development of a feeling of belonging to an inclusive Québec identity" (p. 51). Harmonisation refers, therefore, to specific practices that include, integrate, and accommodate minority identities. For example, "concerted adjustment" refers to two avenues through which grievances can be dealt with: the legal or the citizen route (p. 51). Taking the legal route involves each party making a case within the court system and allowing a judge to come to a final decision. Bouchard and Taylor (2008b) note that this route is clear-cut in that it necessarily involves a winner and a loser. The citizen route is messier; it refers to the highly publicized term reasonable accommodation, in which citizens negotiate their positions and work together to come up with a mutually acceptable solution. Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) encourage the citizen route because it emphasizes a "contextual, deliberative, and reflexive approach" (p. 52). The citizen route is more aligned with Intercultural ideals because it affirms the need for exchange and negotiation. According to Bouchard and Taylor (2008a), the Intercultural model promotes an inclusive Québecois identity. Discussion and debate, therefore, play a pivotal role in coordinating

cultural differences. However, as we will see in the following section, practices aimed at "harmonising" from an Intercultural perspective, are practices that all citizens are expected to participate in for the purpose of not only working out individual issues but for community and identity building. There is therefore a tension in the ideal role of harmonisation within an Intercultural context: it is expected that citizens come together to air out and deal with individual differences to productive ends. However, these envisioned ends are directly related to building shared identities. As my discussion of dialogue below will illustrate, not all forms of exchange ought to be viewed as productive.

Dialogue. As emphasized in the previous section, the process of harmonisation envisioned by Bouchard and Taylor (2008) involves dialogical interactions among citizens who seek to resolve their disputes and disagreements respectfully, while avoiding resorting to legal and judicial mechanisms. The emphasis on such citizen interaction as a means of conflict resolution highlights a third key component of the Intercultural framework as is envisioned by Bouchard and Taylor (2008a): dialogue. The dialogue component of Interculturalism is especially significant for history and citizenship education in Québec. Specifically, dialogue is one of the three core competencies in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course. As I discuss below, the concept of dialogue is consequential in discussions of Québec Interculturalism as it is manifested in history classrooms, I discuss how dialogue is conceptualized within the Intercultural model to elucidate its shortcomings in terms of equitable integration in the next section. Specifically, I will focus on dialogue as a potentially divisive and dangerous practice in the context of history and citizenship education.

As a means of heightened interaction, rather than mere coexistence, Québec's Intercultural model forwards dialogue as a distinguishing component. It "refers to a tenet of Québec Interculturalism according to which the process of constructing a common political culture takes

place through encounters, democratic interaction, and cultural exchange among citizens of various cultural origins and values perspectives" (Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Cormier, & Schwimmer, 2012, p. 433). In this sense, dialogue frames civic participation as an essential component of integration within the Intercultural framework. As it is conceptualized within the Intercultural framework, dialogue offers the potential to reconcile the majority/minorities duality.[51] According to Bouchard (2011), this dichotomised construct of citizenship must simply be viewed as a point of departure, and that through practices of integration an increased culture of *mixité* [52] will emerge. Maxwell et al. (2012) have argued that Québec Interculturalism "focuses on identifying and implementing means by which to encourage cultural and religious groups to enter into a national dialogue" (p. 432); it is the process through which citizens encounter themselves within Québécois culture, rather than apart or even alienated from it.[53] As Jones (2004) points out, "In its ideal form, dialogue between diverse groups dispels ignorance about Others, increases understanding, and thus potentially decreases oppression, separation, violence, and fear" (p. 57). From an Intercultural perspective, the "common culture" is an on-going process of construction and creation *in and through* dialogue; it (re)affirms individual identities while encouraging exchange of social and political perspectives. For proponents of the Intercultural model, ideally dialogue lessens the perceived gaps between cultural groups, facilitating cultural encounter from less prejudicial positions.

From deliberative (Hanson & Howe, 2011; Kahane, Weinstock, Leydey, & Williams, 2010; Miller, 2000) and critical (Freire, 1993; Shor, 1993) perspectives, dialogue is championed as an

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[51] Bouchard (2011) offers some insight in how he makes sense of the majority/minorities concept. "The idea of a minority must be understood, in a very general sense, to designate a cultural nexus or community that carries on in coexistence with the majority culture and the borders of which are often quite fluid. The majority/minority duality thus acquires the status of a paradigm so that it can structure discussion and debates over diversity in a given context" (p. 443).

[52] entanglement

[53] Borrowing from Taylor's (1994) *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition.* See also: Meer and Modood (2012) who discuss identity formation in and through dialogue, specifically within an Intercultural context.

essential tool for mutual understanding. As a practical strategy and philosophical framework, dialogue is often theorised as an effective tool in mediating and negotiating difference, as outlined by Maxwell et al.'s (2012) definition above. For example, a social justice theoretical framework (Boler, 2004; Jones, 2004; Young, 2001) provides a remarkably different perspective on the value of tensions that might emerge as a result of dialogue and their capacity to unite citizens; in a social justice framework, dialogue is considered as a potentially dangerous act. In the introduction to the book, *Democratic Dialogue in Education: Troubling Speech, Disturbing Silence*, Burbules (2004) explains,

> The subtitle highlights the fact that what is said can be as troubling as what is not; and not only are both speech and silence potentially disturbing, but easy sassumptions about what counts as dialogue must be troubled and disturbed. (p. viii) Québec's recent Commission on reasonable accomodation provides a fitting example of dialogue gone wrong in that it entrenched chasms in Québec civil society. In his discussion of how official narratives become mythologized to the exclusion of minority cultures in Québec, Austin (2010) illustrates how dialogue can, and did, devolve into dangerous territories during the public hearings on reasonable accommodation:
>
> > The recent carnivalesque 'reasonable accommodation' debates and the complementary roadshow Commision in Québec demonstrated the social depths to which myth-narratives can sink and the absolute dangers of narratives that enable the privileged existence of one group at the expense of others based on historical mythology and absented truths. (p. 23)

Austin's (2010) critique of the enactment of dialogue is precisely what Burbules (2004) warns against: the assumption that putting people in a room to air out their mistrusts of Other cultures is often counterproductive when it comes to working through cultural tensions, particularly when those tensions center on conflicts between members of a majority culture, on one hand, and members of minority cultures on the other. As Austin (2010) points out, the commision served to further divide citizens.

For the idealized version of dialogue to occur, participants are required to listen, discern, critique, and analyze from different perspectives. Despite the inevitable messiness of the process, Bouchard and Taylor (2008a) theorise Intercultural dialogue largely as an act that contributes to, rather than detracts from harmony; they describe the process in sanitised and sanguine terms: "Through the deliberative dimension, the interveners engage in dialogue and the reflexive dimension allows them to engage in self-criticism and mend their ways when necessary" (p. 52). I do not want to argue that dialogue cannot contribute to more informed and therefore harmonious relations; rather, that dialogue needs to be practiced with a view to how individuals are (re)constructing surrounding discourses that may be harmful to the project of inclusion and that this is not necessarily a straightforward process.

Accounts of dialogue, specifically within a context that is working through historical discord, must offer a more critical and nuanced depiction of dialogue as an uncomfortable, even antagonistic practice. A fruitful understanding of dialogue must engage with the messiness of historically and political produced inequities to avoid reinforcing the Québécois/Other dynamic.

In this section I have discussed three facets of Québec Interculturalism in order to illustrate its conditional approaches to inclusion and cultural diversity. I have shown that integration, harmonisation, and dialogue comprise the unique civic demands of how diversity ought to be theorised and negotiated within Québec. For proponents of the Intercultural model (Bouchard, 2011; Taylor, 2012; Waddington et al., 2012), its implications for citizenship require a complex and nuanced appreciation of identity as well as the ability to negotiate multiple, at times competing, values. Accordingly, Intercultural values are viewed as essential to the promotion of the French language while inclusive values are encouraged throughout the province. Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course forwards these values and, by consequence, overlooks substantial issues and injustices related to power and identity.

Québec's Intercultural Model: Traces of a Colonial Past

In 2008, Bouchard and Taylor encouraged the people of Québec to begin working towards resolving the political conflicts that continue to plague the province; "Let's move on," they urged (Québec intellectuals, 2011). Bouchard and Taylor were confident that meaningful recognition of difference is possible via Intercultural mechanisms, such as dialogue, and through the promotion of shared histories and a common language. In the following section I question their optimism on the basis that the Intercultural model addresses cultural integration without offering a significant analysis of the implications of existing linguistic, religious, and cultural inequalities. Due to this oversight, I consider Québec's Intercultural model in light of its treatment of Otherness, identity, and recognition. Following this, I raise the possibility of the Intercultural model as a product of a long and complex relationship with colonialism. Specifically, I argue that deeply ingrained colonial dynamics are being (re)produced in and through the Intercultural model; this is evidenced by the exclusion of the violence of Québec's Residential School system from the provincially-mandated civic education broad area of learning.

Following analyses provided by authors such as Austin (2010), my contention is that the narrative thread that runs through the Intercultural moments leading to the implementation of the Intercultural policy (such as Hérouxville's code of conduct and the debates on reasonable accommodation), as well as embedded within its philosophical tenets (integration, harmonisation, dialogue) is the reiteration of a fixed and exclusive Québécois identity, which necessarily creates and constructs Others. The concept of the Other*,* made famous by scholars such as Edward Said (*Orientalism*) and Simone de Beauvoir (*The Second Sex*), implies that there is a core (same) set of values, assumptions, physical characteristics, or epistemologies that are legitimate, relegating all divergences from the same to Other. The repercussions of being Othered include being confined in one's life choices (Frye, 1983), being silenced or being cast in specific, derogatory lights. Othering

depends on having an established core against which to determine and define those who are not situated within this core. The narrative of the Intercultural model is a complex narrative of having been Othered and also of Othering.[54] The tacit assumptions that inform the narrative of Québécois identity rely on fixed constructs of ethnic identity as well as religious affiliation, instilling cultural beliefs and practices that (re)create Others. Evidently, all attempts at cultural integration are significantly inhibited by acts of defining oneself *against* another*;* this is what many view as integral to Québec's identity (the adoption of the Intercultural model over the Canadian Multicultural model is an example of an unrelenting defining against). This is because, paradoxically, Québec has existed as the Other within Canadian social and political landscapes, living under the constant fear of being subsumed and silenced to the point of vanishing. One of the many effects of this fear is that policies and practices focused on integration have actually focused on differentiation (preserving nationhood), rather than the complex power dynamics involved in cultural integration. The events that informed the implementation of the Intercultural policy also shaped its approach to integration. As a result, the Intercultural model has a particularly limited and limiting approach to reconciling similarity with difference within a nation-building framework. In the following section, I offer another layer to this narrative: a discussion of how the philosophical tenets of the model treat issues of diversity, Otherness, and power. This will lead into my discussion of a particular case in which problematic relationships to power and diversity are exposed: the case of Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education and its treatment of Aboriginal peoples.

Albert Memmi and the colonial mind. My critique of the Intercultural model's reproduction of Otherness can be further elaborated using the work of post-colonial author Albert

[54] Austin (2010) relays this complex identity when he argues "Québec's own version of a founding national narrative is a tale of innocence and victimhood that conveniently omits the colonisation of Indigenous people, the practice of slavery and racial exclusion" (p. 19).

Memmi (1991). His writing is both applicable and relevant here because he offers a nuanced analysis of how colonial undercurrents continue to re-emerge in political spaces, particularly about issues of diversity.[55] In the following section, I draw out some of Memmi's insights to elucidate how the Intercultural model in Québec echoes hundreds of years of unresolved psychic violence as a result of colonialism, particularly in its treatment of Otherness.

Albert Memmi's (1991) *The Colonizer and the Colonized* offers an elaboration of the psychic dynamics of colonisation, detailing the inner worlds of the coloniser and the colonized.[56] Of particular relevance here is his treatment of the ways that colonised populations respond to their histories of degradation and loss. Memmi (1991) argues that there are two manifestations that are most likely to occur in colonized populations, either "in succession or simultaneously" (p. 120). The colonized's response is "either to become different or to reconquer all the dimensions which colonisation tore away from him" (p. 120). In other words, those whom have been colonized are likely to attempt to erase the past or engage more deeply with his or her lost past. While parts of Québec, certainly Montréal, have become increasingly Multicultural and multilingual, the Intercultural policy is a prime example of attempts to reassume or reassert its linguistic culture. In Québec's Intercultural discourse, "reconquering" is understood as cultural maintenance and/or

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[55] The ways in which colonial undercurrents have re-emerged in the debates on reasonable accommodation in Québec have been nicely articulated by authors such as Maynard and Ho (2009), Mahrouse (2010), and Zine (2009). Their arguments have been outlined in Chapter One of this dissertation.

[56] As one commentator rightfully pointed out, Memmi's work is situated within a rich body of post-colonial literature (see Césaire's (1972) *Discourse on Colonialism*; Fanon's (2008) *Black Skin, White Masks*; Said's (2003) *Orientalism*; Spivak's (1988) *Can the Subaltern Speak?*). In this project, my analysis of colonialism is limited to Memmi's contributions simply because I use his analysis as a tool, rather than a philosophical framework. That is, while post-colonial perspectives certainly have relevance to current debates about diversity in Québec, they lie outside of my theoretical framework (based on the liberal/republican Intercultural model). I bring in Memmi's analysis for the purpose of extending my own.

preservation. In this sense, what might be considered oppressive overreactions are viewed as essential practices for the preservation of the French Québécois culture.

Memmi (1991) points to how xenophobia is ingrained in the consciousness of the colonised, reinforcing distinctions between perceptions of self and Other. "Considered *en bloc* as *them, they* or *those*, different from every point of view, homogenous in a radical heterogeneity, the colonized reacts by rejecting all the colonizers *en bloc*" (p. 130 [emphasis in original]). The forces of colonisation reinforced categorised notions of identity and Otherness. As a perpetual Other*,* the colonised would have difficulty moving past the structural accounts that have defined their encounters for so long. Echoes of this understanding of identity reverberate within the Intercultural model. Québec Interculturalism places significant emphasis on self/Other, as illustrated by the majority/minorities duality discussed above. The Intercultural model does not theorise this duality as an end-in-itself because it advocates agreement and mutual understanding; its general inattention to power imbalances renders these attempts suspect. As Memmi (1991) has articulated, peoples who have endured cultural loss and threat of assimilation cling to their heritage with a heightened fervour, which impedes more complex and nuanced considerations of who they are in relation to Others. The Intercultural model makes gestures toward integration, but does not take on the lingering undercurrent of emotions and resentments that play a significant role in shaping the ethos of the province, particularly as it relates to cultural integration. Nowhere are these undercurrents as striking as within the Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course and its treatment of Others*,* specifically Aboriginal populations. This course offers a meaningful example of how the model overlooks significant social and political inequalities that are entrenched in Québec's history, specifically with regard to Indigenous peoples. I argue that, as a product of the Intercultural policy, Québec's Geography, History and Citizenship Education course limits possibilities for inclusive civic participation by further silencing the histories of already marginalised populations in the province.

Québec's Geography, History and Citizenship Education Course: (Re)producing Otherness

The role of schools in an Intercultural context is to encourage a space in which students *enter into* Intercultural ways of understanding themselves in relation to diverse social and cultural populations. Schools are integral to the Intercultural project because, as social institutions, they are beholden to students' enculturation. Education, then, might be viewed as a midwife to the Intercultural model in that it is necessary for the manifestation, or the embodiment, of Intercultural ideals. The Intercultural approach of negotiating diversity requires a language and a set of dispositions, such as willingness to engage in deliberation or dialogue. However, because it is precisely in the context of education that Intercultural ideals are manifested and revealed, their limitations are also brought to light. In the following section, I elucidate how Québec's Geography, History and Citizenship Education course does indeed reflect Intercultural ideals, and consequently does not pay sufficient attention to the undercurrents of power that shape past and present politics. Specifically, I argue that the omission of the history of the Residential Schooling system in the QEP exemplifies a deeply complex relationship to colonialism. In its treatment of Québec history, the absence of this set of Indigenous histories provides an explicit illustration of how Québec's colonial past continues to play a more important role in today's social and political realities than is often acknowledged.

The QEP is made up of traditional field-specific disciplines, such as English, math, and science. However, it moves away from the traditional model, in which subjects are taught in isolation, toward a more holistic model of education. As Morris (2011) points out, "Each subject area in the QEP was elaborated with reference to overarching objectives, a set of cross-curricular competencies, and what the Ministry referred to as "broad areas of learning" (p. 191). There are three overarching aims in the QEP: to construct a worldview, to structure an identity, and to promote empowerment. The Ministry of Education is explicit about how the general aims of the

QEP ought to focus on promoting (Intercultural) civic ideals. For example, the ministerial document introducing the curriculum indicates that schools are responsible for preparing students "to contribute to the development of a more democratic and just society for the purpose of understanding their roles as constructive citizens" (as cited in Morris, 2011, p. 191). A significant facet of the civic worldview that the curriculum aims to advance is an Intercultural approach to facilitating and negotiating diverse perspectives and cultural practices.

Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course is premised upon three guiding competencies that thread throughout the curriculum as well as in the Intercultural policy: first, to perceive the organization of a society in its territory; second, to interpret change in a society and its territory; third, to be open to the diversity of societies and their territories (Gouvernement du Québec, 2006). The civic values that shape the QEP reflect Intercultural civic values in that they focus on interrelationships between groups, theorize culture as perpetually shifting, and promote the recognition of diversity. The competencies deal with the organizational structures of territories, how they shift, and the power dynamics associated with these shifts. The rationale is that through learning about land, how it is organized and why, students will gain an important account of social, political, and cultural dynamics that establish these shifts (Gouvernement du Québec, 2006). This assumption supports the notion of continuity through historical thinking and the historical method. In a general sense, the history curriculum requires that students contextualize historical events to better understand how these shape today's social and political landscapes and to view identities as shifting and contingent upon various dynamics. There is therefore a clear link between learning history and the construction of identity in a democratic context. "The study of history . . . helps students to understand and accept difference by making them realize that . . . similarities exist within differences" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2006, p.186). Through an inter-subjective approach to history education, in which similarities are emphasized and differences are celebrated, the curriculum

claims to disrupt strict categorizations and Othering. One of the concrete ways in which the course claims to do this is through deliberation. Literature on the Intercultural model discusses the significance of dialogue to facilitate cultural inclusion; the Geography, History, and Citizenship course uses the term deliberation to refer to the same capacity, to "take on their responsibilities as citizens capable of participating in debates on social issues. As micro-societies, the classroom and the school provide concrete examples for purposes of discussion and teaching" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2006, p.182). Within the curriculum, the classroom is treated as a microcosm and therefore a space to reflect upon and discuss social issues that have particular relevance for citizenship in a culturally diverse context. However, these intentions are undermined by the significant gap, or silence, in the curriculum surrounding Québec's treatment of Aboriginal populations. Despite its claims to inclusivity, Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course renews entrenched power dynamics by enforcing silence about Québec's atrocious treatment of Indigenous populations.

The First Occupants: Treatment of Aboriginal Peoples in Québec's Curriculum.

Québec's Geography, History and Citizenship Education course is divided into seven units that move sequentially on a timeline; the seven units are distributed between two textbooks and are covered over two years (textbook 1 in year one and textbook 2 in year two). Each unit makes up a chapter in the textbooks. The first unit (Chapter One) is dedicated to Aboriginal populations and settlements in Québec, focusing on the first occupants' living conditions, beliefs, and cultures. This includes sections about Aboriginal peoples' relationships to the land, their spiritual beliefs, and the social, political and economic structures that organized their societies circa 1500. Following this, the textbook offers two assignments that ask students to describe the cultural areas of Aboriginal peoples (referring to competency 1 on territoriality), and to write a short essay articulating "the connections between the relationship Aboriginal peoples had with their environment and the way in

which they conceived the world" (Fortin, Ladouceur, Rose, & Larose, 2009, p. 53). The curriculum document offers a slightly more nuanced illustration of Aboriginality, also circa 1500, that highlights the differences between Algonquin and Iroquoian worldviews (p. 36 curriculum document 110 pages). The first is the only unit that gives substantial time and space to Aboriginal cultures in Québec. The unit paints an image of Aboriginal cultures as removed from contemporary culture and certainly one that is disconnected from any sort of power relation or cultural tension. The treatment of Aboriginal cultures in unit 7 "Issues in Québec Society (since 1960)" (Student Textbook B) provides a much briefer description of how Indigenous nations are participating in contemporary Québécois culture.

The course document makes intermittent and self-congratulatory claims about how the rights of Aboriginal cultures have been increasingly recognized within the province and how these cultures are playing agentic roles in the current construction of Québec. The first example is when the curricular document lists Aboriginalism as a legitimate epistemic frame ("Historical Knowledge Related to the Object of Interpretation in the Contemporary Period – 1867-present") (p. 76). Aboriginalism as an epistemology is listed among other ideological frames such as capitalism, secularism, fascism, feminism, etc., thus indicating that it is a meaningful lens through which to see the world. However, the discourse about this worldview in sections of the textbook raises suspicion about how much respect this set of cultures is actually given. For example, in the mandated textbook a page long overview of Aboriginal cultures in Canada today, the following statement appears:

> After having arrived in North America about 30,000 years ago, the first occupants spread out over the territory and gradually developed distinct cultures. Today, many Aboriginal communities live throughout the territory of Québec and continue to demonstrate this cultural diversity. However, **Aboriginal peoples** must now reconcile their ancestral cultures with the realities of today's world. (Fortin et al. [emphasis in original], 2009, p. 4).

This might be read as a statement of fact, given that all cultures are undergoing shifts and even transformations in the context of increasingly globalizing societies. However, given the lack of discussion about the particular challenges that Aboriginal cultures face in the wake of (neo)colonial systems (such as residential schooling, discussed below), this statement is troubling. Simply, the absence of the full context of how these cultures have been, and continue to be, treated in this province sends a message that they have not been very adept at dealing with the simple "realities of today's world."

The third mention of Aboriginal cultures in contemporary Québec is on a timeline that highlights significant events in recent history.[57] The "Adoption of a resolution officially recognizing the existence of 11 Aboriginal nations" and the "1990 Oka Crisis" (Fortin et al., 2009, p. 224) are indicated. Also present is a section on "Recognizing Aboriginal Rights" explaining how Québec has adopted a resolution that acknowledges the rights and freedoms of Aboriginal nations in Québec.[58] These are certainly significant moments for Québec as well as Aboriginal nations but, as illustrated above, these narratives remain flattened by the lack of context surrounding them. For example, how might a student react to the photo in the textbook that depicts a Mohawk man in full military gear, jubilantly holding a rifle above his head, standing on an overturned police vehicle without any knowledge of the politics about land claims in Québec? Similarly, students are given a one-sided narrative of how Aboriginal Rights ought to be recognized and respected in Québec, without being given any sense of how they are not being recognized. All of these examples point to not only an oversight in the curriculum, but a deeply problematic aporia that (re)perpetuates colonial and oppressive social structures.

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[57] Issues in Québec Society (1960-present), is also mentioned in the last unit of the curriculum.
[58] This resolution includes the right to autonomy in Québec; the right to preserve their cultures, languages, traditions; the right to own and administer lands; the right to manage their territory's fauna resources; the right to participate in the economic development of Québec; the rights to develop as distinct nations, with their own identities (Fortin et al., 2009, p. 231).

The Residential Schooling System: A Forced Gap in Québec's Curriculum. Residential schooling for Aboriginal peoples in Canada became compulsory in 1920; the last residential school in Canada closed in 1996. The history of residential schools, in which First Nations children were taken from their homes, confined to dormitory-style living conditions, and subjected to physical, psychological, and sexual abuse, has left deep scars on these populations. This government-led initiative extricated Aboriginal children from their communities for the purpose of extinguishing their language and culture. In Neeganagwedgin's (2011) discussion of the effects of residential schooling on women, she articulates how these institutions reified the dominant construction of Aboriginal as Other:

> While ideologies about the inferiority of Aboriginal people become more and more rampant, the opening of residential schools in Canada . . . reinforced that perceived inferiority of the 'Other' in the treatment of many of the children who attended these schools. (p. 19)

Residential schooling in Canada was the manifestation of hundreds of years of dominance over Aboriginal peoples, and indeed the consequences of this policy continue to reverberate.

In May 2013, the Québec Native Women Inc. published a press release and petition requesting that, "the history of Aboriginal peoples and residential schools be included in high school curriculum" (Arnaud, 2013). In it the Québec Native Women Inc. contend that

> the violent histories of the treatment of Aboriginals in Québec continue to be perpetuated in Québec, though in different forms. The ignorance of the history of Aboriginal peoples in which Québec and Canada is maintaining their peoples only perpetuates the racism we have to cope with too often. The stigma and discrimination that our people have to face daily continue the cultural genocide that began with the Indian Act and residential schools. We

need understanding to embark on a healthy voice of cooperation between nations."

(Viviane Michel, president of Québec Native Women Inc., cited in Arnaud, 2013)

The Québec Native Women Inc.'s position is that lack of education about the Residential Schooling system has enforced an unconsciousness surrounding the realities facing Indigenous peoples, thereby renewing racist social and political patterns. The omission of these histories from Québec's curriculum presents us with a logic of how these cycles are sustained: gaps in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course feed into gaps in perception and understanding, which, in the best case scenario, prevents compassion and, in the worst case scenario, legitimizes intolerance. In this, Québec's curriculum gives permission to re-commit acts of Othering. There is currently an imposed silence on the histories of Aboriginals in Québec and Canada, which, according to Viviane Michel, president of Québec Native Women Inc. (quoted above), perpetuates legacies of racism and maintains deep imbalances of power.

The silence on residential schooling within Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course is one example of the province's deeply complex relationship with colonialism. Indeed, one of the effects of this relationship is a hesitation to discuss the ways in which (colonial) power shapes identity.[59] The QEP's silence on residential schooling provides an illustration of how the complex layers of colonialism unfold. The ways in which Memmi (1991) describes the responses, justifications, and mind-sets common to a colonised people resemble the social and political ethos cultivated within the Intercultural policy. This social and political ethos is illustrated in two primary ways. First, proponents of Québec's Intercultural model embrace the Francophone identity as the

[59] It is worth noting here that in Bouchard and Taylor's final report on reasonable accommodation (2008b), Aboriginal issues were not broached. They state, "It is with regret that we had to remove from the out [sic] mandate the aboriginal question. . . . First, we feared that we would compromise our mandate by appending to it such a vast, complex question" (p. 34). They go on to explain that, despite their exclusion from the final analysis, various groups representing Aboriginal voices were invited to attend the public consultations.

only legitimate Québécois identity, stabilizing a Québécois/Other power dynamic. Othering includes, among other things, systemic processes of silencing, as illustrated by the lack of Indigenous histories told in the QEP. These processes also involve clinging to constructed notions of who "I" am to point the finger at who "they" are. As Memmi (1991) argues, it is the pattern of colonised people to cling to what distinguishes them; these processes of differentiation reify, reinforce, and in fact, construct difference. Memmi clarifies that "what makes him [sic] (the colonised) different from other men has been sought out and hardened to the point of substantiation" (p. 132). The substance of what is perceived as difference is a reaction, or a coping mechanism to deal with the years of living within a culture under threat.

Second, the absence of histories of the Residential Schooling system in Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course offers a concrete example of its problematic relationship with colonialism. National identity has very much been constructed in and through Québec's position as a minority in Canada. Its politics have often been centred on necessary self-legitimation and protection against dominant Canadian values. Memmi (1991) sheds some light on this dynamic: "The colonized's self-assertion, born out of a protest, continues to define itself in relation to it. In the midst of the revolt, the colonized continues to think, feel and live against and, therefore, in relation to the colonizer and colonization" (p. 139). Québec's relationship to power, as a marginalised nation that needs to persist to have its voice heard, is troubled when issues of Indigeneity, land, and certainly residential schooling arise. This relationship to power could be what Memmi (1991) has labelled: "assuming the identity of the colonizer" (p. 136). Adopting the identity of the coloniser can take on many forms, one of which could be to become a coloniser, reproducing patterns of violence and humiliation. The recognition and acknowledgment of a history in which Québec has exerted western imperial power does not fit into the self-conception of Québec as marginalised or disempowered. Within a framework that attempts to stabilise the construct of

Québec culture, its own history of attempted cultural genocide is particularly difficult to metabolise. However, since this pattern has been left relatively unexplored in the province, these cycles of xenophobia and alienation are likely to be perpetuated.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I began with an account of philosophical conceptions of Québec Interculturalism to set up and lead into my critique of the model. This critique, as I explained, hinged on how the model is manifested in the context of History and Citizenship education in Québec. Through this discussion, as well as my discussion in Chapter Three: *Constructing Civic Identities In and Through History Education,* I have articulated the ways in which the study of history is the study of power. History education, therefore, ought to engage students in the complexities of power so that they can gain a sense of how these dynamics continue to play a role in contemporary societies. The acknowledgement of asymmetry does not in itself force us to delve into deeper conversations about why certain newcomers might face more obstacles than others (for example, why a white Parisian and a black Haitian may have very different experiences of negotiating the immigration process to Québec). Québec's historical legacies have shaped its current relationships with certain cultural and religious groups. These relationships are complex and continually shifting. The Intercultural acknowledgment that newcomers are disadvantaged in some ways speaks to a very superficial understanding of identity and power, how these have been enacted historically, and how they appear today. Civic education ought to provide a space to engage with these questions.

The catalysts for the implementation of the Intercultural policy are marked moments in the history of Québec. Their combined significance is that they sought to create a well-articulated distinction between Québec and the rest of Canada for the purpose of preserving the French language and, indeed, Québécois culture. The issue here is that the policy promotes openness

toward inclusion and the understanding that the Québécois' culture itself will shift with increased immigration within the borders of its own society. While the understanding is that the French language will constitute the "frame" that will contain (and maintain) Québécois culture, the nature of the frame itself is exclusionary. The historical moments that produced the policy were reactions against increased diversity and toward exclusion, thereby creating a difficult problematic to negotiate when it comes to enacting the policy.

My questions surrounding the adequacy of Québec Interculturalism as a framework for civic education arise out of an analysis of the ways that power is not sufficiently considered within this model. Diversity, at its very core, assumes multiple and competing notions of power. To understand the nuances of diversity, in theory and in practice, the question of power is an essential one. Relatedly, to consider the civic implications of diversity in a meaningful way, educational practices need to (re)consider the social construction of boundaries (societies, nations, etc.) in and of themselves, so as to avoid engaging with only the veneer of difference. In considering Québec's Intercultural model on cultural diversity (and its pedagogical implications), I question if diversity can be approached meaningfully without being entrenched in discourses on power and difference, particularly within a colonial context. In the following chapter I discuss my methodology: the normative case study. As I will elucidate, this model brings together qualitative data and philosophical inquiry to excavate normative issues nested within our public values. I will now describe how the normative case study helped me to engage with issues related to power within the Intercultural model by working with history teachers in Montreal.

Chapter Five: The Normative Case Study as Qualitative Methodology

In this chapter, I describe the central features of the normative case study and the methodological approach I employ in Chapter Six for analyzing the practice of history teachers in Québec. My aim in the chapter is twofold: first, I explain the normative case study as a methodological approach that combines philosophical inquiry with a qualitative research orientation. Second, I explain why this methodological approach is suitable for addressing my central research concern: namely, to understand the complex ways in which normative issues influence, (mis)shape and influence the *practice* of Intercultural education in actual classrooms in Québec.

The normative case study bridges empirical observation with normative assessment for the purpose of integrating theoretical and empirical perspectives. This study uses the normative case study to merge qualitative inquiry with philosophical analysis (two discernable but highly interdependent methods) to consider the ethical implications embedded within Québec's Intercultural model. One of the basic premises of this project is that Québec Interculturalism operates upon a premise of deep entanglement, which makes it difficult to draw its parameters. However, rather than attempting to illustrate how this case is similar to and/or different from other cases, my aim in analyzing this case is to combine the analysis of policy documents, interviews with teachers, and classrooms in a way that illuminates the ways in which Québec Interculturalism is much more complex than the official version suggests. I am primarily interested in the ethical implications of Québec's Intercultural model, specifically as they apply to the context of history and citizenship education.

This chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, I situate the normative case study within the broader field of qualitative research. I describe how cases and case studies are understood within the scholarly literature on case studies for the purpose of clarifying how normative case

studies use a similar approach to traditional approaches, while also laying the foundation for my explanation of how they are different. I then draw on the work of Thacher (2006), the sociologist who originated the normative case study approach, in order to explain the philosophical foundations this approach. In the third and final part, I examine how the normative case study applies to the context of Intercultural Québec by briefly revisiting some of the "Intercultural events" discussed in Chapter One. I then explain how and why the normative case study approach lends itself to a more informed understanding of how the Intercultural model is being played out in the context of citizenship education in Montreal.

Situating the Normative Case Study within the Broader Context of Qualitative Research in the Social Sciences

I want to situate my examination of the normative case study within a broader understanding of qualitative methodology, specifically within the scholarship on case studies (Creswell, 2013; 2003; Stake, 2000; 1995; Yin, 2009). In this section, I begin by offering some preliminary insights on how traditional case studies are understood to then describe the ways in which cases are theorized within the normative case study approach. My aim in this section is not to characterize the normative case study as a significant divergence from the traditional approach, but rather to illustrate how their emphases differ. I therefore intentionally set up points of overlap and contrast between the two approaches to make clear how they borrow from one another and also how they deviate.

In this section I outline what I call the traditional case study approach. I begin by offering some preliminary insights on how traditional case studies are constructed. In and through my descriptions of the traditional case study approach, I do not mean to imply that this approach can be understood as definitive or singular. Rather, I draw on the work of scholars of qualitative research in education who have identified a certain, very common approach to case-study-based inquiry that

serves as a useful point of contrast for illuminating my own approach – the normative case study. My intent here is not to describe the traditional case study in order to reject it. Indeed, in this section I wish to clarify where there is some overlap between the two approaches and do so by intentionally setting up points of overlap and contrast. Put in another way, I outline the main features of a traditional approach to case study research in order to clarify which elements of that approach are incorporated within my own normative approach and which aspects of the traditional approach do not fit with a normative approach, as I employ it in the next chapter of this dissertation.

The tenets within which I am situating my study are extensively outlined within the literature on cases and case study methodology (David & Sutton, 2010; Eisenhardt, 1989; Simons, 2009). I rely primarily on the work being done on case studies from a qualitative perspective used in the field of education, as opposed to a general social science context (Creswell, 2013; 2003; Stake, 2000; 1995; Yin, 2009). This literature produced a basic framework for my understanding of the purposes and practices of case study research. The basic framework of the normative case study is conceived in the same way as it is in a traditional approach. I will therefore outline cases and case studies as they are conceived in the traditional perspective, keeping in mind that these perspectives also apply to the normative approach.

Cases and case studies in the traditional approach. Creswell (2013) defines the case study as a qualitative approach to assessing a set of data drawn from a case or a "bounded system."

> Case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system or multiple bounded systems over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information and reports a case description or a case theme. (p. 97)

The case is understood as "purposive," or as an "integrated system" (Stake, 2000, p. 436). To construct a case is therefore to intentionally bracket a set of circumstances to make sense of how

they work internally as well as in relation to their surroundings. It is understood that this "bounded system" (Creswell, 2013) has an internal dynamic as well as a relationship to surrounding social, political, and historical realities. The case study is understood as the mechanism through which research might explore the inner functioning of the case and also how it relates to, and is shaped by, its surroundings. Yin (2011) highlights a defining feature of the case study:

> All case study research starts from the same compelling feature: the desire to derive a(n) (up) close or otherwise in-depth understanding of a single or small number of "cases," set in their real-world contexts. The closeness aims to produce an invaluable and deep understanding . . . hopefully resulting in new learning about real-world behavior and its meaning. (p. 4)

From Yin's perspective, the case allows for the parceling off of manageable bits, which allows for a more textured understanding of how individuals interact in and through their environments. The case study approach to research attempts to draw out the ways in which individuals make meaning out of macro realities.

Walton (1992) argues that reconceptualization is transformative, claiming that, "the content and boundaries of cases are reconceived precisely in an effort to forge new generalizations that embrace and supersede earlier understandings" (p. 127). The boundaries of the case, then, are not limited to prescribed categories, a freedom that allows critical analysis of the relationships that construct the case itself. Ragin (1992) has described this process as "interaction between ideas and evidence [that] results in a progressive refinement of the case conceived as a theoretical construct" (p. 10). This process of distillation and clarification involves pinpointing a relevant context or phenomena to then illustrate how they are entwined with theory. Thacher (2006) has called this process one of putting "chaotic but also vibrant workings of everyday life so clearly into focus" (p. 1642). The normative case study approach enabled the aspects of Québec Interculturalism that have

significant bearing on civic ideals, theoretical and practical, to provide further insight into how it is enacted (rather than simply as a theoretical construct or a set of practices).

Case Studies: The Normative Approach

In order to clarify what it means to construct a case study for the purpose of normative inquiry, I will distinguish it from alternative forms of case study research in which concerns for normative analysis is typically absent or secondary. Thacher's (2006) account is helpful here as he differentiates the normative case study approach from two alternative approaches, which have been used more commonly in social science research. As Thacher (2006) explains, "normative case studies differ from causal and interpretive case studies because they contribute to a different kind of theory" (p. 1635). As their respective names suggest, causal case studies construct causal explanations, interpretive case studies serve the purposes of interpretive explanations, whereas the normative case study contributes primarily to normative inquiry and analysis. Thus, a normative case study and a descriptive case study might both be possible to do with respect to exactly the same events or people, but they adopt different theoretical and evaluative orientations to those events. One seeks explicitly and intentionally to highlight the normative aspects of the event while the other seeks to downplay or submerge evaluative or normative elements in order to fix relationships in causal terms. The important issue, of course, is how we can usefully distinguish between causal, interpretive and normative forms of explanation and analysis.

Thacher (2006) is, once again, helpful. Traditional case studies (also known as causal case studies) offer rationales of behaviours or outcomes based on underlying causes. The analysis offered by this form of case study, then, explains phenomena based on a rationale of causation. Thus, for example, one might construct a detailed description of a particular classroom or set of classrooms in order to explain whether teacher behaviour, among the various other factors in play, can be isolated as a causal factor in students' performance on a standardized test. Second, according to Thacher

(2006), interpretive case studies offer insight into worldviews or guiding principles that drive action. Simply, the interpretive case study connects the ideal with the practical, the philosophical with the enacted; what is notable about this approach is that it calls attention to the relationship between these categories, often considered disconnected. The normative case study approach describes the relationships between categories such as theory and action, thereby breaking down the commonly held belief that these are oppositional. Third, and in contrast to the two alternative forms of case study research, the normative case study approach contributes insight into, "views about the ideals and obligations we should accept" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1635). My reason for taking up the normative case study approach is to move away from causal analyses of the Intercultural model, which, for example would consider the Intercultural approach to integration as merely a reaction to events such as the implementation of the Canadian Multicultural model. Rather, the normative case study approach facilitates an analysis of the relationship between the ideal norms of integration forwarded by the model and their practical applications.

Implicit in Thacher's (2006) account are two ways in which the normative case study can contribute to our normative understanding of a particular situation. First, the normative case study approach can enhance our understanding of the intrinsic value of the phenomena being studied by deepening and concretizing our understanding of how important public values are used and applied by human actors in realistic situations. Thacher (2006) clarifies, "the normative case study rests on the assumption that we can make better judgments about values by reflecting on actual cases, and indeed that such reflection is indispensable for ethical growth" (p. 1637).

Second, it can contribute to our understanding of the instrumental benefits that reflection on the public values represented in the case may bring. Thacher (2006) makes the argument that the normative case study offers a meaningful spin on the traditional case study. In his view, the normative case study approach "contributes to normative theory" (p. 1635) by moulding our

expectations of the "views and ideals" that are widely accepted and therefore normalized. In the following section, I outline three philosophical foundations of the normative case study: reflective equilibrium, a focus on public values, and the use of thick ethical concepts. These foundations highlight the primary ways in which the normative case study might be distinguished from other forms of case study research.

Philosophical Foundations of the Normative Case Study

In the previous section I described how scholars define the case and the case study, providing a general sense of both the traditional as well as the normative approaches (this discussion focused on similarities, rather than divergences, between the models). I also pointed to the complexity of actually carving out a case (the decision to construct a case involves including certain components while excluding others). Walton (1992) argues that implicit in the case is a claim (p. 121), pointing to the case as embedded within an established set of philosophical ideals. The normative case study, as developed by Thacher (2006), is built upon a foundation of three distinct but interlocking conceptual pieces. These three philosophical pillars are reflective equilibrium, the notion of thick ethical concepts, and the notion of public values.

Reflective equilibrium. The first key philosophical component of a normative case study is the notion of reflective equilibrium, which Thacher (2006) borrows from John Rawls' (2005) *A Theory of Justice*. Reflective equilibrium is a means of engaging in practical deliberation and reasoning. It begins by identifying appealing normative ideals as starting points for ethical reflection to then subject these ideals to rational scrutiny by examining them in light of competing ethical considerations. The final stage of deliberation within the process of reflective equilibrium involves determining how our initial starting point requires revision or recalibration in light of ethical considerations that have been considered.

The process of reflective equilibrium is meant to be a process of reflective ethical growth and change. My use of the normative case study methodology reflects Thacher's idea of reflective equilibrium as an instrument by which the case study approach can expand and alter our understanding of the normative features of human interaction in specific contexts: "the pursuit of reflective equilibrium is a process of searching for reason in areas of our thought that we have not yet brought to bear on the issue at hand" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1649). The point is to reach a new equilibrium or symmetry within which our original ethical assumptions and commitments are revised and altered, and sometimes even rejected, through a consideration of how they actually apply (or not) in real situations. As a result of this process of practical reasoning, an initial ethical principle or ideal must be revised in light of how it may clash with other commitments that had not previously considered. An example of this might be how the meaning of the universal right of suffrage (or other important individual rights) changes over time to incorporate the acceptance of new and expanded understandings of identity categories, such as gender or ethnicity.[60] My claim is that the notion of reflective equilibrium is a conceptual tool of inquiry that, when embedded within the normative case study approach, can contribute to understanding the processes by which human actors — namely, history teachers — within localized, specific contexts (classrooms) actually engage in processes of ethical resistance with respect to normative ideals of Intercultural citizenship.

The normative case study provides a way of constructing particular cases such that they can become objects of analysis through the process of reflective equilibrium. As Thacher (2006) claims: "In the process [of reflective equilibrium], we try to bring everything into harmony by modifying convictions that come to seem misguided once we have examined them in the light of other

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[60] I do not mean to claim that these changes always or even mostly result from the practice of what Thacher, Rawls and I mean by reflective equilibrium. Indeed, in most the process of ethical change is the product of much messier and haphazard processes of social and economic change, colonization, warfare, economic trade, etc. In other words, I do not claim that the tool of "reflective equilibrium" is a tool that by itself can produce substantial moral and social change.

commitments" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1647). By establishing a detailed description of a particular context – in this case a history classroom in Intercultural Québec — and by focusing on a particular, publicly acknowledged value or set of values associated with Intercultural citizenship — the researcher can employ reflective equilibrium as a tool for reflecting on the normative aspects of history teaching in a relatively stable, but still dynamic, relational and realistic context.

Public values. The second key characteristic of the normative case study, according to Thacher (2006), is the focus specifically on *public* values. By subjecting public values to scrutiny through the process of reflective equilibrium, our understanding of the public value under scrutiny can then be expanded or extended to incorporate the new understandings of how that value is used and how its implications play out in practice. The normative case study helps to clarify the intricacies of public values, which are neither fixed nor neutral (Potter, 1996). This process of identification or clarification highlights the always-evolving and contingent nature of these values as well as the power plays involved in shaping them. Thacher (2006) illustrates how the normative case study can produce a different understanding of what constitutes public values. For example, in his analysis of Jane Jacobs' *The Death and Life of the Great American Cities* (2002), Thacher (2006) offers insight into Jacobs' research on the elements that construct meaning for city dwellers. He explains that Jacobs,

> picked out an important component of the good neighbourhood – an aspect of everyday life in neighbourhoods like Greenwich Village that, on reflection, seems valuable, though we had not given it a name and so at best we pursued it incoherently. (p. 1641)

On Thacher's view, identifying informally articulated issues in cities, for example, allows us to formulate the characteristics of cities that are either good or bad for people in their daily lives. Identifying and working with public values in this sense is not simply determining the value of outcomes (of policies, for example), but of highlighting and reifying the "values we previously perceived only dimly, if at all" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1641). The way that I read this is that typically

public values are only considered if they are made official through policy and/or legal documentation. Using the normative case study, the researcher can consider the everyday lived experiences of citizens as legitimate material for analysis in her exploration of how public values are and can be constructed. In this sense, the normative case study facilitates a heightened attention to what is really public within the concept of public values because it integrates ideal values with on the ground, or enacted values.

Thick ethical concepts. The third philosophical cornerstone of the normative case study is its focus on thick (public) ethical concepts. Drawing on the work of Williams (1985), Thacher notes that thick concepts are both descriptive and evaluative. This means that thick ethical concepts embed principles for guiding action (what "ought" to be done); but they also incorporate highly particularized accounts of the circumstances, settings and kinds of relationships within which these *ought* apply, and accounts of how they are appropriately applied (or misapplied). Thus, thick ethical concepts are strongly dependent upon and variable according to different specific contexts. One way of understanding thick ethical concepts is by viewing them as a kind of summary or crystallization of a shared, historically specific ethical world. In situations where thick ethical concepts apply, individual actions are embedded in complex networks of normative meaning that provide practical guidance to individuals regarding what is ethically acceptable and unacceptable, and what is ethically laudatory or worthy of condemnation. A thick ethical concept, then, cannot merely arbitrarily stipulate a prescriptive element. An example of this might be engaging in mutually respectful dialogue with those whose religious affiliation is different from your own. It must also include some descriptive content that explains why those who are deliberating already possess a certain sort of awareness about what kinds of behaviour and attitude constitute respectful treatment in particular contexts (e.g. a public school classroom). It may also include descriptive content that informs us about how people within a specific setting understand the ethical limits of the concept of respect as

exemplified by the view that respect is not owed to those whose religious views discriminate on the basis of ethnicity or gender.

Importantly, the thickness of an ethical concept is a matter of degree. For example, concepts such as Québec Interculturalism are not merely thick or thin. Rather, the question is *how much* thickness such concepts have (how many agreed-upon prescriptions they contain). All concepts might be described as thick or thin, depending on how prescriptive they are, and consequently, by how much value and descriptive content is attached to these prescriptions. For example, the concept of "courage" is often cited as an example of a thick concept because it often refers to a virtue whose application is relatively determinate within a particular social and cultural context. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to imagine contexts in which the concept of courage is problematized or what judgments constitute an act of courage vary among members of a community. For example, if someone put him or herself in danger in order to achieve some desired aim (e.g. saving a child from a threat), members of the community might be are evenly split about whether this person's behaviour constitutes an act of courage or an act of irrational self-harm. In debates surrounding the issue, there is no shared descriptive account of courageous action that can serve as the basis to adjudicate the debate. Similarly, there are no shared narratives or history of courage that can be used as points of comparison. As such, the disagreements among members of the community regarding the particular case remain merely instances of personal taste or preference. The point is that considering thick ethical concepts as a matter of degree, rather than as either thick or not (prescriptive or not) creates space for explorations of the prescriptions that ought to be considered, that have perhaps not been. An important question arises, then: how much 'thickness' my dissertation seeks to attribute to the notion of Intercultural citizenship in Québec. As I develop the Intercultural model in my account of Québec history classrooms and teachers (see following

chapter), it should be understood as a *moderately thick* concept.[61] That is, while the philosophers have developed some prescriptive devices (Intercultural ideals, such as dialogue), as my discussions in Chapter One and Chapter Four have demonstrated, these prescriptions are by no means agreed upon.

By combining these three analytical tools the normative case study provides a set of conceptual apparatus that enable the researcher to construct or reconstruct the ways in which the evaluative and descriptive aspects of a particular public value are complexly related within a particular, concrete and bounded context such as the classroom. In this way, it provides both a means of understanding how social norms play out in their thick contexts, and a tool for critically revising and refining the assumptions or unacknowledged missteps that members of a community make in applying a particular normative concept. In the following section I lay out the framework of the normative case study as a methodological tool, focusing my use of this approach to examine Québec Interculturalism in history classrooms.

Normative Case Study as Methodology: the case of Québec's Intercultural Model

As I have illustrated above, while the way in which cases are theorized in the normative case study approach is similar to other conventional forms of case study approaches, it differs in three crucial ways: in its use of reflective equilibrium as a means of creating further symmetry between ideal and enacted norms; in its treatment of public values as more than merely ends, by focusing on

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61 Some philosophers of education have recently made the claim that Québec Interculturalism is a thicker ethical concept than Multiculturalism. As Maxwell, Waddington, McDonough, Schwimmer, and Cormier (2012) point out, "Québec Interculturalism regards the integration of new citizens as part of a dynamic, open-ended process of transforming a common societal culture through dialogue, mutual understanding, and Intercultural contact" (p. 432). The culture promoted by the model is one of active integration. Prescriptions such as "dialogue" and "mutual understanding" engage citizens in a framework in which diversity is viewed as an active, ongoing, and multi-dimensional process shaped according to external influences, such as media, upbringing, etc.

the values that are important to people in their daily, lived experience; finally, in its use of analysis of thick ethical concepts to enable further analysis into the prescriptions embedded in often taken-for-granted concepts. I now begin to focus on how the normative case study functioned as my methodological approach. This discussion is, in some senses, a continuation of Chapter Two, in which I outlined my research design (consisting of interviews, document analysis, observations, and photo-voice). In the following section I do two things. First, I build upon Chapter Two by describing the methodological approach that framed my research design. Second, I continue my discussion in this chapter by further clarifying the normative case study in relation to my project.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000) define methodology as "the strategy of inquiry [that] comprises the skills, assumptions, enactments, and material practices that the researcher-as-methodological-bricoleur uses in moving from a paradigm and a research design to the collection of empirical materials" (p. 371). This definition describes methodology as the framework that supports qualitative research design. In the same way that I take up the traditional definition of case and case study (but with some modification), I also adopt an adjusted understanding of methodology.

Since my study incorporates philosophical analysis, I extend Denzin and Lincoln's (2000) definition slightly. My contention is that through an established set of assumptions, methodology also shapes the analysis that emerges from the study by setting the stage for the types of statements and claims that are plausible or even possible within the established research paradigm. In Chapter Two, I described the ways in which my choice of methods was intended to depict the Intercultural model in theory and in practice for the purpose of providing a substantial analysis of how this model is being translated in the context of history education in Québec. As I have shown in this chapter, the normative case study provides a basis for exploring the tenets of the model that have been clearly articulated, and also those that only become visible through practice, thereby focusing on what is normative within the Intercultural model. In previous chapters, I provided a detailed and

complex account of how theorists explain the normative dimensions of Intercultural citizenship in the Québec context, emphasizing the ways in which these normative dimensions are treated and interpreted in competing ways. Some examine the normative dimensions of Québec Interculturalism as philosophical ideals to be realized. The expectation of philosophers who construct normative theoretical tenets of Québec Interculturalism is not to describe how Intercultural societies actually work or how citizens in those societies act. Here the normative foundations of this model do not need to reflect on-the-ground reality. Philosophers realize that the realities of Québec Interculturalism are far messier, less perfect, and in some cases more distressing than they allow. Nevertheless, they see theoretical modeling — creating models that highlight normative principles — as providing guidelines for realizing the most ethically just aspirations of Québec Interculturalism.

Québec's Intercultural Model as a Normative Case

The normative case study approach allowed me to dissect some pertinent elements of Intercultural civic education for the purpose of recording diverse manifestations of Québec Interculturalism, thereby providing an illustration of how this model is being (re)constructed in educational spaces. This picture provides meaningful insight into how Québec Interculturalism is being acted out in a space that is significant in the shaping of civic identities. Drawing together practical real-world phenomena and theoretical preoccupations elucidates the relationship between theory and practice, enabling a reconceptualization of the model. For example, as I discuss in the following chapter, one of the teachers explained that her understanding of Intercultural inclusion is that it is contingent on how well minority cultural values reflect dominant Québécois values; this approach to inclusion is very different than the one promoted by Bouchard and Taylor (2008b), who have forwarded a much more open understanding of inclusion. The Intercultural discourse on the

limits of inclusion is therefore in tension between how philosophers theorize the potential of inclusion and the way in which a history teacher understands, and is shaping, the Intercultural discourse on inclusion. This is but one example of how the normative case study facilitates a reconceptualization of a public value. Another way of understanding how this reconceptualization is manifested is that the parts of Québec Interculturalism that are situated within a history classroom may include the curriculum's treatment of diversity, the political messages conveyed by posters on the wall, and the discourses of difference and/or Otherness in which the teacher situates herself. These practices within the history classroom constitute situated but fluid parts that formulate Interculturalism in Québec. Based on my understanding of the case as fluid, and the significance of highlighting interdependence, I proceed with the definition of a case study as "both a process of inquiry about the case and the product of that inquiry" (Stake, 2000, p. 436).

An analysis of a thick ethical concept is facilitated by a theorist's distinction between fact and value. For supporters of the Intercultural model, Québec Interculturalism presents a meaningful and, indeed, optimistic public value. Québec's Intercultural model contains civic prescriptions, such as integration and dialogue that, from this perspective, offer concrete mechanisms of cultural inclusion. However, as I described in Chapter One, there are multiple detractors from this position who highlight recent public displays of racism in Québec as indicative of the shortcomings of the model. The question of whose values are represented by the Intercultural model is therefore a significant one. The process of examining the model on the basis of the philosophical optimism and the sociological critiques make surrounding social and political values, historical realities, and power dynamics all the more visible as objects of analysis. Although the philosophical and the sociological can be theoretically divided, in practice these work simultaneously. For our purposes, the normative case study contributes to a better understanding of Québécois public values by bringing together

multiple facets of the Intercultural policy to answer the question: whose values are reflected within the policy and whose are excluded?

As a means of reconceptualizing public values, the tensions that inform and surround them must be scrutinized. The normative case study approach exploits ethical complexities and tensions that arise in real life situations. There are three distinct but related points regarding the ways in which the normative case study implicates the normative conventions with the ways in which these expectations are enacted. First, a key type of tension is the tension that arises between conventional normative expectations as well as the ways in which these norms are applied in new or atypical ways. Therefore, in the space of tension between the conventional or expected and the application of the norm, there is a space for normative philosophical inquiry. Questions that might guide this inquiry could be: Why are actors applying norms in non-conventional ways? What are the effects or consequences of atypical applications of norms, not just for the actor herself, but for the network of relationships within which her actions are embedded? Second, there is the question of how ideal[62] norms are affected by their application. The ways in which norms are applied in particular contexts influence, reshape, and reinterpret ideal norms; their application may differ from and even conflict with the understandings and interpretations of the philosophers who defined these ideals. Third, the normative case study approach facilitates a philosophical inquiry that differs from the work that traditional philosophers have taken up. The purpose of this inquiry is not to identify abstract principles that can be philosophically justified, but to examine and clarify how normative aspects of Québec Interculturalism work in practice by examining the tensions and interactions between norms in the context of particular applications and ideal norms.

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62 These are principles as discussed by philosophers such as Bouchard and Taylor (2008) or Waddington et al. (2012). These might also be understood as the guidelines set out by the Québec education course. These principles include dialogue, harmonisation, and integration

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described my methodological approach in this project, the normative case study, and justified its suitability. By explaining the three core philosophical tenets of the normative case study approach — reflective equilibrium, thick ethical concepts, and public values — I was able to clarify how this approach differs from what I've called a traditional case study approach. Simply, the divergence lies in the analysis of data. While the normative case study approach is very similar to the traditional in terms of study design (or methods), the difference lies in how the data produced by these methods is analyzed. The normative case study approach enables a means of looking at how public values are being treated and understood in different social spheres to assess gaps and overlaps. The ethical implications of this is that public values are then not solely determined by philosophers, for example, but by people who are directly involved in shaping Québec's Intercultural discourse on a daily basis. The end of this chapter marks the end of a section in this dissertation. Briefly, having provided an overview of the project on a whole and having laid out my theoretical frameworks, the chapters begins my descriptions and analysis of my work with history teachers. Before moving on to the following chapter, however, I will remind the reader of what has been established within this dissertation is to provide an orientation of what is to come.

Synopsis

A primary focus of this dissertation is on how power dynamics inform the process of Intercultural education in history classrooms. As I illustrate in the next chapter, the power dynamics that are constructed and reified in Québec's Intercultural discourse on diversity are normative and thus call for further analysis. Specifically, I am interested in how history teachers and classrooms address (or fail to address) issues of power in an area of schooling — history education — whose subject matter is heavily loaded with topics that have the potential to incite ethical and political

disagreement. My interest, then, is in better understanding how power relationships are embedded in the practices of history teachers, and enacted in their interactions with students. I ask, how are history teachers' understanding of power reflect or diverge from values and principles ("norms") associated with Intercultural citizenship? As I explained in Chapter Two: *Research Design*, my study is partially based on a series of interviews with history teachers and classroom observations of these teachers and their students in action. I conducted this study keeping in mind the ways in which particular political controversies within Québec were of consequence to my project.

As I demonstrated in Chapter Four, until fairly recently, Québec's ethos was determined in and through the heavy hand of the church, which controlled all social and political institutions in the province; this contributed to a looming sense of threat and suspicion of "outsiders." The advent of a series of events in Québec's recent history point to social and political tensions that has bearing on how history education is being carried out in the province. I will quickly rehash two of these events.

First, the debates about reasonable accommodation in 2007 were rife with implicit and explicit claims about how Québec's thorny social and political history continues to shape social and political discourses. During these debates, longstanding feelings of fear and resentment surrounding a perception of loss of Québécois culture came to the forefront. The perception of Québec as a stable national identity that can be lost is — as I argued in the previous chapter — a direct manifestation of Québec's minority status as a formerly colonized territory, which is seeking increased recognition as a (minority) nation. Similarly, as I was conducting my analysis, the proposed Charter of Québec Values (2013) was introduced, which catapulted the issues of religious freedom and cultural tolerance back into daily conversations in Montreal, in Québec, and about the country.

The proposed Charter of Québec Values[63] represents the most recent iteration of the slow but continuous movement toward French republican secularism. All of these events point to a move towards increasing patriotic sentiment on one hand, and calls for more inclusive attitudes surrounding cultural diversity on the other. As I illustrated in Chapter Three, questions surrounding patriotism in the context of diverse societies is a pressing issue for history educators and scholars of history education.

Given this context, I wanted to know more about *how* history classrooms are *actually* making sense of these issues and constructing the Intercultural model? That is, how are students being equipped to develop capacities of citizenship associated with open secularism and Québec Interculturalism, such as integration, harmonisation, and dialogue? In asking this question, it is important to recall the point emphasized above, that Québec's Intercultural model is embedded within issues of power, identity, and difference. As I noted in Chapter Two, such issues are frequently neglected or underemphasized in theoretical models of Intercultural citizenship. However, it would be surprising if issues of power, identity and difference were not *somehow* enacted and expressed in actual classroom practice. Because issues of power and inequality play such a formative role in how education is carried out, it cannot and should not be neglected. In classrooms, power dynamics are inevitably enacted in one way or another, explicitly or implicitly, covertly or overtly, reflectively or unconsciously. These were the issues that framed my data collection and my analysis of teachers' reconstructions of Québec Interculturalism. As I discussed in the previous chapter, Québec Interculturalism in Québec remains a complex and contentious approach to negotiating cultural diversity. Of course, this complexity manifests differently depending on a

[63] In 2013 Québec's proposed a Charter of Values which would ban any government employee from wearing ostentatious religious symbols in their place of employment (see Faruqui, F (2014, January 24); Gagnon, M (2014, January 22); Panetta, A (2014, February 25).

number of factors, such as social and cultural positioning, and the power dynamics that surround these positions. Taylor (2012) has argued that Québec Interculturalism is a work in progress, that it is yet to be defined. Employing the normative case study approach allowed me to elucidate the ways in which Québec Interculturalism's various facets are entwined, while also scrutinizing the relationships to power that anchor it. In my description of how case studies contribute to, and are inseparable from, social theory, I outlined how qualitative research, specifically case studies, and philosophical inquiry can be mutually supportive in producing more holistic perspectives of cultural phenomena.

My contention is that the normative case study takes this analysis further — it facilitates equitable and critical social theory for two reasons. First, equitable and critical social theory is possible through the normative case study because it engages with multiple articulations of subjectivity and power. Second, because the normative case study situates the researcher as ethically committed to the project, the researcher is in a position to make claims based on situated ethical convictions. In Chapter Six I elaborate on how the participants situate themselves as history teachers in an Intercultural context. Using the normative case study, my analysis tells a significant story about how Québec Interculturalism is shaping civic education in Québec.

The normative case study requires that theory be integrated into and based on how these actors engage with the Intercultural model in their classrooms. Simply, a normative case study approach to ethical reasoning is facilitated through reflection on how the case (in this case Québec Interculturalism) is theorized and practiced. "The normative case study rests on the assumption that we can make better judgments about values by reflecting on actual cases, and indeed that such reflection is indispensible for ethical growth" (Thacher, 2006, p. 1637). The ethical growth that I am advocating in this dissertation is that the Intercultural model should be adapted in history

classrooms to include and engage with complex appreciations of power and identity to sensitize young citizens to how these continue to plague (and play out in) our social and political discourses.

Chapter Six: The Ethical Implication of History Teaching in Québec: Exploring Teachers' Perspectives

As I discussed in Chapter Four, Québec Interculturalism is currently theorized as a moderately thick concept that prescribes action and is premised upon a certain number of fixed tenets. However, these are certainly not taken up directly within Québécois society on the whole, nor in Québec's history classrooms specifically. In this chapter I will illuminate the ways in which three history teachers understand and carry out the prescriptions within the Intercultural model with the intent of proposing an intervention in the final chapter. As discussed in Chapter Four, the normative case study (Thacher, 2006) merges qualitative data with philosophical analysis in what Walton (1992) has named a reflective equilibrium for the purpose of providing a reformulation of Québec Interculturalism.[64] The rationale for this methodology is that through the process of the juxtaposition of theory and practice, the ethical tensions will surface, allowing for a more equitable articulation of the theoretical model.[65]

The questions that frame this chapter are: how are narratives of power and identity treated within Montreal classrooms? How are these narratives reflective of the implicit ethical tensions surrounding power and identity within the Intercultural model? In this chapter, I provide my analysis of the main issues and tensions surrounding cultural diversity, identity, and power that materialized in my conversations with history teachers, through my observations of their practice, or through the images that teachers produced using photo-voice.

The Intercultural model is of ethical consequence for all citizens of Québec. Through specific examples of classroom practice and teachers' characterizations of citizenship and identity in

[64] The term reflective equilibrium originates from John Rawls' *Theory of Justice* (2005).
[65] As discussed in the previous chapter on the normative case study, the role of the normative case study is to merge empirical and philosophical insights to develop a *better understanding of public values*; the task of this project, then, is to theorize a an intervention on history and citizenship education based on a *better understanding* of the Intercultural model.

relation to diversity, I explore some of the issues relating to power that emerge in and through the model. Promoters of Québec Interculturalism advance it as a framework of empowerment, and established Québécois are empowered to retain the French language as the touchstone of their cultural identity while benefiting from the contributions of incoming cultures. Similarly, newcomers are empowered to participate in and contribute to an ever-changing Québécois culture. Intercultural civic identity is therefore constructed as active, interdependent, and based on exchange. All citizens are positioned as actors in the continued reshaping of Québec's social, cultural, and political ethos. My interest here is to explore teachers' relationship to the Intercultural model as what Foucault (1980) has called, "a technology of power." As a template of civic empowerment within a historically complex context, how teachers' relationships to power inform their teaching, "touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions, their discourses, learning processes and everyday life" (Foucault, 1980, p. 3). This chapter illustrates Québec Interculturalism as a moderately thick concept as well as a technology of power that limits civic empowerment.

Through their descriptions of and discussions about the intricacies of the Intercultural model, the teachers revealed meaningful interpretations of the power relations ingrained within the model. These interpretations shape their views on the value of diversity within Québec and, in turn, shape their teaching practice. The teachers' narratives and enacted reconstructions of Québec Interculturalism reveal some of the tensions lodged in the model. I begin by illustrating how teachers situate themselves in terms of their gendered, linguistic, and cultural identities. Following this, I offer two examples of classroom lessons that deal with issues of power and identity as a means of teasing apart how the teachers not only understand categories of identity, but how they are translating them to their students. Finally, I explore the teachers' views of citizenship in an Intercultural context.

Language, Gender, Diversity: History Teachers' Perspectives on Identity

As a means of foregrounding my discussion of how Québec Interculturalism shifts and shapes history teachers' practice, I provide an overview of how these teachers make sense of their own identity in relation to the generally Québécois and specifically Intercultural context in which they teach. In the next section, I draw from the interviews with teachers to provide a sense of how they position themselves within Québec's social and political landscapes. Following this, I discuss their views on the Intercultural model and how it shapes expectations about citizenship. On a basic level, my aim in my interviews was to see how history teachers' understood the civic prescriptions within the Intercultural model. However, my more serious concern was with the main question I confronted in Chapter Three: how the issues of cultural marginalization that arise out of inadequate attention paid to deeply rooted power differentials in the province are manifested in the context of history education.

The teachers' individual subject positioning is noteworthy. All of the participants are women and represent three linguistic identity categories: Dante[66] is an Anglophone from an English speaking province; Sam grew up in Montreal and identifies as a bilingual Francophone; Anna also grew up in Montreal and refers to herself as both an Allophone and an Anglophone at different points in our conversations. This is significant because the complex nature of ethical issues requires that issues of linguistic identity be assessed from many standpoints to unpeel as many of the layers bound up in surrounding power dynamics as possible. The teachers' relative diversity (in terms of how they identify themselves within the Québécois landscape) is also meaningful because it helps to draw parallels between how they articulate their power positions and the ways in which these positions have been articulated in the media and literature on Québec Interculturalism. The media

[66] All participants' names have been changed to protect their anonymity.

on the recently proposed Charter of Québec Values offers a good example of the discourses on cultural diversity (and inclusion) within the province.

Since the recently proposed Charter of Québec Values (2013) intends to limit public employees from wearing ostentatious religious symbols, many have decried this Charter as an ill-disguised form of xenophobia (Zakaria, 2013) and sexism on the part of established Québécois populations. Similarly, lingering resentments remain on the part of Anglophone Québécois, who claim to be discriminated against by the Francophone majority (Authier, 2013). These echoes of power struggles are, as I argued in Chapter Four, the result of generations of failing to question the particular qualities of these dynamics. Despite the fact that my work with the teachers took place over a year ago, their positionalities provide a more or less balanced view of the most vocal identity categories in current Québec politics: Francophones, Anglophones, and newcomers. How are history teachers negotiating this system of identification? What types of narratives about identity, individual and collective, emerge? In this section, I explore how the teachers describe their gendered and linguistic identities to elaborate some points of connection between their relationships to power, their views of cultural diversity, and their navigation of the Intercultural framework.

Linguistic identity. The ways in which teachers described their personal positioning within the architecture of Québec's power structure were (re)presentations of prevalent players within current debates. Simply, the teachers provided unsurprising scripts of how they relate to power and cultural diversity based on their identity positions. What I heard and observed from these teachers was that their specific relationships to ongoing power dynamics and tensions in this province shape how they view citizenship and cultural integration. Indeed, this supports the view elaborated in the first chapter, that history teachers' narratives are infused with their identities and positionalities. Anna, an Allophone born in Montreal, described how her linguistic identity hinges on a specific set of influences and conditions, and that these shape her practices.

> Yes, but I'm also an Allophone who teaches history in an English school so my history will be different than someone else's history, I'm thinking. Although we all have this curriculum that we have to follow. My take on things is going to be different, like when I'm going to be teaching Bill 101[67] in May, like we have personal experience at this school, whereas other schools may not so it changes the way, it changes the content of your course a little bit from the perspective that you're teaching from." (Anna, Interview 2, line 152)

Dante provided a compelling narrative about her experiences as an Allophone in Québec, an experience that she finds, at times, jarring. She described arriving in Québec as an Anglophone, and how she became aware of deeply held beliefs about the French/English dichotomy that remain pervasive. Her experience illustrated a gross misrecognition of politics, history, and power, based on her linguistic identity. As Dante recounted,

> As a [person from an English speaking province], [laughs], when I first came here, it really got me about this English/French thing because French Canadians use the term "English" to mean "British." Basically [some Québécois believe], "we were oppressed by the English" but no, you were oppressed by British people who spoke English. You were not oppressed by English people. I'm Ukrainian. I have no British blood in me whatsoever. I have never oppressed you or any of your ancestors. It's really a very Québec central Ontarian sort of…. conflict that goes back to the British conquest. It wasn't the English conquest, it was the British Empire. But not everybody who speaks English is British. I found that very difficult to deal with at first. So when we're dealing with this whole English/French dichotomy, there's part of my mind that thinks I speak English, you're talking about British, not the same. (Dante, Interview 2, line 202)

[67] Bill 101 is a law aimed at protecting the French language; it mandates that all immigrants go to French school. See Boudreau, 2013.

While Dante was unapologetic about the fact that she is an English speaking Ukranian, she was irritated by the generalizations that surround this identity. She has found that, in Québec, the Anglophone identity is often conflated with British identity, which holds negative connotations in a province that has struggled against colonial imperialism. The way in which Dante articulated her experience reflects Taylor's (1994) theory of misrecognition. The misrecognition of Dante's heritage implicates her in a history of imperialism that she not only doesn't identify with, but rejects. While Dante remained sympathetic to the need and desire for linguistic preservation within Québec, she also displayed discomfort with being typecast by the processes of preservation that involve hardening, and therefore misrepresenting, these identities.

Sam and Anna characterized how they became acutely aware of their linguistic positioning *in* and *through* their teaching practice. Anna conveyed that many of her students are disconnected from Québécois culture and therefore sees her role as an Allophone as a complex relationship that teeters between strong connections to the French Québécois culture as one of promotion of inclusion and mediation of difference. Although French is not her first language, Anna lamented the lack of cultural awareness of French Québécois culture in her students and views school, specifically her classroom, as being a space in which this exposure ought to occur:

> It's depressing, I find, but anyway [pause] 'cause my reality is completely different and I just live 30 minutes east. So, we would never be able to survive in our area without learning how to speak French. A lot of them are just, listen to French music or exposure comes through school. (Anna, Interview 2, line 36)

Sam revealed that teaching history in French in an Anglophone school has made her hyper-aware of her identity as a Francophone. "[Students will] often categorize teachers, too. So if your name is French and you teach a French course. 'All the French teachers are separatists.' That's just what I

hear the most" (Sam, Interview 1, line 587). Her Francophone identity positions her as "the enemy" (Sam, Interview 1, line 581) within her classroom, as re-instilling the French/English (antagonistic) divide. However, Sam also views her classroom as a space of exchange, in which students from diverse cultural groups all learn history in the official language of Québec.

> To me that's just like, Québec Interculturalism because we have so many kids, well we have mostly English speaking but we have a lot of kids from elsewhere in the world, like Chinese, and they come here and right away, we're like, 'Ok, we're learning our common history in our common language.' (Sam, Interview 2, line 124)

Sam's depictions of the identity dynamics in her classroom offer two potentially competing insights into how her identity informs her understanding of her linguistic positioning.

First, that her identification as a French Québécois is a source of tension that reifies oppositional categories of Francophone and Anglophone. Second, that this same space is an Intercultural space, in which students from various backgrounds come together to learn Québec's history in its official language. This positions Sam in contradictory roles, of Other and also as arbiter of French culture.

Gendered identity. Anna discussed gender as significant to her practice. Specifically, she related her experience as a female history teacher within an all-boys school setting, pointing out the extent to which she is frequently aware of this dynamic.

> My teaching will lean toward things boys are interested in, like when we discuss culture we'll discuss hockey a whole lot. We'll discuss hockey and how that affects one's culture. Whereas I maybe would have not focused on that so much with a class of … of girls and boys. I will talk about, I'll teach about, I'll speak to my students about women's issues but I try not to overdo it because they automatically think that all women are feminists whereas in another class if a male is teaching that, he will not focus on that much. (Anna, Interview 2, line 242)

Anna's gendered identity, in this instance, manifests itself as self-monitoring, in which she limits or dilutes the content for two reasons: first, to be more aligned with the common discourse about masculinity and sports, and second, to avoid resistance to her teaching style.

Gender is not only discussed as an individual descriptor or label. Both Sam and Dante made reference to gender equality as a crucial civic virtue throughout their interviews. Discussions of gender equality emerged through conversations about defending Canadian or Québécois rights to gender equality, specifically in a context of cultural diversity.

> So, if you're looking at what [Québec Interculturalism] means in practicality, I would mean that an immigrant coming to Québec must realize that in order to economically survive, the primacy of the French language needs to be recognized and the.... acceptance of Québec rule of law, and that includes equality of gender, and that includes the type of criminal justice system that is there and the civil court system must be recognized and accepted and that there will not be a change in criminal or civil law in order to accommodate another culture. (Dante, Interview 1, line 460)

Gender equality is posited as an ideal that must be secured in the face of newcomers. This sentiment presupposes that rights for women are 'our' rights and that newcomers should not expect to dismantle these rights. The assumption that is set up here is that newcomers equal Other, and that there is a strong correlation between the Other and sexist or misogynistic behaviour. Each strata of this assumption is imbued with totalizing ideals about gender, cultural diversity, and how they interact.[68]

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[68] In her book *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era,* Benhabib (2002) makes the case that the concept of culture is based on what she refers to as "faulty epistemic premises: (1) that cultures are clear delineable wholes; (2) that cultures are congruent with population groups and that a noncontroversial description of the culture of a human group is possible" (p. 4). The concept of culture, therefore, is limiting in that it serves as an exclusionary mechanism, hence the difficulty in dealing with issues such as gendered or religious identities in a context so immersed in the

There is an important argument to be made about how diversity is theorized and experienced in an Intercultural context that emerges from these narratives. The first is the ways in which assumptions about identity and politics are facilitated by essentialized notions of identity. During the interviews, Sam disclosed that her students assumed that she is a separatist, and Anna's students believe she is a feminist. Meanwhile, proponents of Québec's Intercultural model claim that diversity is valuable to the flourishing of Québec, and that for this to occur, identities must be viewed relationally, rather than in opposition to one another. This idyllic view of integration doesn't take into account how certain identity positions, such as that of women, Francophones, or Anglophones, have particularly contested and complex sets of histories within the province that limit possibilities of integration. I believe that these teachers' experiences of misrecognition in their classrooms exemplify the complex identity negotiations. Perhaps more significant to this project is how teachers' are dealing with these injustices, that is, their responses to what they acknowledge are falsely constructed and unjust analyses of their identity positioning. In Anna's case, she chooses to self-monitor, while in Dante's case xenophobia in the name of gender equality is reinforced. My argument is that these reactions are not particularly surprising, but they carry with them particular ethical issues in contexts that carry weight in terms of civic training and education, such as in history classrooms. Particularly in the context of Québec, discussions of gender carry significant and complex historical weight. As the teachers revealed, the politics of gendered identity continues to play a significant role in how Québec civic identity is constructed.

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preservation of culture. As I have discussed in Chapter One, there has been severe critique of Hérouxville's code of conduct on the basis of a limited understanding of identity based on a narrow view of culture and cultural diversity (Gilbert, 2009; Ramachandran, 2009; Tabachnick, 2012). Similar critiques have arisen regarding the Commission on reasonable accommodation (Maynard and Ho, 2009; The Simone de Beauvoir Institute, 2007) and the recently proposed Charter of Québec Values (Peritz, 2014).

Québec Interculturalism positions history, politics, and difference as central to identity construction. The Intercultural identity, as set out in the literature by proponents of Québec's Intercultural model, is one that is rooted in history while being open to shifting social and political realities. It is an identity that values cultural preservation while acknowledging that diverse identities benefit the social fabric of the province. Finally, the Intercultural identity as defined by proponents of Québec's Intercultural model, reveres dialogue as a valuable means of encountering and respecting diversity. The Québécois identity, thus conceived, is aware of its social location within a specific historical context and is also aware of where it is situated in relation to the French frame. According to this model, the Intercultural identity retains specific and fixed points within a larger scheme of changing and changeable identifications. In this sense, Québec Interculturalism, as a moderately thick concept and a technology of power (Foucault, 1980), produces categories of identification specifically in relation to cultural exchange and integration. I begin the following section with two examples of teachers' practice that have explicit implications for how students view and understand diversity. I use these particular instances as snap-shots of Québec Interculturalism at play (albeit messy and incomplete), which will enable a clearer sense of how teachers are negotiating power struggles surrounding diversity in their classrooms.

Practicing Québec Interculturalism: Two Examples of History Education in an Intercultural Context

I present two brief examples of lessons or activities that I observed during my time in the three history classrooms. My purpose here is to provide readers with two straightforward snapshots of actual practices in history classrooms in Québec. Following a brief description of the activities/assignments, I illustrate the tensions surrounding power, identity, and the Intercultural ideal using excerpts from interview transcripts and my own analysis. By exhibiting how the practices

of teachers align with, or neglect, the civic prescriptions embedded within the Intercultural model,[69] I focus on the challenges that are posed for equitable civic discourse within the context of history education.

"A Multicultural quilt: from early immigrants to the cultural communities of today."

Dante introduced her lesson on social change as the result of immigration by providing an extensive narrative on the immigration wave from Great Britain to Québec in the 1800s. She began this narrative by asking the students why people might decide to immigrate. A few voices shout out "better way of life," or "there's a war where they live." Dante confirmed these responses and went on to frame the living conditions of the Irish population specifically, offering reasons why they would want to leave Ireland at that time (she listed the Potato Famine and culture-based oppression as the main impetuses). Dante reasoned that many Irish emigrants chose to go to Canada because of the booming timber industry. She then brought up a slide indicating the number of French-speaking people in Québec from 1831-1845 and asked them to calculate the increase of numbers and to discuss how the rise in the Anglophone population may have been interpreted by Francophones.

In the following narrative that Dante offered is a very detailed account of the conditions on the "coffin" boats that arrived in Montreal from Great Britain. She described the lack of sanitation on the boats and how this caused an outbreak of cholera in 1832. She also clarified how the bodies of the dead were put on a plank of wood, covered with a blanket and dropped into the sea, making clear that that same blanket was then offered to other people on the ship, describing how the outbreaks on the ship affected not only the lives of the Irish people, but how the outbreak of cholera became an epidemic in Montreal. In Dante's characterization, burial rites were not respected

[69] The prescriptions I am referring to are explored at length in Chapter Four in the section entitled, "Philosophical Tenets of the Intercultural Policy." Later on in this same chapter I draw clear connections between how these tenets are translated within Québec's Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course (See section entitled, Québec's Geography, History and Citizenship Education course: (Re)producing Otherness."

because coffins couldn't be built fast enough to keep up with the bodies. The solution to this, she explained, was to build trenches to create mass graves and apply lye to the bodies to begin the decomposition process. Dante challenged her students: "Do you think there's some element of truth to French Québécois fear and distrust of immigrants? They feared losing their culture, they feared losing their jobs, and they feared losing their lives."[70] To wrap up this section of the lesson, Dante showed a short YouTube clip on the arrival of the Irish in Griffintown, Montreal.[71]

In the second half of the lesson Dante presented an assignment created by a local organization: L'autre Montreal, an urban research and discovery group. The lesson was titled "Exploring Montreal's Multicultural Neighbourhoods." She presented and distributed the information booklet and adjoining map indicating where various immigrant communities have settled in the Montreal region. The purpose of this lesson, as indicated in the booklet, is to illustrate how, "The "distinct" character of Québec and Montreal was shaped, and is still shaped today, by the contributions of Québécois people from many different origins." Dante constructed a narrative of how various ethnic communities arrived in Québec, including the at-times dire circumstances of their living and work conditions once they arrived. For example, two subsections of the booklet are: "The Irish: Hard Physical Labour" and "The Chinese: Racist Laws," in which systems to subjugate particular minority groups are described. Further, there is a discussion of how the territorial limits of certain neighbourhoods have shifted, as well as how other transformations, such as

[70] Students' reactions to this lesson are strictly outside of the scope of this project. The focus of the dissertation is intentionally on how history teachers are constructing the Intercultural model in their classrooms. After much deliberation, I decided that to include students' perspectives and reactions to their teachers' comments or lessons would shift the focus of this particular project. Consequently, I did not apply for ethical clearance to engage with any empirical data produced by students in their classroom.

[71] See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9W6b_6-oNHU

deindustrialization and gentrification, continue to influence the make-up of Montreal. [72]After presenting snippets of the material in the booklet using a PowerPoint, Dante asked the students to locate certain neighbourhoods according to ethnicity on the map, paying attention to how demographics have shifted over time. The students had approximately ten minutes to begin this activity before the class ends.

"Aboriginals & Anglophones in Québec." Sam presented two in-class assignments on the construction of Aboriginal culture. The first assignment, presented in January, asked students to consider various facets of Aboriginal culture in Canada, using their textbooks as a guide. The second assignment had students explore Aboriginal and Anglophone culture in Québec, again, using their textbooks as a guide. Sam provided a short lesson on the relationship between Aboriginals and Anglophones in Québec using a PowerPoint presentation. There were intermittent interjections from students, and these were most often minor discipline-related issues (chatting, for example). Sam framed her lesson by stating that Anglophone and Aboriginal cultures in Québec are not that different from one another, but did not elaborate on how they are similar. Her rationale was that both populations are minority cultures in Québec, which becomes clearer as the lesson progresses.

Sam began her lesson with the following: "Les nations autochtones du Québec ont éprouvé des difficulties sociales et économiques qui ont brisé la vitalité de leur culture" [Aboriginal nations in Québec have had social and economic difficulties that have fractured the vitality of their culture]. The slide went on to explain that despite difficulties, Aboriginal cultures continue to produce art and music. Sam asked her students what types of social issues plague Aboriginal communities. The students offered answers like, "drugs," "alcoholism," "suicide." She supported these answers, but

[72] Interestingly, there is a section labeled "Political Options" that contains three short paragraphs on three "models of immigration" that have been developed. Those listed are: The American "melting pot"; "Multiculturalism "; and "Cultural Convergence" (which references Québec's Intercultural model).

then pointed out that it is important to acknowledge that not all communities are the same, and that "some [communities] are better than others." Sam then explained that the social issues that the students listed are all a result of deeper causes, such as the bad economic state of many reserves.

> People sometimes turn to drugs and alcohol when they feel hopeless and this also has a lot to do with the high school drop-out rates. Aboriginal communities feel powerless and hopeless and are working to relieve their sense of alienation. It is hard to maintain their cultures, she explained, because reserves are dispersed across the province, and so it is hard to keep cultures alive. One of the ways that this is occurring, according to Sam, is through a revival of Aboriginal arts and culture, including language. (Sam, audio recording)

Sam then enumerated the ways in which Aboriginals are attempting to preserve their culture, explaining why preservation is necessary. She offered the example of the Huron language, which has been extinguished. Drawing a connection between Francophones in Québec and Aboriginal communities needing to preserve their culture, "It is not as easy for them," she clarified, "because they don't have laws like we do." She went on to explain that there are multiple movements within various Aboriginal communities that seek to rejuvenate and celebrate their culture. To exemplify this, Sam showed a short video clip of a contemporary Inuit music group named Taima. She explained that the world Taima can be translated as: "Enough! It's finished! Let's move on," describing how Inuit people no longer want to feel inferior, or like their culture is on the brink of extinction. Taima has produced a vision of a new relationship between whites and the Inuit people.

In the same lesson, Sam presented four slides on the role of Anglophone culture in Québec; I explore three of these slides here. The first describes how, since the conquest in 1760, there is a visible influence of Anglophone (British) culture in Québec. She used images of Victorian architecture and churches to illustrate this visible influence. She employed the terms "Anglophone" and "British" synonymously to describe the aesthetic of Protestant Churches versus Francophone,

Roman Catholic Churches. She went on to explain that there are no longer the French/English neighbourhood divides there once were. Sam returned to a previous point: that architecture in Montreal has been influenced by Anglophone and Francophones.

In the second slide, she presented the cultural tensions between Francophones and Anglophones, mentioning McLennan's *Two Solitudes* and explaining that there has been a lot of economic insecurity in the province because of the tensions between these two groups. She went on to argue that today French/English relations are much better but that there remains a sense of indifference between these groups. In this, Sam pointed out that Francophones rarely know anything about Anglophone culture, and that the reverse is also true.

In the third slide she listed the many contributions that Anglophones have made to Québec, citing McGill and Bishops Universities, the Gazette, and authors such as Leonard Cohen and Mordecai Richler. She explained that while Québec is the "black sheep" of Canada, Montreal is the "black sheep" of Québec. The difference between Montreal and the rest of Québec is cultural diversity, Sam disclosed, and that Montreal would not be as culturally rich without the influence of each of these cultures. Lastly, she presented a quote: "Si le Québec est la société distincte du Canada, Montréal est la société distincte du Québec, un pied en Anglais, l'autre en Francais, et dans la même bottine." [If Québec is the distinct society of Canada, Montreal is the distinct society of Québec. One foot in English, the other in French, and both in the same boot.]"

These examples are by no means exhaustive. However, out of multiple potential examples, I chose these for their treatment of cultural asymmetry and the multiple issues surrounding how the categories of 'Québécois' and Other are being constructed, both of which are integral facets of the Intercultural model. In what follows, I unravel these examples using other sources of data: interview transcripts and photo-voice. My presentation of teachers' interpretations and perspectives of essential components of the Intercultural model (such as identity, citizenship, and power),

juxtaposed with some of their specific pedagogical practices, will exemplify two things. First, this juxtaposition clarifies the relationship between Intercultural theory and practice. Second, and in the spirit of the normative case study, the juxtaposition will illuminate how the dynamics of the model itself activates problematic ethical tensions in the context of history and citizenship education.

(Intercultural) Citizenship

Citizenship: on the necessity of being active and informed. My first and second interviews began with the same question, "In your view, what makes a good citizen?" My rationale was that I wanted to have a clearly articulated foundation of how teachers viewed the roles and responsibilities associated with citizenship. Ultimately, I was aiming to get a sense of how their understanding of citizenship integrated or reflected their views of diversity. All three teachers discussed citizenship in terms of being "informed" and made the link to history education as necessary to citizenship:

> Someone who's informed about issues in their society, ready to participate, willing to participate, able to hold an opinion that's founded, hence being informed. But someone who respects the common values of society. Whether that's equality between men and women, respect, Multiculturalism, you know. So someone who is aware of those rights and respects them. (Sam, Interview 1, line 258)

Dante offered a similar perspective:

> The qualities of a good citizen? [laughs] Ok, someone who has strong critical thinking skills. Someone who is open-minded. Um… someone who is willing to… push their experiences outside of their comfort zone and by that I mean being able to, after reflecting on an issue, if they're not content with the way governments are responding to an issue or the way people are responding to an issue, they might start to look at something more active rather than just passive, than just talking about it so doing some form of activism, whether it's letter writing

> or organizing, or attending a town hall um… counsel or something like that. (Dante, Interview 2, line 7)

Anna was explicit about the necessity of staying abreast of current issues so that political views are based on more than simply headlines.

> An informed citizen. I think I said that the first time. Yeah, just knowing what's going on. Being informed like, some people were making judgments about the tuition hikes without reading in to them and I think it's interesting just to know what's going on. If you look at tuition hikes and you just read the headlines, it's a big scandal but you don't know that they've been frozen for 10 years. You don't know the big, the story behind it…. Being informed by it. (Anna, Interview 2, line 10)

These responses pointed to the necessity of history education in forming "good" citizens based on the unanimous belief that citizenship requires being informed. Relatedly, the notion of being able to analyze an event using multiple perspectives is also a common theme in these responses. While Dante also deems the qualities of a good citizen as being aware of surrounding social and political issues, she extended this definition slightly to being willing to take action. The virtue of respect was also present in Dante's view of productive citizenship. In her view, citizens ought to be engaged in social change within established parameters. There are three common traits among the illustrations of good citizenship: being informed, participating, and respecting common values. This characterization of citizenship is what Westheimer and Kahne (2004) labeled the participatory citizen.[73] The perspective of citizenship that the teachers convey are reflected in Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) depiction of citizens as informed, active, and willing to engage with their community

[73] According to Westheimer and Kahne's (2004) model, the participatory citizen enacts the following four characteristics of citizenship. First, this citizen is an "active member of organizations and/or improvement efforts; second, he or she, "organizes community efforts to care for those in need, promote economic development, or clean up environment; third, he or she knows how government agencies work; fourth, he or she knows strategies for accomplishing collective tasks" (p. 240).

to promote social interaction and community building. These views are represented within the literature on Intercultural citizenship in two central ways: first, proponents of Québec's Intercultural model forward what is called the "citizen route" in mediating conflict surrounding cultural practices. Waddington et al. (2012) have defined this as "informal and voluntary agreements among citizens" (p. 10). Second, the capacity for dialogue in and through conflict is a central feature of the Intercultural model and shapes the Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course.[74] There is therefore a strong connection between what Wesheimer and Kahne (2004) have outlined as 'participatory' citizenship, the Intercultural prescriptions of citizenship, and how the teachers describe citizenship (without making any specific references to Québec Interculturalism).

Citizenship with a historical twist: Intercultural citizenship. All three teachers offered meaningful elaborations of how their views of citizenship differed from, or were extended by, the Intercultural policy. When asked about their notions of *Intercultural* citizens, Sam and Anna both stated that Intercultural citizenship differs from Multicultural citizenship because it requires a specifically historicized perspective on the ongoing construction of Québec. Anna mused, "Québec Interculturalism is probably going to push more for learning the history or the background than the Multiculturalism, I think, would say that you're part of history, that you are creating your own history" (Anna, Interview 1, line 708). This reflects Bouchard's (2012) notion of culture as a process that is ongoing. From the Intercultural perspective, culture is highly malleable and therefore continually shifting. The French language (or frame) is the means through which culture in Québec is contained; that is, while cultural diversity is acknowledged as a force that is perpetually contributing to cultural shifts, the French language reinstates Québec's roots. Briefly, culture within

[74] As I described in Chapter Four, dialogue is a key component of the Intercultural model because it is considered an important mechanism through which to negotiate difference. Also in Chapter Four, I illustrate how the required competencies in the Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course reflect Intercultural ideals, such as dialogue.

a multicultural model is viewed as more or less static, in that while cultures do interact, they're theorized as remaining more or less intact. We might think of culture in a Multicultural framework as a bed of pebbles in a river; we know that these pebbles will be reshaped by the currant and by one another eventually, but we also know that this process is exceptionally slow.

From an Intercultural perspective, culture is continually shifting in and through interaction. Anna's view of Intercultural citizenship speaks to the view that culture is evolving, and that as a result, we are all contributing to, and building upon, our shared history. This has particular implications for history teaching in a culturally diverse context because it emphasizes that all citizens learn and know about Québec's particular history, in theory, and it also invites newcomers to participate in its ongoing construction. The teachers demonstrated a view of Intercultural citizenship that reflected the dominant understanding of its nuances. In one sense, Intercultural citizenship is viewed as an iteration of the liberal-participatory model, but with a historical twist. This demonstrates that teachers recognize their roles as being influential in how students understand and enact their civic identities. As is illustrated below, teachers' practice is not always congruent with this vision.

Fragmented Rootedness and Difficult Encounters: Teachers' Narratives on Québec Identity

Multiculturalism /Québec Interculturalism: negotiating "the base." The teachers initiated nuanced perspectives of civic identity in the analysis of their photos and in their actual teaching practice. For example, Dante posted the following equation describing Québécois identity on a power point: **$Q= -F + GB +(USA)^2 –R …+C$**. The caption below the equation read:

> Q is Québec identity, less French than we believe, more English than we'd admit, under American influence way more important than we think, but less supportive of Rome than

> our clergy believes, with more from Canada than we acknowledge. (*Québec historian Yvan Lamonde*)

She then asked students why English, American, and Roman identities were included in this definition and then asked whose identities have been omitted. Moving away from the notion of the Québécois identity as fixed and combative in order to preserve its identity, this quote shapes Québécois identity as having emerged from numerous interactions with many different ethnicities with diverse religious and civic affiliations. Dante discredited Québec's dominant civic narrative, that its nationhood is based on linguistic and cultural purity. Proponents of Québec's Intercultural model would agree with such a narrative, but would stress the significance of describing what makes Québec different from, say, the Nova Scotian context. Similarly, in Dante's "Multicultural Quilt" activity, students are asked to observe how various cultural groups have and continue to contribute to Montreal's cultural fabric. These sorts of practices support the "encounter" facet of the Intercultural model, but do not make explicit how students ought to perceive their "rootedness" to Québec. In essence, the multicultural narrative enables students to understand the many threads that have come together to form contemporary Québec, but this narrative is no different from what might be presented in St John's or Vancouver. Students are therefore receiving representations of Québec as globalized and diverse in these narratives, but not necessarily as a culturally cohesive political community. This approach is linked to a multicultural model of cultural diversity, which has been highly criticized for not taking cultural diversity seriously enough (Bissoondath, 1993). Whether or not Multiculturalism has failed, as Angela Merkel has argued, is another matter of discussion. What is relevant here is that these teaching practices reflect a multicultural approach to integration in a province that has had highly volatile struggles surrounding cultural, linguistic, and religious diversity in Québec. Québec Interculturalism is founded on the premise that the cultural flourishing in Québec is dependent on enabling newcomers to contribute to Québec society in meaningful

ways. This premise is all the more significant in the wake of events such as Hérouxville's code of conduct and the Commission on reasonable accommodation. In a province that currently appears fractured as a result of cultural diversity, the proponents' position is that there needs to be a heightened focus on similarity to reinforce Québec as a strong political community. Dante's affirmed the value of diversity but did not draw attention to cohesion, as is required from an Intercultural perspective. The lack of treatment of how "rootedness" binds Québec might be viewed as particularly problematic in light of these charged conflicts.

In Anna's analysis of her photos, she provided a similar narrative on the shifting and multifaceted nature of Québécois identity, but also highlighted the resistances that result from these population shifts. In describing the two photos below, Anna deliberated on what she had previously referred to as the base,[75] but this time she described it as necessarily and continually changing according to changing demographics.

[75] Anna's discussion of Québec's 'base' made reference to what some refer to as the 'old-stock' Québécois identity; namely white French-speaking population with direct or cultural ties to the Roman Catholic Church.

***Figure 1**:* Anna's photograph of a grocery store advertisement.

***Figure** 2:* Anna's photograph of a crucifix.

Anna described a local grocery store that is carrying stock to satisfy more diverse cultures. Her depiction of this is that regardless of whether these changes are being made with some resistance, the face of Québec is changing and businesses are adapting. For Anna, the photo of the advertisement represents a space that is evolving toward cultural diversity and inclusivity. The crucifix represents what Anna referred to as the "base." When her parents and the people in her community arrived in Québec, they were considered immigrants. She acknowledged the irony and humour of often hearing these same people complaining about "the immigrants." The "base," then, has shifted because the people who once felt excluded identify strongly enough with the values and practices of the province to dismiss Others entering the borders.

> What's interesting now is that the population of [Lafontaine] and the [North] end is changing and there are lots of people from Algeria and that area and there's lots of …. Muslim groups who or people who are immigrating from Muslim countries are coming to settle in that area. And [Al's Grocery] has become this clash, if you want to call it, you have the [Greeks] that are going shopping there and you have your Algerians that are going shopping there and you have your halal meat and you have your non-halal meat and it's sort of like this interesting… we always thought of [Al's Grocery] as this [Greek] place and now it's become this, even you want to call it "multicultural" place. So things are changing, I find. And in places that you stereotypically thought, 'Oh, that's a [Greek] area,' that's no longer the case. And the people are learning to live with diversity a little more because… it's easier for commerce to do it because it's money. And they're forced to do it and people don't really judge that . . . although people have adverse reactions to everything, they feel they're being invaded but business will say, "listen, we have to provide because that's where our client base is." Whereas if a government does it, it's different. So, [Al's Grocery] is the … so….

> We can buy halal meat now at our grocery store [laughing] and I don't see a problem with that. (Anna, Interview 2, line 422)

Anna continued, illustrating how the "base" can and does subsume people in that after a number of years, immigrants begin to feel integrated to an extent that they can point out individuals or groups that are perceived as non-integrated.

> There these little [Greek] grandmas who never learn to speak English or French and they're saying, 'these immigrants – driving me crazy. Or they're having a hard time renting their apartments to visible minorities…. It's like, 'you were that.' It's aggravating because they don't realize – they were that. But to them it was different. 'But we were Catholic, it was different.' (Anna, Interview 2, line 482)

In Anna's version of how Québécois are encountering diversity, she depicted what Bouchard and Taylor have reported as a mistrust of outsiders. In their Report on Reasonable Accommodation (2008b), they argued that in Québec, like in most North American contexts post 9/11, "a social context permeated by suspicion and insecurity developed" (p. 14). Dante and Anna both highlight the difficulties associated with integration in Québec by describing it as a reality, a set of shifts in Québec, but with fragmented perspectives on what that means for nationhood and nation-building in Québec. In the example from Dante's class, students were asked to think about how diversity has played a role in the formation of Québec, but are not asked about how power has shifted as a result of welcoming increased diversity into the province.

We might simply discount these practices as being Multicultural, rather than Intercultural in their intention. This is very understandable since the Intercultural policy is still relatively unknown to many Québécois. In the interviews, the teachers demonstrated an overall astute understanding of what the policy entails. The issue of lesson plans from a specifically Multicultural perspective might then be simply discounted as the usual gap between theory and practice; the lesson plans are able to

recount the characteristics of the Intercultural policy, but due to lack of education about how to integrate these tenets into their pedagogy, they are not transferring it to practice. Another possibility might be that the teachers are simply teaching the ways in which they have been taught; namely, from a Multicultural perspective. However, I think that there are also more profound political reasons at play, at least in Dante's case.

Intercultural intervention or exclusion? One teacher's critique of Québec's Intercultural model. Dante interpreted the Intercultural policy as a top-down approach to integration; from her perspective, the Intercultural policy is being imposed on the people of Québec. Her description of the model, while apt, was infused with the perspective that inclusion is contingent on similarity to Québécois culture.

> My understanding of it from the government of Québec is that Québec Interculturalism is…many cultures living together within the reality of a predominant culture. And the other cultures' acceptance of the rule of the law, or the dominant culture, of the host culture. And the degree of integration of other cultures to the dominant culture, must take the rule of law as its primary consideration and then acceptance of different aspects of the dominant culture is going be variant on how similar or different these cultures are. (Dante, Interview 1, line 452)

In Dante's view, Québec Interculturalism, even more than the Canadian Multicultural model, emphasizes the role of governmental intervention in the creation and negotiation of culture. This negotiation is done through the process of gauging similarity and difference, and even gauging what counts as acceptable or not. This view is made even more explicit when she hypothesizes that the change in provincial governments could change the Intercultural model itself, and therefore the criteria of integration, citizenship, and underlying power dynamics.

> What happens if you have a xenophobic government that's been elected into office? Is that going to have an impact into Québec Interculturalism? Yes it will because it's the government that determines that lens. In Multiculturalism and pluriculturalism, where all cultures are considered equal, it isn't really the government that charts that; it's society that determines that. (Dante, Interview 2, line 344)

The difference between how proponents of Québec's Intercultural model describe the model, as a model of unscrupulous inclusion — as long as the values and/or practices are aligned with Liberal values and those laid out by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms — and Dante's view of the model is that inclusion is contingent on how well reflected the values are represented in Québécois culture. This illuminates a stark difference in perspectives about access to power and construction of civic identity. Proponents of Québec's Intercultural model promote the model as one in which new citizens can use to see themselves reflected within culture. Dante's version of Québec Interculturalism pointed to a discourse of limited inclusion and therefore civic disempowerment. This understanding of Québec Interculturalism might be a reason that she is opting for a multicultural lens in her practice.

In support of limited integration. Sam echoed Dante's perspective on the nature of inclusion within Québec society as limited in that it is a conditional model in which only the established Québécois stand to benefit. Her construction of Québec Interculturalism was that it is expressed conditionally and mandates many prescriptions for inclusion:

> Québec adapting to immigrants, I think it's more of a trying to learn from them and seeing what they can bring to us. But I think Québec Interculturalism is more of a . . . conditional thing. I guess we want to learn from you, bring your things yet please respect this, this, this. So this is an example where, like you're bringing something to us, I mean it's just food but it

> could be anything, and we'll learn from it, we'll integrate it in our culture, but do it in a way that we want you to do it. (Sam, Interview 1, line 32)

Sam iterated a one-sided model of integration in which established Québécois culture is positioned to receive the benefits of token plurality with little willingness to accept the possibility of real cultural shifts. Dante and Sam's depictions described Québec Interculturalism as a model that takes, rather than one of reciprocity and interdependence, although they have different positions on the legitimacy of this model. Both teachers describe the model as perpetuating divisions between established Québécois and newcomers: Dante forwarded this view through her description of the clear-cut distinction between the government and the citizens, and Sam by having articulated integration as a one-way process. Sam supported the highly conditional version of the Intercultural model. She attributed this support to the fact that she identifies as Québécois, but also claimed that her students have pointed out reasons other than the preservation of the French language to support the Intercultural model.

> Often some of them [students] would [support] Québec Interculturalism because even if they didn't agree with the French, they were like, there is a need to set boundaries and expectations for newcomers. We do want them to integrate in a certain way, although we welcome everybody. (Sam, Interview 2, line 269)

She went on to say, "Québec Interculturalism, it's positive yet we're setting guidelines for expected attitudes, which we're allowed to do and any nation should do" (Sam, Interview 2, line 261). Sam's view is that nationalism, over inclusion, ought to be at the forefront of integration practices. The analysis that Sam and her students brought to the Intercultural model places a significant spin on the explicit intention and mandate of the model, but also speaks to deeper and problematic issues that are implicit within it. While it is touted as a politically necessary tool to retain Québec's Francophone identity, in this instance, the Intercultural model is being translated as a means of keeping

newcomers in-check, thereby signaling a deep chasm between how established Québécois and newcomers experience and have access to power. Sam's perception, that Québec Interculturalism is a mechanism to limit integration, rearticulates the implicit prescription of power within the model.

Normative (Re)presentations of Québec Interculturalism

Based on my observations and interviews with teachers, there are two sets of ethical issues that arise in the context of history education. The first is that pedagogical practices often slip into some form of Multiculturalism, in which diversity is valued for its own sake and not in terms of cultural cohesion. The missing element of Dante and Anna's narratives on Intercultural citizenship is the question of how one might understand identity (through a historical lens), which involves how citizens are shaped by power dynamics in a *specifically Intercultural* context. In other words, the teachers' understandings of Intercultural citizenship omitted the prickly realities associated with power struggles within Québec. The teachers discussed issues of inequality from a multicultural perspective. Simply, there was a component missing from their narratives on Intercultural citizenship. They described citizenship as active and participatory. Also, as Anna explained, history education is necessary to understand the current political debates in the province. This narrative invites an inclusive view of history that invites newcomers to participate in these debates on an equal footing. What this produces is a somewhat simplistic view of history education. Current debates surrounding the proposed Charter of Québec Values do indeed require a historical lens to engage with the particular dynamics of the debate. However, these debates also hinge on a number of dynamics surrounding who is considered to be an insider, and who is considered an outsider in the province. It is not one-dimensional in that the histories that students are expected to learn about revolve about deeply ingrained power dynamics. Despite their ubiquity, these power dynamics

remain unexamined by proponents of Québec's Intercultural model, and, as a result, by history teachers.

The second ethical issue is related to Sam's interpretation and practice of Québec Interculturalism as simply a tool to promote national identity with a thin conception of diversity, and therefore, a limited interpretation of inclusion. This reasoning, that diversity ought to be kept at a minimum in order to support coherent national values and the French language, is at the crux of many current debates, including the proposed Charter of Values. The view that Québec has remained a coherent and untouched culture and is now under threat of cultural loss, or homogenization, is the argument in favour of adopting more involved technologies of power (Foucault, 1980) that will reinforce the dominant narrative. The ethical issue that technologies of power pose in the context of history education is that students are being immersed in a discourse that has been labeled, in worst cases, xenophobic in the name of cultural preservation. For example, Sam's treatment of Aboriginal cultures glossed over the atrocities of residential schooling, and the continued systemic practices of oppression that Aboriginal communities and cultures face. Sam suggested that some Indigenous communities are attempting to overcome their troubled past (for example, the music group Taima that she presented), but there is no indication of *how* this might occur .The ideal of change and progress that Sam presented through her discussion of Taima failed to address how the "difficulties" that Indigenous populations in Québec have experienced are a product of centuries of unequal power dynamics. A failure to address these dynamics renders the discourse of inclusion too simplistic to have any clout. While the situation of Aboriginals in Québec (and in Canada and North America as well) might be viewed as a particularly contentious issue, it provides meaningful insight into how the most complex, power-invested cases are being characterized for students. I believe that this discourse is less likely to promote diversity as an asset for new *and* established Québécois because it is likely to alienate students who do not identify with

the specific version of Québécois identity being forwarded (among other reasons, because their linguistic, religious and ethnic identities are not aligned with those embedded in the model). This alienation is the fuel for current debates, and more seriously, feelings of territoriality, mistrust, and suspicion. Sam's characterization of the Intercultural model might be viewed as a mis-reading of the central tenets, as well as the model's characterization of culture as fluid and perpetually in shift. However, Sam's characterization of Québec Interculturalism might also be read as an acknowledgment of the many conceptual barriers to real integration within the model. Simply, Sam's construction of Québec Interculturalism is a discourse of disempowerment, which I believe is a manifestation of the general inattention to power dynamics and simplistic constructions of identity that pervade the model.

Conclusion

The normative ethical implications of Québec Interculturalism are a necessary consideration at this particular moment in history. Scholars such as Waddington et al. (2012) have promoted Québec Interculturalism as a thick concept that establishes the conditions of integration in the province of Québec. My contention is that this model is not yet "thick;" that there is still more work to be done in terms of determining and defining these prescriptions. History teachers, as shapers of civic identities, are central to the process of uncovering what is currently being prescribed in and through the Intercultural model so as to better consider what ought to be. As this chapter has demonstrated, teachers' varying perspectives on what cultural integration looks like are shaped by how they situate themselves in relation to existing power structures within the province. More specifically, these history teachers, in adopting many of the perspectives typically associated with their subject positions, are living out and reinforcing existing power hierarchies in the province and in their classrooms. These practices speak to the silence, or the gap, within the model surrounding

the most complex and difficult issues dealing with integration. One of the results of this gap, for history teachers specifically, is that these complex issues remain moulded according to the too often unspoken nature of power dynamics. The Intercultural model is deemed a framework in which newcomers and established citizens alike are empowered to contribute and participate in a common culture, however these intentions fall short when discussions of identity and power remain so fractured.

Chapter Seven: Thinking Interculturally

Review

My purpose in this chapter is to offer the seed of an alternative discursive framework for history and citizenship education in Québec. Enabling a more inclusive discussion around how citizenship is constructed, thinking Interculturally may provide the means to begin thinking about practical ways in which citizenship and history education might detract from the exclusive inclusion that currently resides in the Intercultural model (and, consequently, in history classrooms). Québec's Intercultural model, as it is currently theorized, is characterized as a rhetorical shift from its Canadian counterpart, Multiculturalism; this, I believe, offers the potential to initiate a model that is amenable to a discursive shift that promotes a divergent, more equitable, model of inclusion in history classrooms. In the preceding chapters, I have critiqued the Intercultural model's limited capacity for inclusion on the basis that it does not contain the tools to think deeply about power or identity,[76] which raises a number of troubling issues for teachers in the context of history and citizenship education in Québec. My critique has brought forward the features of the model and also the problems with Québec Interculturalism. While this chapter is by no means an exhaustive alternative framework for a "solution" of the issues that I have raised in the preceding chapters, it does offer a tentative means of moving toward a more inclusive civic discourse.

A positive feature of the Intercultural model is that it promotes a heightened appreciation of cultural integration, enabling spaces of exchange and dialogue. My critique of the model has emphasized the fact that the task of maintaining French cannot be disentangled from nation-building, which, as I have argued in Chapter Four, creates a de facto "us" and "them" dichotomy. For a number of reasons, such as Québec's minority status and its difficult relationship with

[76] This argument was elucidated in Chapter Four in which I discussed the limitations dialogue from an Intercultural perspective.

colonialism, the Intercultural model proposed by proponents of Québec's Intercultural is far less benign than they suggest. Despite their claims that Québec Interculturalism can and will promote cultural inclusion, it carries all the problems that nationalist movements carry — most importantly, the problem of disadvantaging minorities and erecting barriers to prevent their full integration. Instead of sociological asymmetry, as suggested by some proponents of Québec Interculturalism (Maxwell et al., 2012), I have argued that institutionalized inequality is a more apt term to describe the differentials of power that exist between members of established majority linguistic groups and less established minorities. Furthermore, these inequalities are animated by the imperative to secure French as the language within the public sphere (and by extension as the engine for maintaining the stability of the Québec nation). Even defenders of Québec Interculturalism acknowledge this imperative as a built-in feature, and not a dispensable spare part.

In Chapter Six, I provided an examination of history teachers' inattention to entangled power dynamics in their practice. I also examined the ways in which teachers perceived a tension between cultural integration and nation-building. As a result of these tensions, history teachers have difficulty in making sense of how they and their students fit into the fractured narratives that support distinct and categorized notions of identity. These tensions are also exacerbated by the exclusion of the Residential School system within the curriculum. Therefore, it is precisely in these spaces that these dynamics can and should be challenged, and opposed, by critically informed history education. In this chapter, I propose a means through which history and citizenship education might be approached more inclusively while also honouring an attachment to the French language. I have tentatively argued that in spite of multiple challenges to integration embedded within the model, we might still consider Québec Interculturalism as a viable framework for civic education. Specifically, my contention is that thinking Interculturally has the potential to subvert xenophobic tendencies entrenched in the model and consequently in the Geography, History, and

Citizenship Education course. Thus, my aim in this chapter is to provide an outline of what a conception of what thinking Interculturally might look like in the context of Intercultural history education in Québec.

Citizenship in Québec is continually being shaped and reshaped in relation to linguistic, religious, and ethnic diversities. As I illustrated in Chapter Four, this particular construction of Québécois identity is based on a long history of power struggles; these struggles are expressed in the Intercultural model. An example of this has been what Memmi (1991) has called the "substantiation of difference" (p. 31) in which Québécois identity is constructed in opposition to Other identities. Thinking Interculturally may provide a means of troubling these entrenched relations within the context of history classrooms. In this chapter, I outline how thinking Interculturally, in the context of history education, can elicit a more complex understanding of how citizenship is implicated with power, specifically in a context of a minority nation such as Québec where the project of nation-building is taken for granted as a political and educational reality. My suggestion is that since no feasible proposals for educational reform in this context can ignore or reject the project of nation-building, educational theorists have an ethical obligation to articulate and defend their proposed reforms in ways that minimize the xenophobic and inegalitarian tendencies that accompany the educational dimensions of nation-building. By the same token, they have an obligation to articulate feasible reform proposals designed to advance educational spaces within which students might learn to imagine and construct more equitable alternatives. I argue that the goal of teaching students to think Interculturally provides an important case in point. The capacity to think Interculturally involves cultivating a heightened sense of historical narrative as relational and inclusive, rather than as exclusionary. The aim of thinking Interculturally is to engage students in a historical discourse that, at the same time, strengthens students' attachment to Francophone cultures while promoting a more inclusive interpretation of identities that (in)form Francophonie.

The strict divisions around Québec's borders has limited the province from drawing on resources that are outside of these physical and ideological parameters. Québec has constructed itself as an island, constantly defending its borders, (re)creating a strong sense of national identity and nationhood. My contention is that its linguistic culture would flourish if there were less of an emphasis on Québec as a nation within the context of history and citizenship education. This would facilitate a focus on similarity rather than difference and, in the process, loosen the entrenched power dynamics that currently (in)form Québec society. Simply, if the preservation of the French language is what Québec society is seeking, I suggest that history and citizenship education in the province focus less on the entrenchment of the borders separating Québec and more on its commonalities with other Francophone communities within Canada and that this can be done using McDonald's (2011) conception of thinking Interculturally.

Civic Discourses in the Symbolic Realm: Interculturality and the Story

Before I discuss McDonald's notion of thinking Interculturally further, I will present the discursive qualities of Intercultural citizenship, as described by proponents of Québec's Intercultural model. Specifically, this section outlines the rhetorical qualities of the Intercultural policy that have specific bearing on how identities are constructed and how diversity is currently being negotiated to suggest that thinking Interculturally is a viable alternative approach to citizenship and history education in Québec. To begin, I explain how the rhetorical characteristics of Québec Interculturalism are currently being theorized, drawing from Bouchard's (2011) description of Interculturality and Taylor's (2012) "the story" as explained in his article "Multiculturalism or Interculturalism?"

The story. In one of his most recent publications, Charles Taylor (2012) clarifies what he deems to be Québec Interculturalism's point of departure from the substantiation of difference; he

emphasizes their rhetorical distinctions. He claims that "between Canadian Multiculturalism and Québec Québec Interculturalism, the differences lie less in the concrete policies than in the stories" (p. 416). As their prefixes indicate, Multiculturalism and Québec Interculturalism (re)produce very different stories; "multi" emphasizes integration while "inter" privileges integration (Taylor, 2012, p. 416). In each case, the prefix shifts and shapes how cultural identities, history, and politics are interpreted. Taylor (2012) argues,

> the 'multi' story decentres the traditional ethno-historical identity and refuses to put any other in its place. All such identities coexist in the society, but none is officialized. The 'inter' story starts from the reigning historical identity but sees it evolving in a process in which all citizens, of whatever identity, have a voice, and no-one has a privileged status. (p. 418)

According to Taylor (2012), the Intercultural story re-articulates the centrality of a dominant culture premised on an ethic of integration and toleration of diversity. From his perspective, integration has a different quality in each model and these qualities are made explicit in and through how the stories of integration are told, which shapes how civic culture is shaped. Taylor argues that while the telling of the Intercultural and Multicultural stories differentiates them, but more importantly it speaks to how they inform culture on multiple levels.

> Now these 'stories' have a peculiar status. They purport to be about what is happening, but at another level they are setting out what ought to be happening, and on another level again, they are highlighting one take on the extremely complex congeries of things which are in fact going on. (p. 418)

These stories, and how they are told, offer important insight into current realities. Stories feed into our normative values and our understanding of how things ought to be. Therefore, when history teachers discuss Canadian immigration policies, for example, and how they have excluded specific populations from entering Canada, the way in which this story is told offers insight into fact-based

realities, but it also offers insight into whether or not it ought to have been this way. The question of perspective, according to Taylor (2012), seeps into the stories we tell and then shapes how we understand history and one another. In other words, Taylor views Multiculturalism/Interculturalism as offering prescriptions of action (as discussed in Chapter Four), but they also elucidate the undercurrent realities, such as how power is distributed and what types of identities have been, and continue to be, marginalized. Whereas Taylor focuses on Québec Interculturalism as a model of social integration, I have argued in this thesis that Québec produces substantial barriers to social integration. Significant for my purposes is Taylor's acknowledgement of the symbolic, discursive realm, and its impacts and/or effects on cultural integration. This is different from a Multicultural approach to diversity because, from an Intercultural perspective, historical narratives are deemed to have more influence on how citizenship is constructed. In this, historical narratives are shaped in ways that promote both diversity and integration, acknowledging the contributions of both established and newer Québécois to Québec society. This discursive facet of the Intercultural model lends itself to being reshaped in a way that places less emphasis on national unity, enabling a more equitable civic discourse. Bouchard's writing on Interculturality offers a complementary analysis of the Intercultural model, as it is currently theorized.

Interculturality. Bouchard (2011) has labeled the symbolic realm of Québec Interculturalism as "Interculturality." According to this account, Québec Interculturalism functions on two levels: the macro-social and micro-social . The macro level refers to the principles and guidelines of the Intercultural policy, while the micro level refers to what he calls Interculturality. Bouchard describes this as what is manifested in day-to-day interactions in spaces such as neighbourhoods and public institutions (such as schools and hospitals); it refers to the ways in which culture is experienced and enacted within an Intercultural framework. Interculturality, as presented by Bouchard, describes the micro-level interactions that are promoted in an Intercultural context; it

describes the set of attitudes and dispositions that promote engagement with diversity within the social parameters of the French language and the physical borders of Québec. This relates to Taylor's (2012) discussion of the story in that Interculturality captures the nuances of how our day-to-day interactions and use of language have a role in how (and how well) the model is taken up. History classrooms are significant here because while they are subject to the curriculum (macro), they are also spaces of dialogue and exchange (micro).

Québec's Intercultural policy highlights the significance of exchange in public spaces for cultural integration (Interculturality). Its emphasis on dialogue, for example, offers alternative perspectives on how politics are carried out in diverse, globalized nations such as Québec. Relatedly, this policy has also instilled an acknowledgement of how narrative and rhetoric shape our conceptions of politics and therefore how politics proceed. Interculturality refers to the processes and spaces through which Intercultural values and ideals are exchanged; these spaces are informed by practices such as dialogue and the acknowledgement of cultural asymmetry (the acknowledgement that all citizens do not carry the same social and political currency at all times) (Bouchard, 2011; Bouchard & Taylor, 2008b). Dialogue is described as a commitment to interaction among citizens from diverse ethnocultural groups. The purpose of this commitment is the creation of, "a common political culture," (Waddington et al. 2012,p. 318) in which collective interests are discussed thereby emphasizing collective pursuits. Second, there is an expectation of sociological asymmetry, which "posits that in the process of political dialogue, the values, beliefs, and practices that immigrants bring with them and those of the dominant cultural space into which they have moved do not carry equal weight" (p. 319). This acknowledgement demonstrates that there is a built-in sensitivity to the processes that newcomers must undergo within the model itself, but it falls short of questioning or critiquing the significant imbalance of power that is involved. In some respects, this might be viewed as being based on an equity model, in that expectations of newcomers

are fewer and less involved than those of established citizens. However, as I have argued in Chapter Four, this model is based on an equality model regardless of the acknowledgment of deeply differentiated power dynamics in which there is no constructive manoeuver to move away from, or past, these entrenched ideals. This becomes visible in a history education context.

A significant component of what proponents of Québec's Intercultural model have missed is the essential acknowledgement that power dynamics are embedded in social and political interaction. Within the model there is an expectation that citizens will adopt different roles in these political interactions depending on their status (determined by whether the citizen is a newcomer or a long term resident). Asymmetry is created by the negotiation of these roles and the expectation that they will change over time. As I also discussed in Chapter Four, asymmetry is a limited acknowledgement, taking only current dynamics into account and overlooking the insidious ways in which historicized dynamics continue to play a significant role in today's political climate. The issue with Interculturality, as defined by Bouchard (2011), is that the very spaces (including public institutions) that are expected to promote a heightened sense of diversity actually invest in a fixed and limited notion of diversity. As such, rather than being a balm to recurring tensions, as Bouchard (2011) argues, Interculturality promotes a dis-empowered model of integration due to its lack of analysis around power.

Interculturality and the story both point to the ways in which the Intercultural policy frames the abstract within the political sphere. Both Interculturality and the story highlight the ways in which politics work in differentiated realms and, as a result, permeate all areas of social life. Interculuturality and the story make tangible how Québec Interculturalism maintains and reinstates the historical distinction between Québécois and Other*,* overtly and inconspicuously, thus placing significant barriers to cultural inclusion in the province. My interest is in how history classrooms can deal with cultural marginalization and alienation in each of these regards. Basing our sense of

solidarity on a more nuanced sense of identity might entail including worldwide Francophone cultures into the history classroom. In Québec, this means support for French language and culture that moves beyond the borders of Québec. Borders are porous; the stories that tell the French version of Québec Interculturalism – including Franco-Ontarian and Acadian, among others – would work to strengthen the constitution of French cultures (histories, politics associated with it, and of course language). Québec would interact with and be strengthened by the diversity within its community and held together by the "frame" that Bouchard and Taylor (2008b) advocate: the French language. If the maintenance and preservation of the French language is viewed as the raison d'être for nation-building civic education, thinking Interculturally may offer a way forward in terms of preserving Québec's linguistic culture while questioning the legitimacy of constructed borders.

Thinking Interculturally

In his recent article, *Thinking Interculturally* McDonald (2011) critiques the oft-used terms in Québec, "Intercultural" or "Interculturality" as "epistemologically limited," preferring the adverbial form: "*thinking Interculturally* [emphasis added]" (p. 372). McDonald is specifically concerned that these commonly used terms have the potential of reinscribing, "the underlying conceptual difficulties of 'Multiculturalism' by continuing to start from the assumption of distinct and separated cultures" (p. 372). Multiculturalisms are founded on the premise that there are multiple, more-or-less distinct, cultures that require management, whereas Québec Interculturalism places a more significant focus on the interaction that occurs in and through these cultures – interaction that blurs cultural boundaries, and if properly understood, potentially enhances understanding of the dynamic, shifting, and overlapping nature of cultural (trans)formation. McDonald's contention is that cultures must be understood as having been constructed relationally, in and through one another rather than as separate entities that are now, due to globalizing realities, coming into contact. The difference is a

matter of degree. Whereas an Intercultural perspective views cultures as whole but subject to constant interaction and shifting, McDonald is forwarding a means of thinking about culture that is always and everywhere constructed relationally. Although McDonald is not speaking to the Québécois context specifically, his argument has significant bearing on how history and citizenship education is taken up in this province. Using McDonald's work, I characterize Québec as a cultural construction that has benefited from, defended itself against, and exchanged with other communities. As such, thinking Interculturally in history classrooms would diminish the nationalistic (exclusive) undertones that currently frame Intercultural citizenship in Québec to advance a more inclusive civic discourse.

According to McDonald (2011), thinking Interculturally has the potential to advance how we currently theorize citizenship in an Intercultural context: it guides us through the questioning of our current model of diversity by questioning the nature of citizenship, membership, and borders; it aims to destabilize our understanding of membership (or citizenship) as being defined according to national borders. Simply, thinking Interculturally is an active process in which the constructed natures of ethno-cultural categories are questioned, are delegitimized as natural, and consequently divided. This approach allows us to consider how histories, politics, and difference are told (in the rhetorical sense) and extends this approach to include a meta and/or critical analysis of the categories themselves. The result is that there is a heightened sensitivity to the inherent artificiality of nations, nationhood, and therefore nation-building; this offers the prospect of relationality in our constructions of civic identities. Rather than focusing on legally imposed nations as the sole civic "joiner," McDonald puts forward the possibility of focusing on community, specifically, "a community that is never final, always, infinitely, in process, a community without fixed borders, which, furthermore, has a singular 'membership' that constantly puts assigned roles or, indeed, the idea of a membership as such, in question" (McDonald, p. 378). In the context of Québec,

McDonald's argument offers a shift in how membership (citizenship) might be taken up, that citizens view themselves as Québécois with significant ties to linguistic communities outside of Québec. This approach to community destabilizes the fixity of nationhood in the traditional sense and provides a means of deeper connection to the French language via other Francophone communities, thus rendering it more "Intercultural."

Drawing from the writing of Jean-Luc Nancy (1991) and Maurice Blanchot (1988), McDonald (2011) elaborates his notion of thinking Interculturally using a literary model. Framing his discussion of Intercultural communities in a literary perspective, McDonald draws attention to the role of the author in forging and supporting already constructed communities. I equate McDonald's characterizations of the writer's role in constructing communities to the roles of history teachers. The three theorists — McDonald (2011), Blanchot (1998), and Nancy (1991) — discuss the "radical finitude" of the writer, in that she is always and everywhere limited by their positioning or by the roles they are expected to fill. This is exemplified by the binary conceptions of writers that are associated with either liberal or nation-building traditions. As McDonald explains, "in the first tradition… the writer is celebrated as the iconic individualist, in the second, as a spokesperson for the nation or the subnational community as such" (p. 377). As primary producers of civic discourses, history teachers are mandated to act as spokespeople for the nation, and this is especially true in Québec. However, the analogy only extends so far. A rejection of the nation's values on the part of a history teacher would be viewed as subversive, putting their careers in jeopardy. Therefore, from a critical perspective, the history teacher is in a specific bind in that his or her role is set up as one of handmaiden to the values imposed by the state. However, McDonald, with the help of Blanchot and Nancy, elaborates a third conception, that of the "singular" writer (or history teacher for our purposes) who negotiates a new role: that of being neither immersed in nor disconnected from, national discourses. This rejection of the binary between immersion and disconnection would

allow history educators to provide a set of perspectives that take into account the nuances of how power dynamics shape historical narratives and therefore shape civic discourse (or, how the stories are told). Second, history teachers should view the national character of Québec as one that is constructed, thereby loosening the xenophobic tendencies that come along with teaching history from patriotic or nationalist perspectives.

A history teacher who takes up a singular set of accounts positions him or herself within the civic discourse, avoiding strict categorizations such as Québec/Canadian or English/French. An example of this might be Anna, who describes herself as a trilingual Montrealer from a specific ethnic category. Anna self-identifies as having firm roots in Québec and also acknowledges the ways in which the province is transforming due to immigration and shifting values (as illustrated by her photos on p. 164-165). It is naïve to think that we can completely avoid all cultural reference points, or that cultures cannot be qualified through a certain set of lenses that make them separate. However, this separateness can be viewed relationally — as a moveable entity that, through interaction, is hospitable to (ex)change. Constructing an Intercultural historical narrative enters into what Nancy 1991) has called the "infinite conversation." McDonald (2011), following his predecessors, claims that the literary space is "understood not as determinate object with a definable essence but as a relatively fragile cultural space" (p. 377).

The spaces produced in history classrooms, by history teachers, can also be characterized as fragile and without a determined essence. History classrooms set up infinite conversations over and over again. As in literature, they are limited by the audience's (or the students') previous experiences with these conversations and by how they have been shaped to consume these narratives. For example, an individual having only been immersed in modernist novels with a strong emphasis on character, plot, and development, might respond less well to novels with anti-plots or fragmented narratives, such as Daphne Marlatt's (1997) *Ana Historic*. Similarly, there may be resistance from

students who have only known history from the winners' perspective if they are told to read Howard Zinn's (2005) *A People's History of the United States*. The infinite conversation in history teaching would draw from each of these conceptions of the text, resting on neither. Historical narratives are most conventionally used to offer the illusion of solidifying flimsy constructs of identities, the cultural relevance of borders, and difference among nationalities. History teaching that acknowledges the infinite character of these conversations focuses on community rather than nations, and networks rather than difference. Thinking Interculturally in a history classroom might then be considered an intervention on the history wars, teaching history from a "new" or "old" perspective; it has the potential to shift the ways in which political identities around questions of belonging and diversity are shaped. In this sense, Québec, illustrated as a community that interacts with and relies on other communities, offers the potential to prioritize French as the dominant language within the public sphere while also drawing from the diversity that has been inherited by the province. Enabling students to learn to value the French language while acknowledging the diversities of cultures that enact this language, rather than legislating a singular and seemingly coherent Québécois identity, is a means to Francophone identities. The singular Québécois identity is currently being forwarded in the media, in textbooks, and certainly in classrooms.

Thinking Interculturally: Cod. As purveyors of our civic discourses, history teachers play a specific role in shaping dominant views surrounding power, identity, and difference. In a specific sense, this would mean shifting discourses around power away from restrictive identity ideals toward a discourse that brings into view the very nature of these historically entrenched discourses. Since the study of history is the study of power, the task of the history teaching in this framework would be to make clear how dynamics of power shift, rather than naturalizing/neutralizing them. A significant upshot of this would be that cultural interdependence and exchange would frame how historical narratives are expressed. Anna's lesson on cod provided a meaningful example of what

thinking Interculturally might look like in a classroom. Situated within the section on Canadian Economies Post-European contact, this lesson depicted the cultures of exchange surrounding the fishing, treatment, and distribution of cod between the Gaspé, Newfoundland, and Europe. This narrative included a description of cod as one of Canada's main exports in the 14th and 15th century, and of the small settlements of Europeans that were established on the shores of the East coast for up to six months a year. As well, Anna included a discussion of how cod was prepared at the time and its continued value as a delicacy in Spain, Portugal, and in communities here in Québec. From an economic perspective, this story illustrated the ways in which borders were crossed to fish and treat the cod. It also depicted the shores of Eastern Québec and Newfoundland as locales of temporary residence and blending cultures. The theme of exchange ran throughout the narrative. Also notable was the compression and expansion of time and space.

> Essentially, why do Europeans eat so much fish? So, the reason why they eat so much fish, the Roman Catholics at the time in Europe, are restricted, they can't eat meat 160 days of the year. At that time, the Roman Catholic Church deemed that fish was not meat. Although if you speak to some vegetarians today that would say that, classify anything with a mother or a face as meat. Dietary restrictions, culturally and temporally determined, presents the students with a sense of how attitudes around meat eating, on one hand, have shifted, while also alluding to the level of [control] that the Roman Catholic Church had on Europe. Codfish is still a delicacy in European countries. The Spanish call it bacalao. Now it has become a delicacy. You cannot eat salted cod off the bone. Essentially, if anyone has eaten it, it's very part of the culture of Eastern European countries. Still today, if you were to eat it, you have to have it soak in water for at least 48 hours. And you have to change the water so it doesn't get too salty. And then the traditional preparation is to fry it or to put it in sauce, depending on where you go. The reason people enjoy it so much is because it's very flakey. So the

> codfish you get today isn't still produced in the same way. You don't have settlements on the coast of Newfoundland. The codfish you get today is dried in a wind tunnel. But it's still a delicacy. In the '90's they decided that there would be restrictions on cod fishing in Canada. (Anna, line 37)[77]

Anna's approach to history teaching, as described above, reflects what Seixas (2006) has described as historical continuity: Anna drew out cod as a cultural thread that was its own economy in the 15th century and that remains significant in Canadian and European culture. More pertinent to this conversation is how Anna examined and defined cultures as reciprocal, while maintaining their differences. There are different words for cod fish dishes, but the recipes are similar. Historically, the production of cod was a production of exchange; Anna framed this exchange as the manifestation of reciprocal need: the oceans off of the European coast had been over-fished and Canada needed a lucrative export in the 14th century. The settlements were built out of necessity, but were not depicted as being seeped in cultural controversies, conflicting political views, or animosity. Anna's is a narrative in which the diverse social and historical positionings of the actors are, in this instance, set aside to focus on the issue at hand: cod.

The singular teacher, just like the singular writer, adheres to an ethic of play regarding entrenched categories and the dynamics that feed into their construction. Working upon the premise that the nature of categories is to (de)limit the ways in which identities form and therefore interact, the singular teacher destabilizes their rootedness, invoking new ways of thinking about, and articulating, identity. Anna's brief narrative on the cod exchange remained within discourses of nationhood, reiterating Portugal and Spain as temporary settlers on the coast of Québec, for example, but framed this economic exchange as benign and in the best interest of all groups. Anna's

[77] As one commentator suggested, the histories of cod fishing and production can also be tied to post-colonial literatures on imperialism and post-colonialism. This offers potential for further research.

narrative makes significant moves toward what McDonald (2011) defines as thinking Interculturally in the context of history education. The gap in the narrative aligns it with a specifically active mode of thinking. Exposing how cultural categories come to be and maintain sway in social and political life is to reveal power dynamics. Anna's telling of how Québec's cod industry was an industry of amiable exchange maintains the integrity of the nations participating in the exchange. Simply, the discourse that Anna forwards elaborates the [amiable] nature of economic exchange but does not consider two crucial elements. First, the cultural shifts that occurred in and through these exchanges: How was Québec influenced by the presence of newcomers for months at a time? How were the fishermen and crews influenced by one another and by Québécois cultures? The nature of these questions brings us to the second point: this process of exploration makes explicit the fluidity of cultures and the complex subtleties of exchange.

There has been a prolonged and fervent attachment to the idea of Québec as a nation, as a settled entity in a continued process of (re)defining itself against Canadian and Multicultural values. This attachment to nation, however, detracts from the Intercultural policy's aim: to promote cultural integration in Québec. As I have outlined in previous chapters, the official version of Québec Interculturalism claims to have, first and foremost, the aim to preserve French as the dominant linguistic reality in Québec. However, as histories of nationalism have shown, this is not a simple process and often it bears significant consequences for those who are situated outside of national norms. The norms set out by the Intercultural policy are not limited to linguistic norms, as the history teachers have articulated. Rather, Québec nationalism has evolved into a constricted construction of what Québec and Québécois look like. Essentially, the official party line has been that Québec needs to implement measures (policies, bills) that ensure the maintenance of the French language. However, in reality, these measures have been used to promote a certain and exclusionary vision of citizenship, relegating those who do not fit into this construction as peripheral. The

recently proposed Charter of Québec Values illustrates how these processes of marginalization are taking place and being legitimized. Québec's Intercultural policy is a defense of status quo power dynamics under the guise of preserving the French language. However, these processes of preservation might be more inclusive and effective by engaging in a double move that invokes a more complex articulation of belonging, rootedness, and inclusion than is offered by current iterations of Québec's Intercultural model.

French cultures are not limited to the boundaries of Québec, even within a Canadian context. Provinces such as Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Ontario have fought for and maintained political and educational infrastructure to allow the French language to be sustained within majority Anglophone milieus. The stamina exercised by these communities illustrates how a minority language can subsist alongside cultural diversity and exchange. That is not to say that all Francophone communities are hotbeds of religious and cultural diversity, but simply that being a minority culture has put them in a position to seek out networks and hone cultures of exchange. These exchanges have emerged organically and out of necessity, the product of which is promoting interdependence between cultural groups and religious affiliations within the communities themselves. This presents an oppositional approach to what the tenets of Québec Interculturalism mandate. The Francophone communities, minorities within the minorities, are in a position to seek out partnerships that extend past strictly maintained parameters or identities. These groups are bound by their similarities, and their desire to preserve the French language. Preservation, in this context, does not mean subverting the allegiances (identities) of its citizens but rather painting a richer picture of diversity than what Québec has enabled thus far.

Conclusion

Interculturalism in Québec, as it is currently articulated, instills the French language as the frame for interaction. This means that while cultural diversity within the frame is encouraged and cultures are viewed as fluid, the frame itself is immovable. The moral contract is the mechanism through which this frame is held in place. This contract engages both newcomers and Québécois in dialogue surrounding cultural and religious diversities but instills the French language as the central mode of communication. Québec Interculturalism has been implemented as a mechanism and a means of preserving national unity through the French language. However, the Intercultural project cannot be detached from questions of identity, specifically from an educational perspective. We might understand civic education in this province as a first step towards the moral contract, in which students are asked to engage in civic dialogue and become aware of social and political boundaries (including the Intercultural frame). This frame informs, to a large extent, pedagogy by reifying the significance of Québec's borders, to the exclusion of those living outside these boundaries. A particular, and paradoxical, example is in the teaching of history in which students learn about how Francophonie in Québec has evolved despite, or in conflict with, the rest of Canada, including French-speaking communities outside of Québec. I am advocating that the "frame" advanced by the Intercultural policy be extended beyond the borders of Québec.

Scholars of Intercultural education outside of Québec argue that this model is aimed at making connections and building upon relationships with and between cultural (socially constructed) divides. Intercultural history education in Québec, as it is currently theorized and practiced (in many instances), reifies divides between linguistic and cultural communities. Despite claims to the contrary, emphasizing Francophone cultures within the borders of Québec to exclude other communities works against cultural preservation. From a practical perspective, an inclusive approach to history education that includes minority/minority communities (such as the Acadians or Franco-

Ontarians) would necessarily strengthen the state of the French language in Canada. By engaging with the ways in which other communities adopted and continue to maintain their cultural roots, education in Québec could provide a strengthened, and more inclusive, basis for the legitimacy and importance of the French language for Canada. The second issue is more ideological. As a means of cultural integration, the Intercultural model, as it is currently theorized, only provides opportunities for limited engagement with diversity.

Thinking Interculturally has the potential to build upon Québec Interculturalism by detracting from the "us" and "them" narratives that are constituent of nation-building discourses in history education. The Intercultural policy has been implemented for the purpose of preserving Québec's roots while providing citizens with the tools to encounter cultural diversity. The issue with this strategy is — as I illustrated in Chapter Three — that there are only very specific historical narratives that fit into the current construction of Québec Interculturalism. This works to limit the extent to which citizens are able and willing to encounter diversity. Thinking Interculturally would include multiple histories, illustrating Québec as a nation that has been constructed in and through diversity. Paradoxically, thinking Interculturally in history classrooms may strengthen allegiances to French language and cultures by rearticulating its boundaries to extend past the official borders of Québec. Loyalties may be dispersed beyond traditionally conceived borders of Québec. However, these allegiances may also be strengthened by an extended sense of solidarity. The current iterations of Québec Interculturalism are, at best, missed opportunities to foster a new and energized articulation of what it means to be Francophone and, at worst, enacts vicious forms of xenophobia, as illustrated by Québec's Charter of Values (2013).

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

My aim in this study was to explore the types of civic discourses that are produced in and through the Intercultural model, specifically in the context of history teachers. My findings were that entrenched power dynamics remain the elephant in the room in the discourse of Intercultural citizenship, and consequently also in history teachers' practice. History teachers' adherence to a Multicultural approach to citizenship is one of the implications of entrenched power dynamics, thereby creating a gap between the civic expectations that proponents of Québec's Intercultural model have established and how young citizens are being educated into civic life. The risk of this slippage is an ethical issue because Québec Interculturalism has built-in mechanisms, such as dialogue, to bring citizens together and places an increased responsibility on the individual to be able to negotiate conflicts related to cultural diversity. If students are being taught from a perspective that does not make the connection between classroom discussions and the role of dialogue in the public sphere, for example, some students are likely to be left out of, or alienated by, these conversations. The teachers all described citizenship as necessarily active and participatory, however the requirements of citizenship are slightly different within the Intercultural model and therefore need to be addressed within the classroom. Otherwise, the students who are less empowered to speak are further marginalized from civic engagement. The conflation of multicultural and Intercultural approaches to civic education brings me to my second argument, which is that the normative concern with Québec Interculturalism, as it is currently conceived, pays insufficient attention to the role of power in civic formation. Without a proper analysis of power, the Intercultural model in the context of history education might be considered nothing more than a tool for the "old" style of nation-building. This "old" style emphasizes connections to one's nation, while avoiding or ignoring how diversities contribute to the nation. My theoretical inquiry and analysis of the qualitative data

have revealed that the historical struggles about language, Francophone culture, and their relationship to the colonization of Aboriginal populations leave history teachers with very little in terms of making sense of how diversity contributes to the context of Québec. Simply, a significant barrier to the proponents of Québec's Intercultural narrative of inclusion is that there are a number of difficult social and political realities (such as the history of the Residential Schooling system in Québec) that are not acknowledged within our Geography, History, and Citizenship Education course. These omissions prevent teachers from really digging into issues of power, which is a necessary (but missing) step toward cultural inclusion.

Contributions

This project illuminates an unexplored facet of the Intercultural model: its indentured power dynamics. Acknowledging these power dynamics provides a better understanding of the intricacies of the model, and points to a significant and problematic gap in the current literature on the psychology of Québec Interculturalism. The debates on reasonable accommodation as well as the proposed Charter of Québec Values (2013) have been matters of public concern and debate in the past few years. That Aboriginal populations were excluded from the discussion on Reasonable Accommodation has been a matter of contention for many. My argument is that the omission of Indigenous populations points to a larger fracture in the Intercultural model itself, namely, an inability to reckon traumatic historical legacies with the expectation of moving forward in open and inclusive ways. This project takes a serious look at one of the major obstacles facing proponents of Québec Interculturalism in their aim to build up Québec as a society open to cultural and religious diversity. I argue that there are echoes of resistance about including diverse identities in the fabric of Québec society, which are embedded within the psychology of Québec Interculturalism (as it is currently conceived). While Québec Interculturalism is being presented as the solution to many of

these social and political fractures, my contention is that in some ways it reflects and (re)produces these recurring, underlying tensions.

It is the genesis of a means of theorizing and practicing history education that could provide a more inclusive way of encountering the Other in and through historical narratives. If classrooms are in fact spaces in which students develop their lenses through which they come to understand concepts such as identity, diversity, and power, it is certainly in these spaces that a nuanced capacity to think about these concepts must be introduced. Nation-building within history education impedes these critical abilities, creating strict divides between us and Other. If our aim is a more deeply integrated and inclusive society, we will need a more refined framework tool to think about how Québec Interculturalism might be presented in the context of history education.

Limitation

The most significant limitation to this study was the way in which I took up the photo-voice method. As a newcomer to the field of arts-based methodologies, I believe that there could have been more richness in the data captured by participants, as well as in my analysis of the data had I had more expertise with this method. I think that given my case, Québec Interculturalism in Québec, images could have provided an exceptional insight into how teachers not only intellectually understand the model, but how they view its relevance in day-to-day life. I believe that had I had more experience with the tool, my framing of the exercise would have been clearer for my participants. Overall, I felt that there was much more potential for the photo-voice method than I made use of in this study.

Implications

This research has theoretical implications for the fields of history education and philosophy of education. It also offers a potential alternative pedagogical approach. Québec's Intercultural

model, as stated by proponents of Québec's Intercultural model, is of significance because it shapes the ways that citizenship is experienced and practiced in the province (for example, proponents of Québec's Intercultural model's claim that there is a stronger focus on identity within this model than in the Multicultural model). As this project has shown, more nuanced appreciations for the tenets prescribed by Québec's Intercultural model are required. The literatures in History Education and philosophy of education are relevant to the overarching issues concerning diversity and inclusion in the province, but do not speak to the social and political particularities on the Québec context. As Létourneau (2008) has pointed out, debates on whether we should adopt the "old" history model that promotes cultural coherence or the "new" history model, aimed at deconstructing oppressive historical narratives, are simplistic and problematic. This is so because Intercultural citizenship in Québec means something a bit different than what is encompassed by either the "old" or "new" models. Similarly, the third model, historical consciousness, does not place enough emphasis on nation-building, making it equally inadequate in a Québec context. As I have demonstrated, history teaching is a complex and deeply political practice. The implications of this research for history educators is to open up the possibility of engaging in a practice that supports the Intercultural vision of community while engaging realities of marginalization and exclusion that have become prevalent in Québec.

Further Research

An idea that has persisted throughout my writing of this dissertation has been that there is important work to be done on what I've called the psychology of Québec Interculturalism. Bouchard and Taylor, individually[78] and collectively,[79] have discussed the anxiety that emerges in

[78] See Taylor (2012), *Québec Interculturalism or Multiculturalism?*; Bouchard (2011), *What is Québec Interculturalism?*

[79] See Bouchard and Taylor (2008b) Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation.

contexts of integration, on the part of both established and new citizens. This idea has struck me as I've thought through the multiple issues connected to power within the model. Memmi (1991) has articulated the psychic dimensions of colonialism, and while I think his analysis is apt in a Québec context, I also think that there is further work to be done on the psychic dimensions of Québec Interculturalism. It is noteworthy that the theme of anxiety is brought up as a meaningful but still somewhat peripheral analysis of current tensions in the province. To me, this anxiety is telling of the explicit connections that are being made between psychology, power, and politics in the Québec context. Further analysis about how these anxieties manifest, and also how they connect to and affect ingrained historical narratives, is both fascinating and necessary work.

Conclusion

The majority/minority binary, and the seemingly naturalized distinction between citizens "from here" and Other citizens, remain at the basis of many social and political interactions in Québec. The Intercultural model has made compelling attempts to move past this binary, and to create an environment in which diversity is acknowledged as contributing to a society that maintains the dominant Francophone linguistic culture. Québec Interculturalism might therefore be understood as the evolution of a set of attitudes and practices surrounding Otherness, rather than simply as a policy. This evolution has been marked by specific historical events within Québec's history. It is my contention that for this model to shift into a truly inclusive model, history and citizenship education must become a space in which more moments in Québec's history — including the painful moments in which power was abused — are included and interrogated. By simply replicating history and citizenship education according to dominant sets of standards, this problematic and potentially dangerous, conception of diversity is promoted.

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Appendix A: Data Sources

Method of Data Collection	Rationale
Classroom observations	• To gain first-hand insight into how teachers were enacting the perspectives they discussed in the interviews • To better understand how they constructed historical narratives in relation to cultural diversity • To have a sense of the types of lessons, exercises and activities that are shaping students' views of citizenship and diversity
Open-ended interviews	• To record teachers' views on their roles as history education in relation to citizenship • To better understand how they see the roles and responsibilities of a citizen in a diverse society • To see how they articulate the implications of the Intercultural model for their practice
Photo-voice	• To invoke a deeper appreciation of how they view and understand Québec Interculturalism in Québec • To see how they integrate their theoretical understandings of Québec Interculturalism into their lived experience and everyday lives
Field notes	• To record details relating to the aesthetic of the classrooms and the teachers' approaches
Document Analysis	• Includes hand-outs, textbooks, curriculum documents • To see how Québec Interculturalism is defined and illustrated by the tools that set the curricular guidelines for teachers

Appendix B: Interview Guide

Interview 1:

Lines of Inquiry

Basic Information

a. Name?
b. What school are you teaching in?
c. Can you briefly describe the school? What are its core values? Its mission statement?
d. What levels are you teaching this year?

Teaching/Learning History

e. Can you describe your history education?
f. What themes or events were discussed?
g. What perspectives did it take?
h. What were your reactions to your history education?
i. What would you say is your philosophy of history education?

Experience with and Reaction to the Reform

j. How long have you been teaching under Québec's reform?
k. What do you perceive as being the main goals of the reform?
l. How do you understand the relationship between history and citizenship in the reform?
m. What has been your experience, teaching citizenship, geography and history under the reform?
n. What do you perceive as being its strengths?
o. Its weaknesses?

Citizenship & History Education

p. What do you believe are the qualities of a good citizen?
q. How does that guide your teaching?
r. How do you understand the relationship between history and citizenship?
s. How does learning history contribute to how we understand citizenship in a contemporary context?
t. Do you feel like your teaching of history, geography and citizenship take on an interdisciplinary approach?
u. If so, how? Please provide examples.
v. What do you believe the aims of history education should be? Are these reflected in the QEP?

Québec Interculturalism

w. Can you briefly describe or define Québec Interculturalism?
x. How does this differ from Multiculturalism ?
y. Does this understanding come primarily from the QEP or from other sources as well (professional development, media, research, etc.)?

z. Do you feel you were adequately prepared to teach in an intercultural context?
aa. Does Québec Interculturalism inform your teaching?
bb. If so, how? (Specific examples).

Interview 2

Citizenship and History Education

a. What do you believe are the qualities of a good citizen?
b. How does your understanding of citizenship guide your teaching?
c. How does learning history contribute to how we understand citizenship in a contemporary context?
d. What do you think the aims of history education should be?
e. Are these reflected in the QEP?

Québec Interculturalism

f. Briefly define Québec Interculturalism.
g. How does it differ from Multiculturalism ?
h. Does Québec Interculturalism offer a new or different understanding of cultural diversity?
i. What do you think citizenship is from an Intercultural perspective?
j. How do you think teaching history from a multi or pluricultural framework might differ from teaching from a Intercultural perspective?
k. Has the Intercultural policy influenced your own teaching? If so, how?

Appendix C: Lesson Plans

Lesson	Description
Dante	
Industrialization – Formation of the Canadian Federation Confederation and Immigration policies	Lesson: • Has students look at a chart listing population decline previous to 1867 – asks students to comment on the chart • Frames immigration as necessary for a sustainable population • Discusses First Peoples in Canada as Aboriginal, French, English. • Provides a short overview of the make-up of colonies • She explained that the aim of her lesson was to demonstrate how immigration policies are part of larger social and political realities. Activity: • Students are given a set of policy documents that outlines criteria for immigration at various times post Confederation. These documents outline the types of workers Canada is seeking, who is barred from entering (such as people with a criminal record or who have health problems). It also highlights the specific nationalities that are sought after or barred from entering Canada. • Students are all given an identity card listing all the pertinent information of someone wishing to enter Canada. • Their task is to consider the how the criteria changes over the years to determine whether their "identity" would be allowed to enter Canada (and when). Dante asked students to answer the following questions in small groups: • How are these policies a reflection of Canadian society? • What kinds of reasons are you going to give for these changes?
Industrialization – The formation of the Canadian federation Exploring Identity, Culture and Nation as it existed in 1791 era	• Puts up a chart entitled "Québec then and now" that lists the identities present in Québec pre-1960 o British/English, Francophone, Aboriginals- points out that Aboriginals were subjects, not citizens. o French-Catholic, Jews English, Muslim Asian, Spanish, Irish, Moroccan, Scottish • Discusses how "flow of power" has shifted from "then" to "now" • Points out that this was a good step towards democracy, that all groups now have voting rights whereas they didn't before • Discusses the differences between biculturalism, pluriculuturalism, and Multiculturalism • Points out that how we identify ourselves is not always how other identify us – discusses example of being mistaken as "English" when she has no British blood in her • Discussion Question: What is the dominant social group in Québec?
Public Sphere – Issues in Québec	Lesson • Describes how to analyze a newspaper article (who, what, when, where, how?)

Society since 1960 Identity and Nation	• Hands-out a short editorial from the Gazette, "A holiday that all Quebecers can celebrate" (available at http://www.vigile.net/A-holiday-that-all-Quebecers-can) • The article points out the contributions of Anglophone leaders in the province • Students were given 10 minutes to think about the topic and the main idea of the article • Discussion question: "Do you believe that the writer is trying to address the patriot in a broader sense than how we usually understand it?" • Second half of the lesson: Unit Four – Struggle of the British Colony from 1791-1867 • discusses two political parties, describing the two model system as "straightforward." o Parti Patriote was the French Canadian professional class • Discusses the how class issues manifest in party politics • "History as logical" – "History is surprisingly logical." • Explains that in the rebellion there was very little to lose, that the consequences couldn't have been worst than what they already had • Discusses the issue of disparity, bringing in some students recent trip to India to explain/exemplify what she means by "disparity." • Points that reasons for disparity are "complex and varied."
Population and settlement Social Change (as a result of immigration)	• Described at length in Chapter 6
Sam	
Conception of the World The first occupants	• Uses power point • Culture isn't personal; it's social. It is not genetic • Brings in the example of Disney's treatment of women and Aboriginals to illustrate how identities are constructed through culture. Uses example of black men as heroes as questionable • Culture includes symbols (flags) and arts ("Bon Cop Bad Cop") • Cultural values often taken for granted (equality between men and women, for example) Movements of thought: • Lists liberalism, nationalism, fascism, communism • You tube clip titled, "Culture en Péril"[Culture in Danger] (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Uhgv85m852Q) • Students told to answer questions from their textbook Reperes (C1) in pairs and submit
Conceptions of the World	• Discusses dream catchers and asks students to think about what Aboriginal populations believe about dreams

The first occupants	• That they maintain balance between two worlds • Animism: explains that it's not a religion, but similar to a religion • Nobody imposes decisions – it's an egalitarian model • Transmission of values and culture: oral, fragile • Respect of the environment, belief that it does not belong to them • Respect of animals – honour the lives of animals and therefore don't waste any part of the body • Health: believe that sickness takes on three forms: physical, spiritual, emotional • Shows 15 minute clip from the film The Black Robe o Shows 2 male missionaries being kidnapped and tortured by the Iroquois o Hundreds of actors in the scene, all presumably Iroquois, watching the torture scene o Depicts missionaries as victims and the Iroquois as emotionless o Quote from Iroquois to the missionaries: "We will peel all your skin off and you will still be alive." • Sam explains that a Black Robe is someone who attempts to change another culture or the ideas of others • Explains that it was difficult to change the ideas of Aboriginal peoples
Aboriginal cultures and Anglophone Cultures in Contemporary Québec	• Detailed extensively in Chapter Four
Power Official Power and Counter-vailing Powers	• Contextualizes the lesson within the unit on power. • Reminds students that this is the third lesson, the first two were on the Church and the second on the State • Hands out a form entitled [see Appendix ??]; the hand-out depicts power flows between France and New France after 1663 • Explains that there is a strict and hierarchical rule of power and asks students to fill out the form by memory. Gives them 3 minutes to do so (this was a review from the previous year). • Explains all the positions in the flow chart, describing how much power each has in relation to the King of France (who has the most power). • After the students have finished, they discuss their answers as a group • Offers scenarios for students to work through together o If you hear that a group of Iroquois are making their way to your home to attack you, who do you contact first? (military captain in New France) o If your neighbour steals your cow and eats it, who do you go talk to? (Priest)

	○ If the priest is stealing money who would you contact? (Church Bishop) • Responses were discussed as a class, with students shouting their responses and Sam offering small notes of clarification or supplemental information • Explains that this content might be on the final exam and that students should keep their notes • Gives them the rest of the period to work on their final group projects
Anna	
Economy First Nations and Subsistence economies	• Explains that their job is to track economic trends from today back to 1500. • Asks students why not earlier than 1500 – launches into a discussion of how they are analyzing First Nations economies through a European gaze. "Europeans wrote it down, First Nations didn't." • Focuses on Iroquois and Algonquin nations • Shows the students a map indicating where they are located • Discusses the difference between subsistence and surplus economies – offers examples of why we are living in a surplus economy • Explains gender roles associated with hunting, gathering, and foraging • Asked students what they'd be served for lunch if they went to an Iroquoian village in 1500 ○ Students replied "corn and tobacco." • Discussion question: The last question: Explain why were the Iroquois able to live in a large village for several years while the Algonquian difference had to migrate in small groups. Why are they different? • Tells students to think critically about their response, that the answer is not in the textbook • Gives them time to discuss in small groups and then assigns it as individual homework.
Cod & Furs First Nations and Subsistence economies Economy	• Described at length in Chapter 7
Economy Economyand Development Economic Development	• Shows a you tube video of a well known Québécois song entitled "Dégénération,"(http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vP56SSH6ZCU) [French and English lyrics can be found in Appendix ??] • Reminds students that the British conquest happened in 1760 and tells students that this song indicates the shifts in culture and

The effects of economic activity on the organization of the society and territory	economies in Québec since then. • Asks the students to listen to the song and to think about primary, secondary and tertiary economies (that they've been learning about) • After the video, asks students to make links between the narrative in the song and the economic realities within Québec o Example of question: how does economic reality affect the number of children a family has? • Explains that the message in the video was that our grandparents owned their own land and now we are living in small apartments wishing we had our own land to farm. • Asks the students to make the link between Québec's economy and the realities facing Greece and Spain today • Points out that many people are facing hardships all over the world and that social systems are breaking down as a result

Appendix D: Song Lyrics

Dégénération

Ton arrière-arrière-grand-père, il a défriché la terre
Ton arrière-grand-père, il a labouré la terre
Et pis ton grand-père a rentabilisé la terre
Pis ton père, il l'a vendue pour devenir fonctionnaire
Et pis toi, mon p'tit gars, tu l'sais pus c'que tu vas faire
Dans ton p'tit trois et demi bien trop cher, frette en hiver
Il te vient des envies de devenir propriétaire
Et tu rêves la nuit d'avoir ton petit lopin de terre
Ton arrière-arrière-grand-mère, elle a eu quatorze enfants
Ton arrière-grand-mère en a eu quasiment autant
Et pis ta grand-mère en a eu trois c'tait suffisant
Pis ta mère en voulait pas ; toi t'étais un accident
Et pis toi, ma p'tite fille, tu changes de partenaire tout l'temps
Quand tu fais des conneries, tu t'en sauves en avortant
Mais y'a des matins, tu te réveilles en pleurant
Quand tu rêves la nuit d'une grande table entourée d'enfants
Ton arrière-arrière-grand-père a vécu la grosse misère
Ton arrière-grand-père, il ramassait les cennes noires
Et pis ton grand-père - miracle! - est devenu millionnaire
Ton père en a hérité, il l'a tout mis dans ses RÉERs
Et pis toi, p'tite jeunesse, tu dois ton cul au ministère
Pas moyen d'avoir un prêt dans une institution bancaire
Pour calmer tes envies de hold-uper la caissière
Tu lis des livres qui parlent de simplicité volontaire
Tes arrière-arrière-grands-parents, ils savaient comment fêter
Tes arrière-grands-parents, ça swignait fort dans les veillées
Pis tes grands-parents ont connu l'époque yé-yé
Tes parents, c'tait les discos; c'est là qu'ils se sont rencontrés
Et pis toi, mon ami, qu'est-ce que tu fais de ta soirée ?
Éteins donc ta tivi ; faut pas rester encabané
Heureusement que dans' vie certaines choses refusent de changer
Enfile tes plus beaux habits car nous allons ce soir danser...

English Translation

Degeneration

Your great-great-grandfather, he cleared the land
Your great-grandfather, he plowed the land
And your grandfather made the land profitable
And your father sold it to become a state employee
As for you, my boy, you don't know what you're gonna do
In your small one bedroom way too expensive, cold in the winter
Some wants to become an owner come over you
And you dream at night to own a small plot of land

Your great-great-grandmother, she had fourteen children
Your great-grandmother had almost as many
And your grandmother had three it was enough
And your mother didn't want any; you were an accident
As for you, my girl, you change partner all the time
When you do something stupid, you get out of it with an abortion
But there are mornings, you wake up crying
When you dream at night of a big table surrounded by kids
Your great-great-grandfather, lived in misery
Your great-grandfather, collected pennies
And your grandfather - miracle! - became a millionaire
And your father inherited it and put it all in his RRSPs
As for you, young one, you owe your ass to the government
No way to get a loan in a banking institution
To calm your urges to hold-up the cashier
You read books about voluntary simplicity
Your great-great-grandparents, the knew how to celebrate
Your great-grandparents were swinging hard at parties
And your grandparents saw the ye-ye period
Your parents were discos, that's where they met
As for you my friend, what do you do with your evening?
Just turn off your TV; you shouldn't stay inside
Luckily in life some things refuse to change
Put on your nicest clothes because tonight we're going dancing...
http://lyricstranslate.com