How does interculturalism facilitate diversity incorporation into the cultural policy mainstream? Montreal's case study

1 author:

Ricard Zapata-Barrero
University Pompeu Fabra
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RICARD ZAPATA-BARRERO
Universitat Pompeu Fabra

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ABSTRACT

After conceptualizing multiculturalism and interculturalism as two main categories of analysis, I propose an interpretive framework to identify the main drivers of change/continuity in mainstream cultural policy when incorporating diversity. I will use Montreal as a case study and I will undertake documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with the main key-agents of cultural governance. The findings confirm one main pattern: interculturalism is a policy approach that facilitates the process of diversity incorporation in mainstream cultural policy, while multiculturalism is the basis of most of the tensions identified. In fact, to understand the initial tensions that decide continuity/change in cultural policies, two notions of culture are at odds: a narrow view which perceives immigrants as national bearers (ethnic-based view of culture) and a broader notion viewing culture as creative expression (an artistic-based view). The article will culminate with a proposal for a discussion framework to enable further research linking interculturalism/cultural policy.

KEYWORDS

diversity
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multiculturalism
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1. INTRODUCTION

In analysing diversity incorporation in mainstream cultural policy, and focusing on the tensions that govern the process of continuity/change, two notions of culture are at odds: a narrow view that perceives immigrants as cultural bearers of their own nationality (an ethnic-based view of culture) and a broader meaning that views culture as creative expression (an artistic-based view of culture). In this framework, I would argue that in the multicultural approach to diversity, incorporation is considered as part of the problem, and in the intercultural approach to diversity, incorporation is part of the solution, since it offers resources to deal with the tension between these two views. This narrow view of culture basically comes from multiculturalism, a policy approach to dealing with immigration-related diversity that has been a master narrative over recent decades (Kymlicka 2016) and has generated an explosion of the literature within diversity, migration and citizenship studies (see, for instance, Kymlicka 1995; Parekh 2000; Barry 2001; Stevenson 2001; Isin and Turner 2002; Modood et al. 2006; Phillips 2007; Modood 2007; Vertovec and Wessendorf 2009; Crowder 2013; Vertovec 2014). The case study I have conducted in Montreal shows us that this narrow view needs to be challenged since it functions basically as a restrictor rather than facilitator of diversity incorporation in mainstream cultural policy.

To frame this argument better, I will first deal with the theoretical implications involving the introduction of a broader view of culture as a creative activity in migration studies. Currently, there is an emerging debate on cultural citizenship where culture, in this broader view, is considered as a way of promoting citizenship through socialization (Stevenson, ed. 2001; Zapata-Barrero 2015a). From this particular focus, I will argue that this view is specifically connected with an emerging diversity policy paradigm that places the ethnic-based view of culture as a constraint for policy change: interculturalism. This emerging policy paradigm has a specific view of diversity as an advantage and an opportunity (Wood 2004) and takes contact between people from different backgrounds, including citizens, as the basis of community cohesion (Cantle 2016), immigrant integration (see for instance Guidikova 2015) and as intercultural citizenship (Zapata-Barrero 2016). Conceptualizing, then, multiculturalism and interculturalism as two main categories of analysis, I will analyse the main drivers of change/continuity by taking Montreal as a case study. I will follow documentary analysis and in-depth interviews with the key-agents participating in this process.[1] My final purpose is to confirm one main pattern: that the intercultural policy paradigm, once consolidated in a given context, acts as a facilitator for diversity incorporation in mainstream cultural policy and that the multicultural policy paradigm functions as a restriction. Consequently, at the end of this article, I will propose a discussion framework for further research connecting interculturalism and cultural policy.

2. DRAWING AN INTERPRETATIVE FRAMEWORK LINKING CULTURAL POLICY, DIVERSITY AND INTERCULTURALISM

My immediate purpose is to draw an interpretative framework interrelating two main dimensions: (1) the need to distinguish two registers of culture when analysing the incorporation of diversity within mainstream cultural policy and (2) to argue that the intercultural approach is more appropriate than the multiculturalist approach when the aim is to help manage the initial tensions that arise when these two views of culture are at odds in this process.

a. Two registers of culture: Ethnic-based and artistic-based views

Influenced by the multicultural policy paradigm, migration-related diversity studies have basically followed a narrow meaning of culture[2] which now needs to be challenged by incorporating a broader view – essentially coming from cultural studies. We already know that one of the main efforts of multicultural scholars has been to reconcile collective minority cultures with the individual majority, offering a specific perspective of culture (community or group-based). Some premises are that the concept of 'culture' is territorially and/or nationally embedded (Castles 2000: 5), de-essentialized (Modood 1998), and always assuming that in its political and social function it is one of the main channels of fostering the feeling of belonging and even loyalty. With some variants, we can also mention Carens (2000) and Parekh (2000), and even Modood (2007), who also fall within this broad perspective of culture as national identity and the sense of belonging to a collective identity. Sharing this assumption, Turner (2001) from citizenship studies has also offered a cultural empowerment, rights-based approach, exemplifying this national-based approach of culture, understood as the capacity to participate effectively and successfully within the national culture. For Turner, this involves having access to basic educational institutions, the possession of a 'living' language, the ownership of cultural identity through national citizenship and the capacity to hand on to future generations the richness of a national cultural heritage (Turner 2001: 12. See also within citizenship studies, Stevenson 2001). This national-based approach to culture is assumed to be necessary for a political body and/or a set of rights to ensure its survival, with the state and the concept of liberal citizenship being the greatest exponents. Indeed, this citizenship concept functions as the main institutional mechanism not only to maintain national culture but also to reproduce and secure it. In sum, within these different lines of reflection, culture has been basically seen as the 'national cultural practice of immigrants' (national festivities of the immigrants, religious practices related to their origin, national communitarian meetings and so on).

If we go from migration and citizenship studies to cultural studies, we see that the incorporation of diversity within cultural planning and policies is a relatively recent research field (see, among others, the seminal works of Cardinal 1998; Bennett 2001; Baeker and Cardinal 2001; Ghilardi 2001; Baeker 2002; Martiniello 2014; Zapata-Barrero 2015). There is, however, a shared view in the sense that the first reaction produces questions within the national paradigm of culture, namely, one that says that the main purpose of diversity incorporation into cultural policies is to reproduce the diversity of national identities (see Bonet and Négrier 2011: 574, who begin their work with a quite challenging question: 'Does cultural diversity imply the end of national cultures?').

The new register that needs to be put forward emphasizes the creative sense of culture, or as Williams (1976: 90) rightly distinguished, 'culture as artistic activity.' Within this line of differentiating several senses of culture, Stanley (2005), in my view, offers an inspiring distinction between Culture H (Heritage): the repository of past meanings, symbols and cultural traditions; Culture C (Creativity): the making of new meanings and symbols through discovery and creative activity in the arts; and, finally, Culture S (Symbols): the set of symbolic tools from which individuals construct their ways of living. We need then to introduce this sense of Culture C, so closely related to the artistic sense put forward by Williams.

2. Our main purpose is to argue that there is a national-based approach of culture in the multicultural paradigm, but we are fully aware there is an internal debate within multiculturalism with different views on how to deal with cultural differences. See, among others, M. Murphy (2012) and S. Song (2016).

3. There is also a perspective of culture as a means of political mobilization that can be found in Martiniello (2015).

4. As we know, it is UNESCO that was the first international institution to offer a developmental approach to culture. In this initial stage, we can identify two important documents: the first is the Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development, entitled 'Our Creative Diversity' (1996), followed by the Plan of Action adopted by the Intergovernmental Conference on Cultural Policies for Development (Stockholm, 1998).

5. The Agenda 21 for Culture is a network of cities that have pledged to link the social dimension of culture, identity and the creative and innovative development dimension. http://www.agenda21culture.net/index.php?lang=ca.

6. See the last Intercultural Cities Workshop's Report, Sports, Arts and Culture in the Intercultural City (20–21 November 2014, Limerick, Ireland) with case studies (Limerick, Regio Emilia, Dublin, Bilbao).

This new sense of culture emphasizes the fact that immigrants are not only bearers of their own national traditions, but can also develop artistic and creative activities (in music, theatre, painting or any artistic expression). In any case, the argument I would like to put forward is that the incorporation of diversity within mainstream cultural policy necessarily involves viewing immigrants as cultural bearers of their own nationalities (the multicultural approach of culture) or viewing immigrants as having artistic/creative capacities. In analysing the Montreal case study, we will see that the tension between these two senses is very real in practice, and most of the time this debate constrains policy change in cultural policy. The intercultural approach precisely allows us to overcome pre-conceptions of the national-based view of the culture of immigrants. This will allow me to argue that the multicultural view of culture functions as a restrictor rather than a facilitator of the incorporation of diversity into the cultural policy mainstream.

This broad view of culture does not necessarily need to be taken in a professional way, but rather in a more social way: as the practice of involving the creative and artistic capacities of immigrants into the popular culture, for instance.[3] Developing cultural activities for their own leisure (as producers or simply as consumers of culture), for instance, allows immigrants to foster citizenship and a sense of belonging in the micro-space where they live.

This broad view of culture highlights a developmental and deterritorialized approach that the narrow view fails to allow, and it supposes an appropriation by immigrants with adequate resources for the creation, production, dissemination and consumption of culture. It is only very recently that the international community has contributed to the emergence of a favourable climate for the creativity of all, making culture a factor in development.[4] This perspective of international organizations has shifted in recent years to a more local perspective, with Agenda 21 of culture being one of the paradigmatic initiatives.[5]

b. How the view of culture as artistic and creative practice invites an intercultural approach to cultural policy

My second argument is probably more policy oriented. It states that the incorporation of diversity into the cultural policy mainstream invites an intercultural approach. As has been noted from the beginning of the intercultural debate, this policy paradigm has a much more open and developmental view of culture (see the seminal works of Wood 2004; Bloomfield and Bianchini 2004; Clarijs et al. 2011; Cantle 2012; Zapata-Barrero 2015c), sharing the rejection of any pre-social attributions in categorizing diversity. The few works linking cultural policy and interculturalism also assume these premises (Bloomfield and Bianchini 2004; Khan 2006; Brecknock 2006), as well as most policy practices.[6] Therefore, it has been argued that interculturalism develops more favourable resources for an open view of culture as composite and always as a dynamic process. It is also against the idea of culture as something closed in a national-iron cage, or even enclosing a national identity onto an immigrant which that person may or may not wish to be identified with.

Interculturalism also incorporates all people into its policy scope (without exception, including national citizens), without a view of society based on ethnic divisions. This leads us to argue that interculturalism also claims the need to reassess what we may call the 'immigrant/citizenship divide' that has dominated the diversity debate in migration studies. What interests me in this

divide is the consequence of always reproducing a certain discourse where 'we' citizens are not the subjects of diversity policies. Multiculturalism has always taken for granted that 'diversity is the others'. In the policy-making process, the population is divided between citizens and non-citizens, nationals and non-nationals, immigrants and citizens. This migration focus has the effect of reproducing a certain power relation between majority-citizen and minority-ethnic that fails to create bridges among these two sets of people. Instead, this framework reinforces the idea of separate categories of people just as diversity policies have mainly targeted one part of the population, be they called immigrants, non-nationals, ethnic minorities or a range of other conceptualizations in different countries and contexts. Today, in a scenario where second and third generations of migrants live in Europe, where the only attachment to their society of origin comes from their parents, most so-called citizens have an immigrant background, and consequently, this division of the population that probably made sense in earlier stages of the migration process is now very difficult to sustain.

The contacts-based approach of interculturalism naturally pursues a mainstreaming view of public policy dealing with diversity.[7] This feature is probably another driver facilitating diversity incorporation into existing cultural policies. From this perspective, the main concern of interculturalism is to ensure the basis of contact, communication and interaction (Cantle 2016; Zapata-Barrero 2016).

Using these particular views of multiculturalism and interculturalism as categories of analysis, we can examine the process of institutionalization of a structure of cultural governance of diversity, taking Montreal as a case study. My main argument here will be that the intercultural approach helps us to understand the process of change, and that the multicultural category of analysis can also help us to understand most of the restraints that exist when incorporating diversity into the cultural policy mainstream in Montreal, which subsequently favours continuity.

3. WHY MONTREAL AS A CASE STUDY?

For over twenty years, Montreal has fostered an intercultural policy narrative as a way to distinguish itself from Canada's multicultural approach. This approach placed Quebecois identity in the same basket of diversity as the indigenous population and immigrants (the three basic dimensions of multiculturalism that had penetrated the debate, Kymlicka 1995) and was basically seen as detrimental to the survival of the French language. It claimed that the interrelation between the minority and the majority (Quebecois national culture) must be at the centre of the negotiation, and then directly placed the dialogue between Unity and Diversity as the main framework to legitimize policies towards immigrants. There are many scholars that have articulated this policy philosophy (Labelle and Rocher 2009; Gagnon and Iacovino 2016; Rocher 2015) but the one that has certainly been the most influential is Bouchard (2015), one of the authors of the last *Bouchard-Taylor report* (2008), which was the result of an open, scholarly and public-wide debate that set the basis of this intercultural philosophy.

In this context, Montreal in 2011 was the first city in Canada to become a member of the Intercultural City Programme (led by the Council of Europe since 2008). According to the ICC (Intercultural Cities Index), the rate of achievement of Montreal's commitment to intercultural management is

7. The fact that interculturalism is closely related to mainstreaming policy has been analysed, taking Barcelona as the main case study, by Zapata-Barrero (2015). It is also theoretically argued in Zapata-Barrero (2017).

78 per cent. The city has designed a strategy, has developed an action plan and has a dedicated cross-departmental coordination structure, which is responsible for the action plan (Council of Europe 2011). Even if it is internally debated with its multiple nuances and perspectives, as was shown, for instance, during the Taylor-Bouchard period, interculturalism is then, let us say, its mark of policy identity. When Montreal began to incorporate diversity into its mainstream cultural policy, it already had this policy paradigm as its main approach. This process also generated a strong internal debate between the main cultural managers and policy makers. Following this interpretive framework, I will argue that most of the initial difficulties lie in a different understanding of culture, and even in a view that each defender of one approach may view the other as a threat. According to my main argument, I will show that this process of bridging two meanings of culture that were initially at odds has been achieved because there was a consolidated intercultural approach that facilitated this connection.

The fact that we are using Montreal as a case study is therefore not circumstantial. It illustrates in practice how the incorporation of diversity within mainstream cultural policy is being facilitated by the existing intercultural approach, making clear its distance from the multicultural paradigm (Bouchard 2016). This last policy narrative sees immigrants as a threat to the mainstream function of cultural policy: to keep and reproduce Quebecois identity. The case study also shows that even if the development of the Quebecois identity and the national identity of immigrants could be at odds, these initial tensions were resolved because all the key-players had a consolidated intercultural mindset. This allowed changes in the process of diversity incorporation instead of stagnation and repulsion.

To identify the main drivers, I will follow three steps: (1) I will briefly introduce the history of the process of institutionalization of diversity incorporation in mainstream cultural policy. (2) I will identify the main structure of cultural governance of diversity in Montreal to show how diversity has received specific attention. (3) I will evaluate the process through a set of interviews with the main cultural managers and promoters (key-players).

a. A brief historical introduction: How the cultural policy/diversity nexus was institutionalized

The starting premise was that the artistic world of the city saw that the growing presence of immigrant artists represented a different challenge for integration into the professional artistic life of the city. The debate has raged since the late 1990s but its key period was in 2003–04, when the Conseil des Arts de Montréal (CAM) launched the linking process between cultural policy and diversity, following the axis of international organizations such as UNESCO and Agenda 21 for Culture.

From the very beginning, the cultural community understood 'cultural integration' under two complementary dimensions: first, the incorporation of immigrant artists into the mainstream cultural world of Montreal; second, culture as a mediator to foster interpersonal relationships in neighbourhoods and districts of the city, following the intercultural approach already fostered by immigration managers. In both cases, culture was used in the sense of artistic/creative activity, against a certain multicultural view of 'cultural folklore' of the nations of origin of immigrants, as was pointed out by one of the interviewees.

In this period, the CAM organized a meeting considered by all the interviewees as one of the most important innovations, the *Table de Consertation pour la Diversité Culturelle* which consisted of some 30 delegates. At first, there was great resistance to this meeting, and even active lobbying, both at the institutional level and at the level of the main private and public cultural agents. All those present at the meeting agreed to overlook this reaction and all agreed to create a monitoring committee that was to last for two years. This committee was especially active in seeking alliances in the world of culture and building relevant arguments legitimating this new framework within cultural policies. The major achievement was that CAM's Board of Directors (*Conseil d'Administration*) agreed to integrate the notion of diversity and artistic diversity into the mainstream policy focus and to make a roadmap for strategic action. As was highlighted in an interview with one of the protagonists, there was even an intention for this board to have a 25 per cent quota of immigrant artists, but this representation was unsuccessful. One of the problems was that people had to look within the art world for an immigrant expert in a particular discipline, and this proved to be difficult due to a lack of prior identification of these artists.

From 2003 to 2004, the CAM began extensive work on socialization and discourse building by agencies working in culture and diversity. The success of this preliminary internal work was considered key to achieving the legitimacy to carry out the design of a strategy for society as a whole. The world of culture initially saw this initiative as being too focuses and considered that it could be interpreted as an affirmative action that hindered local artists who already had many difficulties in developing their careers.

After two years, a *Policy for the promotion and development of cultural diversity in the Arts* (2007) was developed. In 2009, the CAM conducted a *Strategic Plan* (2009–12) to guide actions linking culture and diversity. After 2011, they drew up an *Action Plan for cultural diversity in the arts 2012–15,* which can be considered the first implementation of the new approach in society. This plan emphasized, by the same token, the importance of facilitating 'Intercultural Encounters and collaborations' and strengthening intercultural artistic activities. Undoubtedly, these preliminary initiatives helped to facilitate closer intercultural ties and encouraged the inclusion of diversity in the Arts. But these first strategic actions also involved the construction of a network of institutional actors constituting the cultural governance framework.

b. Identifying the network institutional agents: A comprehensive structure of cultural governance of diversity in Montreal

I will introduce the main agencies managing the cultural governance of diversity and how mainstream and specific institutions structure three levels of power relations (Figure 1). I will emphasize that each develops a function with a comprehensive view on how to deal with the diversity/culture nexus.

At the first level, there is the Arts Council of Canada (*Conseil des Arts Canada,* CAC), the Council of Arts and Letters of Quebec (*Conseil des Arts et des Lettres de Quebec,* CALQ) and the Arts Council of Montreal (*Conseil des Arts de Montréal,* CAM). These three are the political bodies (federal, provincial and local) that are mainly responsible for all political and financial aspects of cultural governance.[8]

Then, at a second level, there are two mainstream institutions (Culture pour Tous and Culture Montreal), basically dealing with general aspects of

8. As the analysis does not contemplate the amount of funding, we have placed it in the same plan.
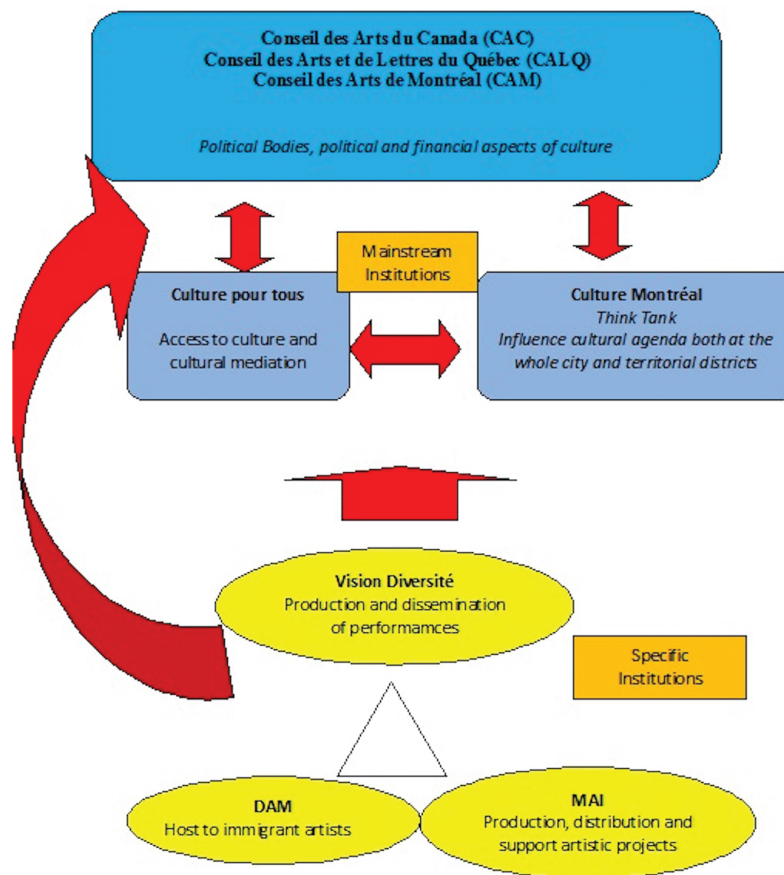
Figure 1: Network of institutional agents managing the cultural governance of diversity.

cultural policy planning, which have incorporated the dimension of diversity within their general logic of action. Culture pour Tous focuses on access to culture and cultural mediation, while Culture Montreal is a think tank whose main mission is to influence the cultural agenda of Montreal, acting both at the city level and in the different territorial districts. This organization is at the cultural forefront because it proactively reflects the culture and diversity nexus from the very beginning while promoting the participation of all cultural stakeholders to shape the agenda and its action plan. Culture pour Tous is an agency that seeks to promote citizen participation in culture and to ensure citizenship access. It promotes the democratization of culture and is thus directly concerned with giving an answer to the main problems of equality posed by the culture/diversity nexus. Despite not framing these actions under the concept of cultural citizenship (Zapata-Barrero 2015a), its notion is the backbone of each of these two organizations. An example is the practices of Culture Café Citoyen de Montreal which acts in different districts of Montreal.

Finally, there are three specific agencies covering different dimensions within an institutional logic of complementarity: Vision Diversity is dedicated to the production and dissemination of performances (mostly musical);

Diversity Artistique Montreal (DAM) is a structure that hosts immigrant artists, mainly by accompanying their first steps and Montreal Art Interculturel (MAI) assists in the production, distribution and support of artistic projects (see Figure 1).

As we can see, this structure of cultural governance encapsulates the incorporation of diversity within mainstream cultural policies. Following our interpretative framework, two dimensions of the meaning of culture are present: the immigrant as artist/creator both at the professional level and at the citizenship level and the immigrant as a bearer of his or her own national culture. The intercultural approach is mentioned in all of the documents and interviews as a natural path and as the background of policies, as well as the social and identity dimensions of cultural policies, and the developmental approach of culture. We can thus infer that considered broadly, and taking into account the multiplicity of aims and actions, this structure of cultural governance confirms what the *Plan Montreal, Cultural Metropole: a cultural development policy for Ville de Montreal 2005–15* states in its introduction 'culture is already at the heart of Montreal's identity, history and social cohesion. With this policy, Montréal also affirms that culture is a key driver of its development, economic vitality and future prosperity' (2015: 1); it goes on to say that 'arts and culture also mean intercultural dialogue, social emancipation, research and innovation, contribution to the economy – in fact, all the dimensions that, in the past decades, have become the benchmarks of Montréal's social evolution' (6).

To strengthen this focus, I will try to identify the main issues and challenges encountered in the process. My argument again is that the already existing contacts-based approach of interculturalism has helped to drive the penetration of diversity within the cultural policy mainstream and has also helped to manage the tension between two views of culture: a creative and artistic-based approach and an ethnic and national-based view of culture.

c. How interculturalism framed the structure of cultural governance on diversity

We initially conducted interviews thinking in general terms of Montreal, and in particular as representative of their agency. We framed the interviews with the main purpose of understanding when and how interest in incorporating diversity within the cultural policy mainstream begins. We identified the major institutional mechanisms that allowed for the launching of the first initiatives, the main items on the agenda and the challenges encountered.

I will organize the produced information around four thematic tracks (background, initial tensions, balance statement and challenges). I will show that the main theoretical argument introduced in the first part of this article is confirmed empirically, namely, that the pre-existing intercultural approach facilitates diversity incorporation into the mainstream of cultural policy. I will then show how interculturalism was used as a strategic tool to deal with the tensions provoked by two views of culture: the artistic one, and the ethnic and national one, basically identified with the multicultural policy approach by all the interviewees.

• Background: What were the main factors involved in the process?

It is surprising that all the interviewees share the initial assessment that after almost ten years, the feeling of being in an experimental stage still

9. There is a wide literature on this Quebecois debate, directly influencing the strategic orientation of the accommodation politics during the last decade of the past century. See among others the contributions of Labelle (2009).

remains. This is probably due to the strong awareness of being in an institutional building process with strong unresolved tensions. But the truth is that there is a solid cultural governance structure that has been put in place, combining mainstream and specific structures that follow a logic of complementarity. All recognize that the intercultural approach has been a great ally in helping to make sense of the first initiatives.

In a period when the public debate revolved around the notion of 'cultural community' (*communauté culturelle*) rather than cultural diversity,[9] the *Conseil des Arts de Montréal* (CAM) was the first organization to promote the internal debate within the culture's circles. Its purpose was to gauge the suitability and potential effects of incorporating diversity into the mainstream of their policies. The concern was initially to ensure the inclusion of immigrant artists who do not work in the same way as local ones, and who do not have the same artistic practices or equal opportunities. Consequently, this original debate was extended to employing culture as a mediator in the development of social projects and cohesion programmes, especially in districts with a strong presence of immigrants at risk of exclusion. Without this first step, there would have been no public discussion or initiatives.

• Initial tensions: the main restraints of the process

It is recognized that at the beginning, this process was not easy because of the initial resistance to the introduction of changes in 'traditional mainstream patterns'. This could be interpreted within the framework we have discussed previously and, according to my general argument, is very familiar with the broad public debate on interculturalism in Montreal. I have grouped the several arguments into two main tensions.

Tension 1: Resistance of the elitist view of culture and unforeseen social problems of diversity representativeness.

The initial resistance, together with the lack of flexibility and agency closure, was driven by a mainstream elitist focus. Concerns revolved around the need to keep 'cultural excellence' as the sole criterion without distinguishing between immigrant and citizen artists/cultural consumers. This elitist cultural industry prevented any early progress of directly introducing diversity because, according to one of the interviewees, this could affect the quality of cultural products. This was even stated without recognizing that immigrants as artists and as cultural consumers and producers were confronted by a rigid structure of a lack of opportunities and were practically absent in the mainstream cultural life of Montreal.

At the beginning then, in the world of the corporatist cultural managers, the culture/diversity nexus was not perceived as a problem; it was just considered that there were no artists of diversity, and that if there were, they did not have any additional problems in joining the mainstream culture (both to produce and to consume). The first step was to undertake the huge task of internal socialization and to build awareness so that cultural managers could understand the problems of discrimination, lack of equal opportunities, lack of participation or simply the lack of recognition of their artistic and creative activities. With this starting point, as one interviewee pointed out, another difficulty was to convince the most elitist cultural institutions, such as opera or theatre, to incorporate immigrant artists into their social programmes, for example, during the *Journée de la Culture*.

This followed from the lack of a clear system of recognition to legitimate the incorporation of artists of diversity. For instance, some of the organizations

that formulated reception policies raised many practical questions: What should be the criteria to follow and should the criterion be the subject (the nationality of the person) or the object (product/project)? If the criterion is excellence, which juries are able to assess a particular discipline or artistic work? How does one recognize the artistic excellence and professionalism of immigrants? What are the dividing lines between professional culture and popular culture when diversity becomes the framework of discussion?

Tension 2: Feeling of threat to Quebecois culture, and therefore resistance coming from the national(istic) conception of culture.

With the possibility of incorporating diversity into mainstream culture, the cultural community quickly felt that this would suppose an uncontrolled wave that would threaten their traditional Quebecoise culture, and in this way, slow the function of cultural policy to generate traditional national identity bonds. This debate reproduced, by means of concrete policy way, the broad framework for discussions between majorities and minorities that characterizes the intercultural discourse in Quebec (Bouchard 2015). During the meeting organized by the CAM, the cultural circles in the city felt worried because they were aware that there was great potential for further innovation and creativity, but that this move would confront the Quebecois identity with national-cultures from all around the world. Following our interpretative framework, at this point, the two meanings of culture were at odds: First, a narrow sense of culture as national Quebecois identity and belonging, and extending this perspective, seeing immigrants as cultural bearers of their national origin in the strictest multicultural view. Second, and in the broader sense, considering culture as simply an artistic and creative activity, independent of the national background of the agents and products. The cultural political elite wanted to protect their way of making national culture and considered that immigrant artists may prove problematic in this national-culture building process.

This discussion framework made it difficult to assess the need to create specific institutions or incorporate diversity within the existing agencies' main missions. While all organisms are for both immigrants and Quebecois, specific ones would have a majority of immigrants. This was seen as a potential multiculturalist, 'segregationist' problem for culture, namely, that the immigrant artists who entered into specific actions had difficulties afterwards in joining the mainstream culture of the city. How is it possible to avoid this outcome with the additional accusations of promoting affirmative action? As one of the interviewees reminded us, these arguments are still often used to claim the need to keep the original mission of most cultural policies: to foster national Quebecois culture:

- Balance statement: What is the state of the current situation? The intercultural view of Quebecois Identity and democratization

We can say that today, the intercultural approach already driving integration policies is definitely installed within the cultural governance of diversity in Montreal. There is a significant internal recognition of the social importance of interculturalism, as the opportunity to promote interpersonal relationships in neighbourhoods and districts through culture. We can say that this shared view of interculturalism has also allowed a system of communication between the same cultural community, their institutions and society as a whole. As one of the interviewees stressed, 'There has been a penetration of interculturalism in the cultural institutions and, from there, in the diverse society'.

Following the conceptual framework, we can infer two key-points from the interviews that confirm the general statement that intercultural background facilitates the process and has been a strategic tool in reducing the initial resistance between two concepts of culture.

(a) How does interculturalism drive the diversity/Quebecois identity nexus in cultural policy mainstream: We can say that it is already part of the public discursive framework of Montreal to talk of citizen participation through the strengthening of Québec's identity. The introduction of a different concept of culture linked to the arts and creativity, and linked to the management of diversity, was something totally new that somehow shook the national identity focus. In this context, the interviewees shared the need to claim a more open notion of culture while maintaining the protection of a specific Quebecois identity. Some organizations involved in the management of the culture's community and diversity have a different focus, and they emphasize the importance of maintaining the French language and Quebecois traditions, treating immigrant diversity cautiously from the very beginning. In fact, this is the main challenge in implementing intercultural policy in Quebec – namely, how to balance diversity and Quebecois national identity, so masterfully prepared by Bouchard (2015), and illustrated by Zapata-Barrero (2015b) as the contractual strand of interculturalism. What is distinctive perhaps is that there is a consolidated awareness that in Montreal, the integration of immigrants must be done through culture, but respecting a common basis: common language and common liberal values. So what was seen at the beginning as an obstacle (see tension 2) has been turned into an opportunity for incorporating immigrants into the Quebecois identity through cultural policies, by means of the intercultural approach.

(b) How does interculturalism drive the democratization of culture? The participation of immigrants is now being valued very positively in cultural circles, despite the difficulties in involving them in neighbourhood cultural projects and in Montreal's cultural offerings, and of promoting immigrant artists and exhibitions. All interviewees recognize, however, that there is an increase in immigrant intercultural participation, as reflected in the composition of the various activities of Culture pour tous and Culture Montreal. For example, *Café Citoyen meetings: Parler Culture Quartier par Quartier* organized by Culture Montreal are meeting places for local residents and cultural leaders of all national backgrounds to promote the development of art and culture. This is a clear example of applying the democratic principle of culture to neighbourhoods with a sizeable number of immigrants. These bottom-up initiatives are also part of a process of decentralization of culture, which is accompanying the link between diversity and culture. Its aim is to bring culture into the neighbourhoods, as micro-culture, without forcing its citizens to always have to travel to the city centre, or in contexts other than their neighbourhood. This is also clearly an attempt to link cultural decentralization, interculturalism and democratization of cultural citizenship:

• Challenges: What are the future challenges of cultural policy in a diverse Montreal?

The consciousness that Montreal is in an irreversible process is perhaps one of the shared motivations framing the interviewee's answers. This framework allows them to be rather optimistic in identifying the main challenges to overcome in terms of the timing of the process. Confirming my general

argument, the intercultural approach still functions as a strategic tool for identifying challenges and envisaging solutions.

Challenge 1: Lack of integration of immigrant artists into the mainstream: The main focus currently being implemented for immigrant artists is basically in welcoming policy (accompanying production and distribution of entertainment, partnerships, etc.), but the need to integrate them into the mainstream remains – creating bridges between specific policies and the most general ones, as well as avoiding exclusion/segregation from the general cultural movement. It is considered key to strengthening the intercultural participation of immigrant artists in the general activities of the cultural programming of the city, although there are already specific structures created to support immigrants (namely, DAM and MAI). However, diversity has yet to penetrate more deeply into the general structures. The challenge is to prevent them getting trapped in a circle where they depend continuously on service agencies engaged in reception and to push them towards intercultural integration into the whole culture of the city.

Challenge 2: Participation of immigrants in the general cultural production of Montreal: I refer here to the consideration of immigrants as viewers and consumers of culture. The lack of immigrant participation in general cultural activities is a matter for public concern. It is a challenge for both cultural and institutional means, because there is a low participation rate in cultural institutions. It also highlights the importance of working at the micro-culture level. There is a socially and culturally dynamic field (in the agencies working directly with immigrant artists) that works, but one of the major challenges left to finish making the connection between culture and diversity is greater involvement from the political level and the strengthening of the micro-cultural focuses involving public participation. In other words, the challenge is to finish building the link following a citizen intercultural participation focus and a more bottom-up process.

Challenge 3: Representation of diversity in cultural programming and planning: There is a lack of representation of migrants in the world of cultural management and decision making. Even if there is a recognition that diversity has already penetrated as a criterion, there is a need to take a step forward and incorporate cultural managers with an immigrant background. It has also been noted that there is a certain resistance by the institutions to draw up their planning with the presence of representatives of diversity, and this is essential to helping put an end to the process of institutionalization. The decision-making bodies should be composed not only of politicians but also of the people who work on the ground, integrating immigrants or people with immigrant backgrounds into the decision-making committees in a balanced proportion.

4. CONCLUSION: A DISCUSSION FRAMEWORK FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Montreal case study allows me to propose a discussion framework within the general culture and diversity/nexus debate. Of course, this qualitative analysis prevents us from generalizing, since it is context-dependent and would probably need other case studies with similar city-profiles and intercultural traditions.

In this sense, this analysis has shown that there are two dimensions that must be analytically distinguished. First, the fact that immigrants are not only cultural bearers of their own national cultures and traditions, but that they are

also artists and creators (in music, theatre, painting or any artistic expression). The second dimension is the fact that, given the current diversity programmes in Montreal, the incorporation of diversity into mainstream cultural policy has been facilitated by the existing intercultural approach, which has helped to solve some of the tensions related to different views of culture. The reproduction of most of the intercultural debates related to national Quebecois culture and the diversity of other national cultures coming from immigrants on a small policy scale was also illustrative. The two meanings of culture, the national-based and the artistic-based views, were initially at odds, but were reconciled by the particular view of interculturalism, which had already been consolidated when the process of institutionalization of the diversity/cultural nexus began.

Montreal's case study opens up a discussion framework for further research. It also shows that the process of institutionalization of the diversity/culture nexus has been very pragmatic in the sense that its dynamic has illustrated a policy focus based on solving the initial restraints, and in having the intercultural approach as its main resource. It is also illustrative that it is not the policy realm of immigration, but rather the policy realm of culture that promoted the first public debates, encountering the first restrictions from inside (mainstream cultural agents at the city-level) rather than outside (society). This is very important because, from the very beginning, the concept of culture that helped to focus the discussions was different from the usual meaning of culture in integrating the academic and policy circles of immigration – dominated by a multicultural meaning of national culture as one of national belonging.

The case study also shows another pattern: that the sense of belonging could be managed without necessarily exalting national values, but through the opportunity of immigrants to express culture as an artistic and creative activity. This dimension has been especially noted by those cultural managers who were also convinced that the major tension 2 (discussed earlier) would become one of the most important challenges for transforming diversity from an obstacle into an opportunity for the Quebecois identity-building process. Following my main argument, this diversity-advantage focus was in fact one of the primary conceptual changes when Montreal entered into the intercultural cities programme. Cultural policy could in this way be viewed as a tool to foster a sense of belonging for immigrant artists and immigrants wanting to express their creative capacities without necessarily being linked to their national origin.

This case study also reproduces the normative policy debate between specific and mainstream policy, so widely debated in migration studies, and now revisited through an interesting debate on mainstreaming integration policies (see Scholten et al. 2016). Montreal's case study shows an equilibrated balance between specific and general agencies in its initial structure of cultural governance, following a comprehensive framework, where each particular agency's mission follows a logic of complementarity.

The case study of Montreal also shows that the internal conceptual conflict between the two meanings of culture, the narrow (as national identity and belonging) and the broad (as artistic and creative activity) views, could be at odds when diversity tries to penetrate the mainstream of cultural policy and push the initial national identity function of cultural policy to 'de-essentialize' its initial purposes. Here again, the equilibrium logic characterizing the intercultural Quebecois approach provides a driving force to balance the need for preserving national Quebecois identity with diversity dynamics, and confirms in this way the main argument of this article. This reminds us of one particular

tension within the cultural citizenship debate (Zapata-Barrero 2015a: 15), namely, between propagation and preservation (Cunningham et al. 2005: 104). One concept of culture is understood as propagation into the future and thus linked to creative processes and innovation; another concept is oriented towards conserving the past and is linked to tradition and seeking preservation. At the end then, we can say that one of the links in need of further exploration is between national tradition and innovation and maybe the elaboration of a new notion of national tradition with the help of a creative diversity category. In any case, as always happens in a dynamic context of institutional innovation, concepts and policies establish a very stimulating framework of research in migration and cultural studies.

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CONTRIBUTOR DETAILS

Ricard Zapata-Barrero is a professor and teaches at the Department of Political and Social Sciences, Universitat Pompeu Fabra (Barcelona, Spain). His main lines of research deal with contemporary issues of liberal democracy in the contexts of diversity, especially the relationship between democracy, citizenship and immigration. He is director of GRITIM-UPF (Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration) and the director of the Master on Migration Studies at Universitat Pompeu Fabra. He is also expert of the Intercultural Cities Program of the Council of Europe. For more details about research and publications, see http://dcpis.upf.edu/~ricard-zapata/.

Contact: GRITIM-UPF (Interdisciplinary Research Group on Immigration), Universitat Pompeu Fabra, Ramon Trias Fargas, 25–27 | 08005, Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain.
E-mail: ricard.zapata@upf.edu