



Montréal, Intercultural City

*A Six-Step Integrated Strategy for an Intercultural Policy
and its Conditions for Success*

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Foreword

Given the diversification witnessed by Montréal in recent years and given increasing concerns about racial and social discrimination, we seem to be at a crossroads. How do we guarantee the rights for all, and recognize the different visions that make up the city, without falling prey to fragmented "parallel lives"? How do we do justice to our urban plural reality without losing sight of the need to create a common sense of belonging that makes it possible to go beyond difference?

Located at the crossroads of several historic human encounters – First Nations and European, French and English, Québécois and immigrants – it's not the first time Montréal has had to face the music of diversity. Many cities with deep plural histories and local traditions of cohabitation see the current situation as an opportunity for renewal.

First it is important to distinguish between the intercultural reality of everyday lives – interactions between people of diverse backgrounds – and an intercultural approach – a pluralistic orientation that aims to promote constructive interactions between people who share the city, independent of their origins. Without this distinction, it's easy to think about interculturality – which should not be confused with interculturalism – as merely a political ideology. Interculturalism, to the extent that it has been appropriated for political purposes, should certainly be source of concern, but I would argue that in Québec the desire to promote interculturality comes from below, from people who live and work in everyday diversity and from people who seek to go beyond the dominant framework and paradigm of Canadian multiculturalism.

We should also not make the mistake of reducing interculturality to an "immigrant issue." This tendency, while easy to understand, reproduces the latent racism that has engendered the worst horrors of the Western quest for modernity, separating Others from Us and separating "culture" from "reason". Interculturalism does not refer to a specific group or population, but rather to the dynamics between groups in a given time or territory, as the claims of First Nations communities remind us. Interculturality is a transversal phenomenon and for this reason intercultural practice must be organized transversally across municipal sectors and services.

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM) is one of the main bodies responsible for highlighting and defending the intercultural dimension of public spaces in Québec. Since 2006, the Conseil has been raising awareness within the Ville de Montréal on the importance of establishing clear and concrete guidelines to steer public policies that regulate relations between citizens of all backgrounds. No fewer than eight CIM documents have noted that the Ville de Montréal has yet to develop such an instrument, whether it be for internal or external purposes. Moreover, recent studies have shown that such public policies have a positive effect on the perception of citizens. Other research shows that the lack of clear guidelines can contribute to a feeling of disempowerment for professionals and public servants. In this sense, having a coherent integrated approach is not only a question of political will, it is also a matter of public interest.

In 2010-2011, the CIM participated in the *Symposium on Interculturalism*, and in May 2011 Ville de Montréal was recognized as an intercultural city by the Council

of Europe. The enviable position attributed to Montréal within the Council of Europe's Index – 5th in the world! – has certainly created expectations both within the city's municipal bodies and in the larger civil society. Not only during the *Symposium* of 2011, but also at the *International Forum on Intercultural Cities* in May 2014, the CIM took the floor to explain why it is important for the city to adopt an intercultural policy.

The CIM has consistently been on the right side of this issue. How can a city be a world leader in the promotion of intercultural relations without having a policy or frame of reference to guide municipal interventions in these matters? What kind of message does this send when intercultural relations are, according to official declarations, at the core of the city's social and historical identity?

Indeed, those seeking information regarding the status of the Ville de Montréal as an intercultural city will be seriously disappointed if they seek this information from the city. Academics from Montréal and elsewhere do not shy away from the issue, the Council of Europe has consistently drawn attention to the city's actions, and the CIM has been insisting on this issue for almost 15 years. Given this disconnect, we are left with a series of difficult questions: why has nothing been done by the Ville de Montréal in terms of clarifying its position on this issue? What are the political or strategic reasons that could explain the Ville de Montréal's reluctance to talk about interculturalism? As is pointed out in the following pages, this situation is even more surprising given that the city has been active in the field of intercultural relations for more than 25 years, and that interculturality has been part of its internal administrative structure for almost as long.

The Québec government has recently taken several policy-related positions in favor of interculturalism and many municipalities are drawing on this impetus to guide and innovate in programs of social cohesion and inclusion (on this subject, see the work of the *Réseau des municipalités en immigration et en relations interculturelles*). However, the province also lacks an official policy in this regard. As we have seen in many cases abroad (Mexico and Barcelona), when cities commit to intercultural relations, States tend to follow suit. This is a unique opportunity for Montréal and the positioning of Montréal could have an impact on the whole of Québec. If the city does not act, however, the intercultural ship may sail and the sun will set on a horizon that is closer to Canadian multiculturalism.

The current intercultural climate represents an important opportunity for the Ville de Montréal to assert and consolidate its expertise in the field and to formally position itself as a leader at the provincial, national and international levels. The movement of intercultural cities coordinated by the Council of Europe is also growing: the network now includes more than 125 member-cities around the world and a dozen networks of national intercultural cities, including in Québec. Without any clear framework and formal positioning, it remains impossible to recognize the individual and collective efforts made in the name of intercultural relations by the Ville de Montréal. This applies not only to individual services and programs but to the city as a whole. All of this collective effort simply falls through the cracks without an official policy or framework.

I am delighted by the CIM's initiative in the area of intercultural policy and I am not the only one. Numerous actors in the community – organizations and community workers, professionals in the education and health sectors, researchers from different fields of expertise and, of course, citizens – often express the desire to deepen the field of intercultural interventions within the Ville de Montréal, but they also ask themselves how exactly to go about doing this, with what terminology and orientation, and towards which goals. They are all looking to the city to fulfill its leadership role in the protection and promotion of intercultural relations and practice.

By publishing this report, the CIM is taking concrete action to document the Ville de Montréal's expertise in intercultural relations, a commitment that affects all forms of diversity within the city and not just immigrants. This report is exemplary in its scope and in the depth of its analysis. To my knowledge, it is the most comprehensive document published to date how the proper framing of intercultural theory and practice can contribute to improve relations between citizens of various background and identities in Québec.

With a series of innovative and well-documented recommendations, the CIM provides a clear path for the Ville de Montréal to formally take on its responsibility by aligning its practices with its political discourse. In the following pages, the CIM gives us the words to talk about the fears and hopes that must be addressed in order to lay the foundations for a new era of encounters.

Bob W. White
Université de Montréal

Synthesis

Context

The Ville de Montréal is facing a complex urbanization process marked by an ever-increasing diversification: from First Nations' enduring presence, to French and English colonizations, combined with successive waves of immigration, to the ongoing entry of a growing number of temporary workers and renewed cohorts of international students. These processes are inevitably transforming the city's landscape, but also guarantee that linguistic, religious and cultural diversity are and will remain the rule, not the exception for Montréal, and certainly not a transient phenomenon to overcome.

Given the complex set of challenges that arise from such a context, *Montréal, Intercultural City. A Six-Step Integrated Strategy for an Intercultural Policy and its Conditions for Success* presents a comprehensive strategy in order to respond to the issues relating to intercultural relations. Above all, the Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM) recommends the elaboration and implementation of an intercultural policy based on three essential pillars – recognition, equality and interaction –, as well as the development of an intercultural principle to be embedded in the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*. Our six-step strategy aims at consolidating the collective – which is to say, democratic and intercultural – handling of such issues.

Steadfast in its recognition of Montréal as an already plural and dynamic milieu, the following pages further argue that an intercultural perspective should not be based on the idea of a homogeneous majority

tasked with managing heterogeneous minorities. The argument rather states that Montréal's diversity is not simply a specific social dimension in need of "management," but the main democratic tool *for* the management of intercultural relations.

The Benefits of an Intercultural Policy

In a context of ethnocultural diversification such as Montréal, issues relating to intercultural relations extend throughout various social sectors. Racism, discrimination, and lack of representation are problematic features when it comes to employment or housing access, civic participation, representation in political institutions, in media, in arts, etc.

Faced with the multidimensional complexity of these various challenges, the CIM concludes that only an intercultural policy can ensure the necessary encompassing, long-term and coherent attention that these issues deserve, making sure they are adequately covered and handled. An intercultural policy is indeed a key element in the unprecedented mobilization and consultation that the CIM calls for, combined with the necessary allocation of essential human and financial resources to ensure a proper administrative follow-up. Thus, the following pages contain the basis for a way to proceed forward, through a coherent and effective formalization of a general intercultural perspective, firmly anchored in the plural history and democratic life of Montréal.

Montréal should not be perceived as the exception in Québec, but the model. Implementing an integrated intercultural policy capable of developing common modes of solidarity and action, would bridge the gap between its goals for inclusion, which the normative

initiatives of the Ville de Montréal favor, and the real exclusion of several of its residents which, unfortunately face recurring or even systemic barriers. The CIM considers that an intercultural policy must and can be used precisely to link the efforts devoted to counteracting racism and discrimination, and a democratic strategy based on intercultural rapprochements. An intercultural policy would thus solidify the status of the Ville de Montréal as a key voice in defending its diversity at other levels and in all forums in which it is present – whether provincial, national or international.

In short, an intercultural policy would provide the Ville de Montréal with an inclusive and bold vision, capable of supporting the work of its services dedicated to intercultural relations. Privileging an approach where diversity is no longer “managed” by the majority, but instead becomes the main tool through which intercultural issues are resolved in a democratic and intercultural manner, could prove to be an enduring legacy.

Recommendations

The following six recommendations seek to pave the way towards an adequate comprehensive intercultural approach adapted to the city’s historical and contemporary settings. The coherent and coordinated approach of our integrated intercultural strategy covers both the normative and the administrative levels. The CIM therefore recommends:

1. That the Ville de Montréal embed an intercultural principle in the Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities;
2. That the Ville de Montréal pursue and consolidate its intercultural initiatives, through the development and implementation of an intercultural policy that derives from the adoption of the intercultural principle;
3. That the Ville de Montréal support the steps taken to develop a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations for municipal civil servants;
4. That the Ville de Montréal mandate an administrative body and allocate the necessary human and financial resources in order to coordinate the entire intercultural platform to come and ensure, subsequently, a consistent follow-up and evaluation of its initiatives in the matter;
5. That the Ville de Montréal conduct an inclusive and participatory public consultation devoted to the implementation of an intercultural policy;
6. That the Ville de Montréal, for all its regulatory and administrative initiatives, anticipate the potential effects on its diversity and include a “diversity impact clause” in its decision summaries.

The previous recommendations are an invitation to reconsider the Ville de Montréal’s approach to intercultural relations in order to establish a fully-fledged integrated and encompassing perspective. Aiming to promote, develop and consolidate the vectors of intercultural relations, the CIM’s initiative focuses on both the relations between residents and their relations with all municipal bodies.

Montréal did not become inclusive by pure enchantment, but through the repeated claims for greater equality and recognition by its ethnocultural diversity. This fact deserves to be underlined. It implies that intercultural relations are fundamental to the development of both the aspirations and the identity of Montréal. It is therefore crucial that they be given their due and the necessary attention they deserve.

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Word from the President

On behalf of the members of the Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM), I am pleased to present *Montréal, Intercultural City. A Six-step Integrated Strategy for an Intercultural Policy and its Conditions for success*.

Since 2006, the CIM has regularly suggested the importance for the city's administration to adopt a comprehensive intercultural policy to modernize its approach and guide its initiatives dedicated to its diversity.

The following statement is written with the same sentiment. More importantly, it offers a detailed road map which aims to adequately face pressing issues related to the CIM's mandate. Among the steps recommended for the implementation of an intercultural policy: embedding an intercultural principle in the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*; creating an administrative body dedicated to the integration and coordination of intercultural issues; supporting the development of a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations for municipal civil servants; and holding a public consultation on an intercultural policy to elaborate an action plan in the short, medium and long term.

The target objective is a more systematic approach to consolidate the quality of Montréal's *vivre-ensemble* and promote the common good for all Montrealers. The initiative provides a vision and the necessary tools to optimize the coherence of the interventions of elected officials and municipal decision-makers.

The CIM believes that the issues relating to intercultural relations in Montréal deserves special attention from the city's administration. The adoption of a coherent framework that can deal with blind spots and alleviate structural and social inequities would provide the city with a more proactive outlook. Such a decisive initiative on the part of the administration would also position the Ville de Montréal as a real leader in this field in Québec and cement its leadership within the network of intercultural cities of the Council of Europe, of which it has been a member since 2011.

By adopting the approach recommended by the CIM, the elected representatives of the Ville de Montréal will send a strong and clear message of inclusion for all citizens in our beautiful city.

The CIM wishes everyone a good read!



Moussa Sène
CIM's President

The CIM's Mandate

The *Règlement sur le Conseil interculturel de Montréal* (02-044-amended) regulates the operations and activities of the Conseil. Under this regulation, the Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM):

- "Guides and gives advice to the City Council and the Executive Committee on the implementation of municipal policy and services that favor the integration and the participation in political, economic, social and cultural city life of members of ethnocultural communities;
- Offers, on its own initiative or through the City Council or Executive Committee's request, statements on any issue of interest for ethnocultural communities or any question related to intercultural relations that lie within the municipal field of competences, and submits recommendations to the City Council or Executive Committee;
- Requests opinions, receive and hears motions and suggestions from any person or group on questions relating to intercultural relations;
- Carries out or have carried out research and studies that it judges useful or necessary to the exercise of its function."

In line with the definition of its mandate, the CIM carries out research to identify and clarify less apparent issues, draws the attention of authorities on their importance, and recommends concrete steps in accordance with the city administrative prerogatives. This statement in favor of an intercultural policy for Montréal – *Montréal, Intercultural City. A Six-Step Integrated Strategy for an Intercultural Policy and its Conditions for Success* – is part of this overall mission.

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Introduction

Moving Forward

The "intercultural city" status was conferred to the Ville de Montréal in 2011 by the Council of Europe (CE).¹ The success of the city's bid was largely based on the municipal administration's long experience in honing its intercultural awareness and skills. Almost as soon as it had joined the international network, the city rose to the top of the CE's intercultural index, claiming the fifth position out of a total of 40 cities listed at the time. Despite this very successful entry, the CE's report on the city's initiatives emphasized the importance of taking the next step:

"The optimal intercultural city strategy would involve a formal statement by local authorities sending an unambiguous message of the city's commitment to intercultural principles as well as actively engaging and persuading other key local stakeholders to do likewise" (Council of Europe 2011:3-4).

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM) has suggested on numerous occasions² that such an invitation to formalize the Ville de Montréal's

intercultural commitment should not remain a dead letter.³ Multiple activity reports, statements and briefs from the CIM (2006, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2013, 2014, 2017, 2018) successively promote, both the need for an intercultural policy and an a terms reference dedicated to intercultural relations to guide municipal civil servants.

The following pages seek to further this well-established argument within the CIM's canon. In this sense, we support the recent mention of a similar project by Mrs. Myrlande Pierre, President of the Table sur la diversité, l'inclusion et la lutte contre les discriminations (Cambron-Goulet 2018). We also wish to offer our support and contribution to the efforts of the Service de la diversité et de l'inclusion sociale (SDIS), which has shown an openness to "redefine municipal intervention in intercultural relations and the management of ethnocultural diversity" (Ville de Montréal 2018a:28, our translation) and implement a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations to establish a common language for all municipal civil servants. The recent unveiling of *Montréal inclusive. L'intégration des nouveaux arrivants, c'est l'affaire de tous!* (Ville de Montréal 2018b), the city's first action plan dedicated to welcoming and integrating newcomers, also fills important gaps within the municipal administration's efforts towards issues

1 The aim of the CE's Intercultural Cities Program is to promote an intercultural lens through which any member-city can analyze and evaluate its own policies and initiatives in the management of cultural diversity. In addition to promoting the implementation of global intercultural strategies for cities within its network, the program periodically shares existing best practices in these matters.

2 See more specifically Conseil interculturel de Montréal (2013:39).

3 In a book chapter devoted to the history of intercultural initiatives at the Ville de Montréal, Marta Massana and Gilles Rioux offer a similar invitation. They stress that the CE's recognition of the city's efforts may increase expectations for an expansion of the normative and administrative framework in intercultural matters (Massana and Rioux 2018:308).

related to intercultural relations. While the following pages support these various initiatives, they also express the need for a broader strategy aimed at prioritizing these issues, sustaining the city's attention and awareness of them and ensuring coordinated and structured resolutions. The CIM thus presents a normative and operational contribution to the advancement of an intercultural platform that builds on these recent initiatives in the field of diversity management.

The CIM invites the Ville de Montréal to use the international recognition of the Council of Europe as a springboard to deepen the scope of its normative and administrative framework regarding intercultural relations. First, we suggest a renewed emphasis on the status of "intercultural city," through the formal adoption of an intercultural principle within the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities* (Ville de Montréal 2017a). We also recommend that the city commit itself to developing an intercultural policy that would give life to this principle and implement it in a coherent and coordinated fashion. This initial, yet decisive double step would enable the Ville de Montréal to fully embrace the intercultural dimension of its democratic life and the institutions that stem from it, whilst acknowledging its responsibility and accountability in these matters. By the same token, these steps would solidify Montréal's historical importance in the province of Québec with regards to intercultural perspectives and approaches (at all levels: intellectual, social and administrative).

Montréal, an intercultural democracy? While the city's democratic life should obviously not be reduced to intercultural relations, it is nevertheless already largely unfolding through the complex and diversified fabric of these relations. The extent of Montréal's ethnocultural diversity will only increase and become even more complex in the coming decades. In this sense, not only must the city continually recognize the importance of tending to intercultural relations (and their changing nature), but the city must also emphasize, promote and develop the democratic and intercultural dimensions of its attempt to resolve issues that relate to them.

The purpose of the first section of this statement is to lay the groundwork for the establishment of an intercultural principle in the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*. The adoption of such a principle

in the city's central normative instrument leads to two main consequences:

- The concrete and formal assertion of our collective responsibility towards intercultural relations and the prioritization of the issues surrounding them (both for the city's administration and its residents);
- The obligation to recognize, identify and attempt to resolve, in a democratic and intercultural manner, the collectively targeted issues.

The initiative involves a thorough collective identification of the various challenges relating to intercultural relations and of their potential resolutions. It must also be established through a strong initial signal that adequately meets the democratic and intercultural claim that the principle itself puts forward. The following steps are therefore crucial in order to support and consolidate both the legitimacy and the sustainability of the normative and administrative tools. Keeping this in mind, the CIM recommends a comprehensive approach that would ensure the full implementation of a large intercultural platform through five additional stages:

1. Developing an intercultural policy which sets the general orientations for ensuring both a comprehensive and sustained attention to the targeted issues;
2. Implementing a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations to guide the civil servants of the Ville de Montréal;
3. Mandating a permanent administrative body on these issues with the necessary human and budgetary resources;
4. Launching an inclusive and general public consultation dedicated to the implementation of an intercultural policy;
5. Establishing a "diversity impact clause" in order to integrate an intercultural awareness mechanism in all decision summaries.

These steps would allow to collectively map the issues relating to intercultural relations and mobilize collective responses to the many challenges raised by Montréal's growing diversification.

Six recommendations seek to chart the way forward towards an adequate and comprehensive intercultural approach fully adapted to the city's historical and contemporary contexts. Strengthened by a coherent

and coordinated normative and administrative orientation, it offers a structured integrated intercultural strategy based on the following recommendations:

1. That the Ville de Montréal embed an intercultural principle in the Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities;
2. That the Ville de Montréal pursue and consolidate its intercultural initiatives, through the development and implementation of an intercultural policy that derives from the adoption of the intercultural principle;
3. That the Ville de Montréal support the steps taken to develop a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations for municipal civil servants;
4. That the Ville de Montréal mandate an administrative body and allocate the necessary human and financial resources in order to coordinate the entire intercultural platform to come and ensure, subsequently, a consistent follow-up and evaluation of its initiatives in the matter;
5. That the Ville de Montréal conduct an inclusive and participatory public consultation devoted to the implementation of an intercultural policy;
6. That the Ville de Montréal, for all its regulatory and administrative initiatives, anticipate the potential effects on its diversity and include a "diversity impact clause" in its decision summaries.

The previous recommendations are an invitation to reconsider the Ville de Montréal's approach to intercultural relations in order to establish a fully-fledged integrated and encompassing perspective. Aiming to promote, develop and consolidate the vectors of intercultural relations, the CIM's initiative focuses on both the relations between residents and their relations with all municipal bodies.

Methodology

The following pages are informed, and part of a context marked by a certain international enthusiasm for intercultural perspectives over the last fifteen years (borne especially out of initiatives from UNESCO and the Council

of Europe). Paradoxically, this enthusiasm seems to have reached the Ville de Montréal at the very moment when, as we will shortly see, its own efforts in these matters were less explicitly referred to in terms of intercultural approaches. Instead, a series of related, yet distinct concepts to engage with similar issues were privileged: cosmopolitanism, living together and inclusion. To this context, we must also add the resurgence of interest in Québec for interculturalism, particularly since the Bouchard-Taylor commission (2007-2008). This trend continued more recently through the few tentative gains at the provincial level, most notably through the adoption of a new immigration policy for the province of Québec in 2016.⁴ However, there is no guarantee that such breakthroughs will be further promoted or expanded as a result of the Fall election of 2018.

In such a context, the Ville de Montréal can and must be proactive by accentuating its strong intercultural tradition, which ranges far beyond its administrative achievements. Intercultural perspectives and approaches are indeed part of a long historical tradition, well-established both within the city's civil society and academia.⁵ Anchored to this tradition, our initiatives are intended to help the city acquire the indispensable tools to clear promising paths and consolidate its leadership at the municipal, the national and the international level.

The following pages are based on a review of various sources, including press, both scientific and gray literature (government reports, normative texts, etc.) and interviews with various interlocutors within the administration and academia. The purpose of this dual approach was to capture and synthesize some of the key issues, future challenges and plausible options for moving forward, at both normative and administrative levels. As a result, the CIM presents, through its six recommendations, the building-blocks of a major integrated intercultural strategy. This coordinated program would ensure the coherent and effective formalization of a general intercultural perspective, firmly rooted in the very history of Montréal's democratic and plural life.

4 See especially MIDI (2017 and 2015).

5 It is important to note that the history of intercultural perspectives in Montréal is much broader than the mere adoption of the concept of interculturalism by the Ville de Montréal starting in the 1980s, as is shown, for example, by the work Pierre Anctil (2014), Danielle Gratton (2014) and Joseph J. Lévy (2014). On its historic rooting in the province of Québec, see Charles Taylor (2012).

Intercultural is used in different ways in urban settings. The CIM bases its own outline on the Council of Europe's definition, which was adopted to identify "intercultural cities." Intercultural refers to the relationships between groups of people from different cultures in a given territory (e.g. commonalities, interactions, exchanges, relationships, etc.). It is distinct from the multicultural, which implies the coexistence or juxtaposition of minority cultures in relation to the majority culture, by introducing and accentuating notions of reciprocity and interaction more than the latter.

For the CIM, the defense and promotion of the common good includes the defense and promotion of the rights of minorities – of all minorities. Thus, an intercultural perspective encourages interactions between people, while striving to reduce the impacts of power relations that criss-cross society.

In the following pages, the term *intercultural policy* is not just a policy for intercultural relations: it emphasizes the need for the Ville de Montréal to have a proactive and intersectional intercultural policy

"Intercultural" is increasingly used as a noun in reference to all forms of intercultural relations within a given social context (i.e. interculturality).⁶ In the following pages, we elected to use the adjectival form, accompanied by specific nouns: whether it is an intercultural principle, strategy, policy, approach, perspective or relations. This nomenclature always

specifies whether we refer to the simple recognition of the intercultural dimension of social relations (as a substantive or as "interculturality") or as a manner of apprehending the issues that stem from these same relations (approach, perspective, and so on).

6 See Bob White *et al.* (2014:14).

1. Towards an Intercultural Principle

1.1. Montréal, Intercultural City?

It was through an "intercultural" perspective that the Ville de Montréal initiated its first efforts of rapprochement with the city's ethnocultural diversity in the 1980s. At the time, recent waves of immigration highlighted the organizational limits and rigidity of the city's traditional model as it stemmed from a religious and linguistic compartmentalization of the "two solitudes" – aimed at French and English-speaking residents (Massana and Rioux 2018:283). The perception of the city itself needed to change, since it could no longer be reduced to certain historical divisions, present since its foundation⁷. A quick glance at the main accomplishments (see Table 1⁸ hereafter) made by successive municipal administrations illustrates the general orientations of the city's initiatives since then.

This partial list illustrates that the objectives are quite constant over this 30-year period:

- promote equal opportunities;
- fight against discrimination and racism;
- ensure better representation and recognition of diversity;

7 The intercultural turn in the 1980s was also more focused on the historical line of tension between Francophones and Anglophones. It should be noted that these efforts unfortunately did not seem to include First Nations.

8 This Table includes only a few of the city's main accomplishments according to the CIM. For an exhaustive list of the city's initiatives in these matters until 2011, see Ville de Montréal (2011).

- provide support to newcomers;
- employment integration services;
- counteract social inequalities;
- counter marginalization and precariousness, etc.⁹

While far too broad to be detailed here, the range of initiatives, interventions, programs and training is well documented elsewhere, both by the administration itself and beyond.¹⁰ It should be noted that an intercultural perspective was the subject of some level of formalization through the adoption of the principle of interculturalism at the turn of the millennium (Ville de Montréal 2000): "The Ville de Montréal adopts the principle of interculturalism which encourages encounters and exchanges between the various cultures that make up Montréal's identity and contribute to the richness of Montréal's social, cultural and economic development" (Ville de Montréal 2000:17, our translation). More than ten years later, the city became the second American city internationally recognized as an "intercultural city" in the Council of Europe's program of the same name (2011).¹¹

9 In addition to these initiatives, the boroughs of Saint-Laurent (2000) and Verdun (2008) have adopted diversity management policies. So far, they remain the only boroughs to have done so, see respectively: the Politique interculturelle de Ville Saint-Laurent (2000) and the Politique de la gestion de la diversité ethnoculturelle de l'arrondissement de Verdun (2008).

10 See Aude-Claire Fourot (2013), Marta Massana and Gilles Rioux (2018:282) and Ville de Montréal (2000, 2011).

11 From the 1980s onward, Canadian municipalities began claiming some jurisdiction over the management of ethnocultural diversity and the reception of newcomers (Poirier 2005), closely following similar demands at the

Table 1. Municipal Initiatives in Intercultural Relations

Year	Initiatives in Intercultural Relations
1989	<i>Montréal Declaration Against Racial Discrimination</i>
1988	Bureau d'accueil des nouveaux immigrants
2016	Bureau d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants (BINAM)
1990	Comité consultatif sur les relations interculturelles et interraciales (CCRIM)
1990	Comité aviseur sur les relations interculturelles de Montréal (CARIM)
2003	Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM)
1989	<i>Equal Access Employment Program for Cultural Minorities</i>
2006	<i>Professional Mentorship Program</i>
1992	<i>Proclamation of February as "Black History Month"</i>
2000	<i>Adoption of the principle of interculturalism</i>
2011	Recognition of the Ville de Montréal as an intercultural city by the Council of Europe. Montréal becomes the second American city to obtain such a status.
2004	<i>Montréal Declaration for Cultural Diversity and Inclusion</i>
2015	<i>Montréal Declaration on Living Together</i>
2018	Service de la diversité et de l'inclusion sociale (SDIS) (incorporation of the BINAM within the SDIS)
2018	<i>Montréal inclusive. L'intégration des nouveaux arrivants à Montréal, c'est l'affaire de tous!</i>

provincial level in Canada (Paquet 2016). The municipal management of the various issues relating to intercultural relations and welcoming newcomers is thus part of a broader context of asserting the importance of the municipal level as urban governance or local government (Labelle *et al.* 1996, Jouve 2003, Praznik and Shields 2018). In Québec, the publication of the *Livre Blanc Municipal. L'avenir à un lieu* (UMQ 2012) by the Union des municipalités du Québec (UMQ) is a prime example of the province's municipalities' growing demands for greater autonomy and responsibility. Bill 122, *Loi visant principalement à reconnaître que les municipalités sont des gouvernements de proximité et à augmenter à ce titre leur autonomie et leurs pouvoirs* (2016), as well as the specific agreement with Montréal, Bill 121, *Loi augmentant l'autonomie et les pouvoirs de la Ville de Montréal, métropole du Québec* (2016), also mark and deepen this recent "municipal" turn. The Québec government now recognizes cities as local governments, giving them a degree of autonomy. The recent immigration policy of the provincial government highlights this point. The Québec context was also marked by the abolition in 2016 of a regional level established since 2003 – with its budget envelopes and specific agreements: the regional conferences of elected officials (CRÉ). To the detriment of regional mobilization, we are witnessing a gradual "remunicipalization" (Mévellec *et al.* 2017). It is nevertheless ambiguous, insofar as municipalities are officially recognized as local governments by the Québec government, yet this recognition is not necessarily accompanied by additional financial resources. See Appendix 1 for an overview of recent municipal efforts to manage cultural diversity.

While *interculturalism* was the preferred designation at the time, its adoption from the 1980s onwards and its subsequent formalization in 2000 – through its adoption as an official principle –, mostly marked an attempt at raising awareness to issues relating to ethnocultural diversity in the city's administration. In other words, the goal was not to bring about a formal and detailed framework or coordinated administrative orientations and initiatives. While the propensity to group all administrative interventions under a unified intercultural banner is still strong today, it nevertheless results from a more retrospective reading of the successive initiatives. The Ville de Montréal's bid for the Council of Europe Intercultural Cities Program is an eloquent example (Ville de Montréal 2011). All the initiatives from past administrations for more than thirty years are presented as the result of a well-established intercultural perspective. However, this intercultural perspective circulated more as a general prescription than as a formalized framework. Greater attention to the city's trajectory in this area paints a more nuanced picture regarding the use of interculturalism as a framework. It suggests that an intercultural perspective was not always favored or even prioritized. If an explicit movement towards interculturalism was established in the 1980s and reappears in 2000, we also note that several subsequent normative efforts simply refer very little, if not at all, to the city's intercultural dimension. In more recent initiatives, other concepts come to the fore: cosmopolitanism, living together, inclusion, etc.

The absence of the concept as such may seem trivial insofar as the field of intervention that would be part of an intercultural approach is still covered by a constellation of similar concepts. However, the absence of any direct reference to interculturalism or intercultural relations in such central normative texts as the *Montréal Declaration for Cultural Diversity and Inclusion* (2004), the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities* (2006), the *Montréal Declaration on Living Together* (2015) and the *Policy on Social Development* (2017) adds to a gradual erosion of its importance within the city's organizational structure since the turn of the new millennium.

Although the Conseil interculturel de Montréal (CIM) has existed since 2003, the explicit recognition of the importance of the intercultural dimension

is becoming increasingly difficult to find both at the administrative level and in decision-making circles. For example, it has recently been noted that intercultural staff numbers have decreased and that "intercultural affairs represent only a small section within the Direction de la Diversité Sociale" (Germain 2013:31, our translation). The creation of the Bureau d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants de Montréal (BINAM), like the transformation of the Service de la diversité sociale et des sports (SDSS) into le Service de la diversité et de l'inclusion sociale (SDIS) –, which has recently integrated the BINAM in its midst (2018) – certainly show a willingness to take charge of issues relating to intercultural relations and even a desire to act transversally, which is certainly welcomed. However, these recent developments at the Ville de Montréal do not imply, at least for the moment, the allocation of significant financial and human resources, except for the reception and integration of newcomers.¹² Such efforts certainly do not run counter to the ideals of intercultural perspectives, quite the contrary, but interculturalism does not seem to be an overarching orientation in addressing the challenges of intercultural relations, which seems to rely more heavily today, as we will later see, on social development and inclusion.

In this sense, although Montréal is recognized as an intercultural city, it seems less eager to recognize itself as such; that is, to formalize its status in a structuring and integrated way. If, on one hand, the experience and background in these matters seem rich and abundant, the scope always also seems somewhat limited on the other. There is certainly a constant desire to act on issues affecting Montréal's ethnocultural diversity: equal rights, access to employment, struggle against precariousness, discrimination and racism, citizen participation, representativeness, etc. However, the field of intervention remains subject to the vagaries of limited resources offered by the provincial government, administrative changes within the city and silo work resulting from administrative structures. By the same token, the accountability of elected officials in this area is inevitably limited, as illustrated by the unsustainable attention paid to intercultural relations since the 2000s.

12 This focus on newcomers is directly related to funding provided by MIDI. See section 2.1 on this topic.

A favorable context therefore arises, where the Ville de Montréal can strategically position itself as an intercultural policy leader in Québec. Its internal coherence would greatly improve and the city would be in a better position to defend both the intercultural nature of its democracy and the added value that it has represented and still represents province-wide. Indeed, Montréal should not be perceived as the exception in Québec but should rather be the model.

The CIM therefore suggests in the next sections an intercultural model based on the democratic management of diversity through diversity. To achieve this, the consequential assertion of the democratic and intercultural nature of dealing with issues related to intercultural relations must also be built on an anti-racist perspective.¹³

13 Montréal is also part of the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities against Racism and Discrimination (CCMARD) and the International Coalition of Inclusive and Sustainable Cities (ICCAR), promoted by UNESCO. These networks seek to improve their policies to combat racism, discrimination and exclusion.

Recommendation 1

Considering that Montréal must take the full measure of the democratic and intercultural nature of the city, the diversity that defines it and assert its responsibility regarding intercultural relations and their related issues;

The Conseil recommends that the Ville de Montréal embed an intercultural principle in the Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities.

1.2 Embedding an Intercultural Principle in the Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities

Interculturalism seems rather resilient despite the ups and downs of public debates and various critiques.¹⁴ Its historical persistence in Montréal and its growing presence in Québec's larger public and governmental spheres – especially since the Bouchard-Taylor commission (2007–2008) –, tend to suggest, if not a consensus, than at least an enduring presence:

"In Québec, the desire to consider inclusion from an intercultural perspective is expressed by a diversity of actors, organizations and institutions that are stuck between two models – Canadian multiculturalism and Québec's interculturalism. They are demanding not only clearer guidelines, but also toolkits for setting up and evaluating these approaches" (White *et al.* 2014:20, our translation).

Recent research by Francine Saillant, Joseph J. Lévy and Alfredo Ramirez-Villagra (2017) also suggests that an intercultural ethos seems well-ingrained in our city's culture, far beyond the initiatives of successive municipal administrations. The authors indeed empirically highlight both a strong commitment to

14 For a general view of these debates, see in particular Labelle *et al.* (2007), Rocher and Labelle (2010) and Rocher and White (2014). While some argue there is no consensus on interculturalism in Québec (Rocher and White 2014:27), others perceive a broad enough consensus to justify its provincial formalization (MIDI 2015:x). Rocher and White (2014) present four critical perspectives on interculturalism (monistic, pluralist, differentialist and interactionist). These can be summarized in two main categories: 1) those that assume that interculturalism cannot or does not sufficiently recognize the Québécois national project (Beauchemin 2010:2) and; 2) those who consider, for various reasons, that interculturalism imposes Québec's national project to its cultural diversity (Salé 2007, 2010). The vitality of intercultural perspectives can also be observed at the international level where they initially appeared through the concept of "intercultural dialogue," stemming from the major normative work on cultural diversity at UNESCO (2002, 2010, 2018), and the program of Intercultural Cities of the Council of Europe – also responsible for a White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue which sought to consolidate its principles (Council of Europe 2008). Beyond the Québécois context (Bouchard 2012), intercultural perspectives are now forging an institutional path that is increasingly important in the European context (Cantle 2012, Wood 2010, Wood and Landry 2008, Zappata-Barrero 2017).

intercultural perspectives and a recurring appropriation of its tenets, widely valued within Montréal's broader civil society:

"According to our empirical evidence, in Montréal – a city that has joined the international network of Intercultural Cities –, intercultural perspectives, rights and recognition are not only found as an opportunistic rhetoric used by government interest aiming for a piece of the *zeitgeist*. They are also well-understood principles of social struggle that are part of the fibre of it's city's civil society and diverse ethnocultural component" (Saillant *et al.* 2017:173, our translation).

These intercultural perspectives, the authors argue, are mainly established through a constant reference to social justice: "[it] is one of the most prominent aspirations expressed by the leaders interviewed, [...] without [...] being aligned vertically with academic discourses on interculturalism in Québec or internationally" (Saillant *et al.* 2017:174, our translation).

These observations are crucial for two main reasons. First, these remarks showcase Montréal as a fertile ground for intercultural perspectives beyond the specific citizen-municipal administration relationship.¹⁵ Second, considering intercultural perspectives through a prism of social justice implies, on the one hand, to defend and establish equal rights of all and, on the other, to create forms of collective solidarity to achieve this goal.

A minimal intercultural principle emerges from these remarks and can serve as a basic premise for the intercultural initiatives to come. In a plural and democratic context such as Montréal, is intercultural what seeks to establish forms of collective solidarity to tackle the issues relating to the defense of equality for all (and thus, the recognition of the contributions and the needs of the most marginalized). Based on ideals of social justice in a plural context, such an intercultural principle is also particularly well-suited for the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities* (2006). Unfortunately, the city's core normative instrument never mentions intercultural relations, their importance to the city, or the importance of an

15 We should also mention the well-established intellectual tradition of intercultural perspectives in Montréal (Gratton 2014, Lévy 2014), but also that this tradition emanates precisely from intercultural encounters (Frozzini 2014).

intercultural perspective or approach that would be specific to the Ville de Montréal.¹⁶

The *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities* (MCRR) came into effect on January 1, 2006. It is a municipal bylaw that commits “municipal elected officials, the city’s staff, its paramunicipal corporations and city-controlled corporations in a process intended to promote and protect inclusive citizenship” (Ville de Montréal 2017a:5). The preamble anchors all of the MCRR’s articles to international and national fundamental rights (the *UN Declaration of Human Rights* and the Canadian and Québec Charters of Rights and Freedoms). It now sits as the constitutive charter of the Ville de Montréal, unfolding the rights, responsibilities and commitments of the city through seven selected areas:

- Democratic Life;
- Economic and Social Life;
- Cultural Life;
- Leisure, Physical Activity and Sport;
- Environment and Sustainable Development;
- Security;
- Municipal Services.

Significantly, Article 42 delineates an inherent revision mechanism in the MCRR itself:

“Within four years of the date this Charter comes into force, and periodically thereafter, Montréal shall proceed with a public consultation aimed at assessing the effectiveness, relevancy and coverage of the rights and responsibilities defined in this *Charter*, and the monitoring, investigative and complaint procedures provided therein” (Ville de Montréal 2017a:24).¹⁷

The MCRR arose from the Montréal Summit (2002), leading to the proposal of a legal instrument inspired by the *European Charter for the Safeguarding of*

Human Rights in the City (2000) for Montréal. The first article of the European charter, entitled “Right to the City,” further states that “The city is a collective space belonging to all who live in it. These have a right to conditions which allow their own political, social and ecological development but at the same time accepting a commitment to solidarity” (United Cities and Local Governments 2000:28). As Lucie Lamarche (2008:8) points out, the “right to the city” approach has been somewhat set aside in Montréal in favor of a commitment to promote and assert the exercise of human rights within it.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the third article’s tenets are very close to its European inspiration. More importantly for our purpose, they are highly compatible with the intercultural perspective previously highlighted and favored by Montréal’s civil society, yet, never considered as such:

“Respect, justice and equity are values that give rise to a collective will to enhance and to consolidate Montréal’s position as a democratic, united and inclusive city” (Ville de Montréal 2017a:8).

The CIM sees here a crucial connection, which would allow a first step towards the consolidation of the metropolis as an intercultural city through an initial necessary recognition of the importance of intercultural relations for Montréal. While inclusion and solidarity are the objectives, there still lacks in the MCRR the full recognition of the intercultural nature of democratic life and of a related principle capable of fully taking into account the cultural, linguistic and religious diversity of the city of Montréal. A subsequent new article could therefore state that:

The Ville de Montréal recognizes the intercultural dimension of its civic life and the need to take responsibility in a democratic, intercultural and structuring way the issues relating to its plural nature.

An addendum in the preamble would also consolidate the place and scope of an intercultural principle in what has become the constitutive normative framework of the city:

Recognizing the Ville de Montréal’s membership within the Council of Europe’s Intercultural Cities

16 The MCRR asserts the cosmopolitan nature of Montréal. As Will Kymlicka (2003:159) points out, concepts relating to cosmopolitanism sometimes lack nuance. Kymlicka therefore recommends a necessary distinction between local and cosmopolitan intercultural perspectives. Indeed, any openness to the world will not ensure either an interest in or immediate contact with one’s neighbour. In this sense, cosmopolitanism may fall short of an intercultural principle effectively anchored in the concrete relations between fellow citizens.

17 The third edition (2017) indicates that the Charter was revised and reformulated in 2011.

18 The absence of any reference to cultural diversity or cultural development in the first article of the European instrument should also be noted.

Program gives it the responsibility to promote, consolidate and develop constructive intercultural relations through a global intercultural strategy.

Embedding in the 2006 *Charter* an intercultural principle based on Montréal's "intercultural city" status would provide a strong basis for a transversal, coherent and structuring approach.¹⁹ First, it would ensure that the Ville de Montréal fully recognizes itself as an intercultural city through its founding charter, thereby asserting its willingness, its responsibility and its accountability in confronting the many issues in this area. Such an amendment would also strengthen the scope and reach of its normative initiatives, which would now fall under the seven main themes in the *Charter* and, as we have already stated, be linked to the national and international fundamental human rights charters. Finally, such an approach would establish an intercultural perspective that accentuates the aspiration to justice or social solidarity through democratic and intercultural exchanges.

For all these reasons, the CIM considers that this first normative step should serve as a basis for the development of a structuring intercultural policy, which would enable to further detail its main orientations.

1.3 Three Pillars for an Intercultural Policy: Recognition, Equality, Interactions

Before examining the implementation of our intercultural principle, it is important to expand the general perspective that underlies it. As Bob White notes, three basic elements should serve as the foundation of any intercultural perspective: recognition of diversity, equality for all, and productive interactions (White 2016:55).²⁰ In terms of public policy, an intercultural

approach should therefore be based on these three guidelines.²¹

An intercultural perspective refers to a way of perceiving and acting in a plural social context (or more precisely of cultural diversification).²² When adding the guidelines prescribed above, it therefore strives to:

- Recognize and highlight the past, present and future contributions of diversity;
- Recognize and overcome the negative effects of power struggles and inequalities in the social fabric;
- Instil a certain vitality into society through productive intercultural interactions.

1.3.1 Recognition of Diversity

Recognizing the economic, political, social and cultural contributions – past, present and future – of Montréal's diversity is central to any pluralistic, multicultural or intercultural perspective. While such recognition is essential to building a common heritage and shared public spaces, it is obviously a process, not an acquired fact. Past and present power struggles must be kept under constant review to minimize their negative impacts on marginalized, racialized and precarious groups and individuals. Such vigilance involves establishing precise and effective monitoring mechanisms that recognize obstacles to recognition, equality and interaction. It is also important to recognize the socio-historical dimension of exclusion by addressing these obstacles in a systemic way (CDPDJ 2015:3):

quite productive and pedagogical, since they allow the development of more nuanced and informed points of view.

19 As Lucie Lamarche points out: "In the wake of the debates surrounding the elaboration of a citizen's right of initiative, we can see the structuring effect of the Montréal Charter. Any regulation that would produce social exclusion or exclude from its scope the rights protected by the Charter would therefore be the subject of an unfavorable opinion" (Lamarche 2008:9, our translation). In addition, article 29 of the Montréal Charter imposes a minimum standard, which has the effect of prohibiting the boroughs from not taking it into account (Lamarche 2008:10).

20 We prefer to use the notion of "productive interactions" instead of the "positive interactions," that Bob White suggests. It is simply a matter of giving a little more space for debates. Although they may seem a priori "negative" by expressing real disputes, they can also be

21 It is not trivial that one of the most internationally recognized intercultural policies – the Barcelona Interculturality Plan (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2010) – is precisely based on the same three fundamentals: recognition, equality and interactions. The city of Bilbao has followed suit on a similar basis in 2017, with a municipal plan for citizenship and diversity based on similar principles: fundamental rights and equality; respect and recognition of diversity; participation and interaction; community and neighbourhood (Council of Europe 2017:18-19).

22 It goes without saying that in Québec, the use and defence of French as a common language are generally presented as constitutive elements of intercultural approaches – governmental or not.

"Racism is part of the history of Québec and Canada. In addition to Black and First Nations slavery in New France and Canada, discriminatory legislation based on race, ethnic or national origin, religion and language was in effect until 1967 for immigrants. For example, people of Jewish, Chinese and Japanese origins were victims of institutionalized racism until the second half of the 20th century" (CDPDJ 2015:4, our translation).

Recognizing the colonial past and its persistence through certain forms of racism and discrimination should be one of the central objectives of any intercultural strategy. For the Ville de Montréal, it would be a matter of recognizing and better documenting the existence of these issues in order to link their historical and contemporary dimensions. This requires a constant vigilance focused on the public sphere and all other social sectors in order to counter any shortcomings, blind spots and prejudices – explicit or implicit – and thus, to better understand how to negate them. It is therefore crucial for the Ville de Montréal to admit the very existence of inequality as it relates to intercultural relations and to put forward an approach resolutely based on anti-racist strategies to counter its effects.

1.3.2. Equality and the Rights of All

Such recognition is obviously based on fundamental rights embedded in the national and international charters on which the equality of citizens is formally based. According to the CIM, anti-racism and human rights are pillars of its intercultural perspective, which derives from equality. The CIM consequently pays particular attention to the condition and vulnerability of racialized minorities – including visible minorities and First Nations, whether in their dealings with the Ville de Montréal (and all its institutions) or with non-racialized citizens. This vigilance of the CIM against exclusion is manifested in particular by the promotion of actions and policies designed to counter hate speeches and situations that affect the equality of treatment and the quality of life of people based on race, color of their skin, origins, religion, and so on.²³

An intercultural policy can only be elaborated on the basis of human rights and the recognition of the right to non-discrimination, as laid down in particular in

Articles 10 and 43 of the *Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* (1975):

"Art. 10. Everyone has the right to the equal recognition and exercise of the rights and freedoms of the person, without distinction, exclusion or preference based on race, color, sex, identity or nationality, gender expression, pregnancy, sexual orientation, marital status, age except to the extent provided by law, religion, political beliefs, language, ethnic or national origin, social status, disability or the use of a means to overcome this handicap. Discrimination occurs when such a distinction, exclusion or preference has the effect of destroying or compromising that right."

"Art. 43. Persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group."

If article 10 insists on the right to non-discrimination, only article 43 of the *Québec Charter* deals specifically with ethnocultural diversity. Numerous studies have shown the importance and benefits of the "cultural interests" that the article seeks to protect. It is important to underline, for example, the benefits generated by places of worship. Far from being mere spaces of cultural withdrawal, these spaces favor the integration and participation of newcomers (Germain *et al.* 1995, Grafmeyer 1999, Isin and Siemiatycki 1999, Meintel 2015, Taylor 2012). Indeed, it is "a very poor understanding of the dynamics of immigration, in countries of liberal tradition, to claim that maintaining traditions and contacts in communities do not promote integration" (Frozzini 2014:57, our translation). Article 43 thus formulates an essential right on which intercultural efforts must be based, but its logic remains nevertheless restrictive, as Pierre Bosset points out:

"We will agree that this is a very restrictive way to conceive of culture and especially of cultural relations. It is as if these could only be lived within the same group (minorities in addition), that is without any interaction with the outside – in a vacuum" (Bosset, forthcoming, our translation).

It is precisely this shortcoming that an intercultural approach seeks to overcome through greater attention to productive interactions, without denying the essential contribution of recognition and rights.

23 On racialization processes, see Didier Fassin and Éric Fassin (2006) and Achille Mbembe (2013).

1.3.3 Productive interactions

In terms of governance, the responsibility for an integrated policy devoted to intercultural interactions is therefore added as a third element to the need to recognize past and present contributions and to protect the rights of minorities.

"Intercultural cities aim to do some things that all cities aim to do: provide reliable public services in an equitable fashion, create the conditions for gainful employment and affordable housing, provide security and safety for citizens and visitors, and foster a feeling of belonging in order to ensure social cohesion. One of the things that distinguishes intercultural cities from other cities is the way in which they go about achieving these goals. Intercultural cities do more than simply acknowledge diversity through festivals and culture-specific public events; this acknowledgement of diversity is a necessary condition for interculturalism, but it is not sufficient. They recognize that in spite of strongly held beliefs about equality among citizens, immigrants and visible minorities are often victims of systemic discrimination, and they attempt to put programs into place in order to eliminate or at least reduce the effects of this discrimination. But intercultural cities also realize that these two principles – diversity and equality – are not enough to fully ensure social cohesion, so they attempt to create conditions that lead to new forms of belonging or common ground (Amin 2012). They attempt to go from a model of peaceful coexistence to one that permits meaningful sustained interactions between groups [...]. [T]hese three elements – the recognition of diversity, the fight against discrimination, and the need for dialogue – can be seen as the basic pillars of planning and evaluation for intercultural policy frameworks" (White 2018:28).

An intercultural approach therefore assumes that productive intercultural relations around common projects can serve to minimize social tensions, but also to enrich the social life of all individuals and groups. It also serves as a tool of recognition and exchange concerning the living conditions of each and everyone:

"Such interactions contribute to making visible to everyone the forms of injustice and exclusion that overwhelm certain minorities, whereas the absence of interaction would make these experiences invisible to citizens and dominant ethno-cultural groups. Since such interactions occur at the local level, in geographically regulated and

established geographic areas, municipal governments can greatly inhibit or promote such interactions. This idea is at the heart of the intercultural city's ideal" (Boucher 2016:67, our translation).

Collective efforts in favor of the commons aim to develop referents and modes of belonging that go beyond ethnic, linguistic, religious identities, and so on, without obviously seeking to undermine their presence, which is otherwise protected by law. The intercultural approach emphasizes the importance of interactions in order to reduce discrimination by encouraging encounters with the "Other," rather than relying on general mistrust as an *a priori*. Through concrete actions, it shows that recognition and attempts to resolve issues related to intercultural relations do not lead to social fragmentation or withdrawal but serve precisely to consolidate and favor the conditions of possibility of productive interactions.

We must remember that it is not so much "cultures" that meet and confront each other as much as groups, individuals, interests, needs, demands, projects, practices, and so on. We must therefore seriously consider the in-betweenness – the *inter*: i.e. promote, consolidate and develop places, mechanisms, spaces, etc., for exchanges and collaborations where citizens can witness and take into account the issues relating to intercultural relations and try, in common fashion, to resolve them. An intercultural perspective accentuates and works such spaces of exchange, mediation, transit and social mobility, both physically and symbolically and implies intervening in very concrete areas: employment, zoning, public spaces, public assemblies, heritage, the arts community, civil society, etc.

Such a transversal civic perspective seeks above all to ensure constant vigilance and recognition of the issues relating to intercultural relations, and to respond to them interculturally.²⁴ As Zapato-Barrero

24 However, while citizen participation and intercultural democracy embody here an ideal principle for intercultural relations, they should not do so at the expense of less politicized efforts. Indeed, the many everyday examples of informal cosmopolitanism (Radice and Germain 2006) are equally important. Everyday forms of daily interaction make it possible, after all, to consolidate the conditions of possibility of a more formal engagement in neighborhood life. Such a perspective would preserve the traditional pragmatism of the Ville de Montréal – its "adhocracy" (Germain and Alain 2006) – without putting aside a certain formalization, especially to ensure

recently suggested (2017:11), it is less a question of finding solutions to the problem of diversity than resolving problems through diversity, and using it as an engine for social development.

Earlier, we saw that the Ville de Montréal established intercultural relations at the basis of Montréal's identity by adopting, in 2000, the principle of interculturalism. Interculturalism, let's remember: "encourages rapprochement and *exchanges between the various cultures that make up Montréal's identity*" (Ville de Montréal 2000:17, our translation and emphasis). Such a principle also gave the city a special status in Québec, where interculturalism is asserted not so much as a way of managing diversity, but as an intrinsic dimension of Montréal's (and therefore Québec's) identity.²⁵

The intercultural principle that the CIM suggested in the previous pages makes it possible to bridge the gap between these two distinct perspectives by consolidating the place of intercultural relations at the heart of Montréal's identity, on the one hand, and by laying the foundations for a democratic and intercultural management of diversity, through diversity, on the other. This ensures that intercultural relations are not only submitted to a mere managerial logic or a "problem" to be managed by a homogeneous majority.²⁶

the accountability of the city's administration in this area. Therefore, it is question of centralizing a specific awareness to the intercultural nature, while retaining great flexibility in our interventions.

25 In its most recent policy on immigration, participation and inclusion (2015), the Québec government asserted that interculturalism "constitutes Québec's approach to living together in a context of ethnocultural diversity that commands continuity, and the vitality of Quebec's distinct and francophone character as well as the recognition and appreciation of ethnocultural diversity" (MIDI 2015:15, our translation). Although such a definition is subject to possible revisions, it remains important insofar as it is part of the political framework by which agreements between the Québec government and municipalities are established, notably through the Mobilization-Diversité program. See details of the program online: <https://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/partners/integration-programs/mobilisation-diversite/index.html>.

26 For example, it should be noted that cultural withdrawal is not a problem that concerns only ethnocultural minorities. The majority is just as likely to fall back on itself, which can have equally harmful effects for society as a whole.

2. Implementation of an Intercultural Policy

Implementing an intercultural policy based on our foregoing intercultural principle involves a thorough confrontation of issues surrounding recognition, equality and interactions in a democratic and intercultural way. The adoption of such a principle in the charter leads to two main consequences:

- The concrete and formal assertion of intercultural relations as a priority and responsibility of the city and the residents of Montréal;
- The obligation to recognize, identify and attempt to resolve, in a democratic and intercultural way, the collectively targeted issues.

The initiative involves a thorough collective identification of the various challenges relating to intercultural relations and of their potential resolutions. It must also be established through a strong initial signal that adequately meets the democratic and intercultural claim that the principle itself puts forward. The following steps are therefore crucial in order to support and consolidate both the legitimacy and the sustainability of the normative and administrative tools. Keeping this in mind, the CIM recommends a comprehensive approach that would ensure the full implementation of a large intercultural platform through five additional stages:

1. Developing an intercultural policy which sets the general orientations for ensuring both a comprehensive and sustained attention to the targeted issues;
2. Implementing a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations to guide the civil servants of the Ville de Montréal;

3. Mandating a permanent administrative body on these issues with the necessary human and budgetary resources, which consists of:

- A coordinated management of the main orientations targeted by the policy;
- An administrative body capable of providing a transversal overview of the issues as they unfold in the city and within the various instances of the administration;
- A more systematic assessment of the efforts of all municipal bodies in intercultural relations (and taking into account good practices from here and elsewhere);
- The elaboration of robust indicators to better follow the difficulties or obstacles in the city and in the report of citizens to the City authorities;
- An extensive, publicly-shared documentation and evidence-based approach that provide solid grounding for public policies, but also encourages research both internally and externally.

4. Launching an inclusive and general public consultation dedicated to the implementation of an intercultural policy;

5. Establishing a "diversity impact clause" in order to integrate an intercultural awareness mechanism in all decision summaries.

These steps would allow to collectively map the issues relating to intercultural relations and mobilize collective responses to the many challenges raised by Montréal's growing diversification.

Recommendation 2

Considering that the Policy on Social Development does not sufficiently attend to all issues relating to intercultural relations and that the Montréal inclusive action plan focuses primarily on newcomers;

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal recommends that the Ville de Montréal pursue and consolidate its initiatives with regards to intercultural relations, through the development and implementation of an intercultural policy that derives from the adoption of the intercultural principle.

2.1 Towards an Intercultural Policy

At present, no administrative body in the Ville de Montréal provides an overview of issues relating to intercultural relations, whether it involves intercultural relations within the city in general or the resident's contacts with civil servants or elected officials. None also documents these issues in any systematic or transversal manner. Specific attention on these matters falls within the purview of the Service de la diversité et de l'inclusion sociale (SDIS), shared between the Division des relations interculturelles et de la lutte aux discriminations and the Bureau d'intégration des nouveaux arrivants de Montréal (BINAM).

These administrative bodies are also responsible for implementing the Ville de Montréal's *Policy on Social Development* (2017b) and the recent action plan *Montréal inclusive* (Ville de Montréal 2018b), which derives from the aforementioned policy and is more specifically dedicated to immigrants. In their current state, these administrative and strategic instruments detail the orientations and central initiatives for the Ville de Montréal in the management of ethnocultural diversity and issues relating to intercultural relations.

As a result – at least at the organizational level –, intercultural relations are now caught between a very broad perspective and a more specific focus. On the one hand, the social development policy does not pay close attention to the specificity of intercultural relations through its insistence on the inclusion of all specific groups. On the other hand, *Montréal inclusive* focuses its efforts and resources, especially on immigrants, with funds provided by the city's recent agreement with the Québec government.²⁷ Neither of these two initiatives

27 The sum of 12 million dollars was recently granted to the Ville de Montréal by the ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion (MIDI) as part of its Mobilisation-Diversité program (MDP) – a sum to which the Ville de Montréal has added the same amount, as the PMD requires, for a total of \$24 million spread over three years (2018-2021): "This sum is intended to facilitate the integration of newcomers in Québec's metropolis, to support the implementation of structuring actions for Montréal and initiatives in the boroughs, in collaboration with community partners and various stakeholders" (MIDI 2018). This agreement enabled the Ville de Montréal's recent action plan for welcoming and integrating newcomers, *Montréal inclusive* (2018b).

promotes an integrated intercultural perspective such as it is presented in the previous pages.

2.1.1 Policy on Social Development

The *Policy on Social Development* (2017) of the Ville de Montréal is both structuring and inclusive. Its structure derives directly from sections 1 and 2 of the 2006 *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*. The first article states that the municipal territory is a living space "where human dignity and integrity, tolerance, peace, inclusion and equality between all citizens must be promoted" (Ville de Montréal 2017b:6, our translation). The second emphasizes that dignity will be safeguarded only through a constant and collective fight against poverty and all forms of discrimination, including those based on "ethnic or national origin, color, age, social or marital statuses, language, religion, gender, sexual orientation or disability" (Ville de Montréal 2017b:6, our translation). The goal of the social development policy is therefore to provide optimal conditions to harness the full potential of citizens and the collective progress emanating from it (Ville de Montréal 2017b:13).²⁸

The very broad framework of the *Policy on Social Development* wishes in an all-encompassing strategic orientation, in which all issues relating to Montréal's diversity should befall. Yet, even though intercultural relations we're at the heart of Montréal's identity – at least according to the principle adopted in 2000 –, they are nevertheless absent within the policy itself. At first glance, this may appear coherent with the general impetus of the initiative, insofar as the policy implicitly suggest that it takes into account issues relating to all the differences, whether ethnic, cultural, religious or linguistic diversity, gender identity and expression, sexual orientation or disability. Indeed, the policy seems intent on not favoring certain differences to the detriment of others.

The key concept used here is inclusion. Its purpose is precisely to be more inclusive than traditional pluralistic perspectives on cultural, ethnic, religious or linguistic differences: multi- or interculturalism. The concept of inclusion may thus seem advantageous insofar as it makes it possible to circumvent the

28 For an overview of the international life of the concept of social development, see Jane Jenson (2010), James Midgley (2013) and James Midgley and Manohar Pawar (2017).

sometimes heated debates surrounding multi- and interculturalism.

By asserting such a wide embrace (beyond issues relating to cultural differences), the Ville de Montréal is betting that this will not lead to the neglect of certain intercultural challenges. However, the allocated human and financial resources may prove inadequate. Whether the chosen orientation can respond adequately to the many potential challenges and issues remains to be seen.

The following table (Table 2²⁹) provides a non-exhaustive list of the possible fields of action for an intercultural policy. Its purpose is simply to

illustrate the potential scope of sectors that would need attention (many of which, it must be stressed, are already the subject of a sustained attention from the Ville de Montréal). In line with the approach suggested in the first section of this statement, it exemplifies areas of interest where issues relating to recognition, equality and productive interactions are likely to be subjected to democratic and intercultural resolutions. It goes without saying that each of these realms, as well as the evaluation of the municipal initiatives that concern them, should be submitted to discussion through a general public consultation. The latter would make it possible to better define not only the many different potential fields of intervention,

Table 2. Potential Areas of Intervention for an Intercultural Policy

Principles of access	Areas of Intervention
Access to Rights	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fight against discrimination and racism (forms of direct and indirect discrimination, systemic racism, racial profiling, and so on) • Reasonable accommodations • Status of Sanctuary City • Extension of the Right to Vote to all Residents
Access to Adequate Living Conditions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment • Housing accommodations • Health • Security • Francization • Social Mix and Diversity • Mobility • Entrepreneurship
Access to Public Sphere and Social Networks	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Bond • Citizen Participation • Political Parties • Civil Society and Community Organizations
Access to Representation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural activities • Heritage • History • Media • Arts
Access to the City	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of Initiatives • Collaborations and Partnerships • City Employment • Services • Contracts
Access to Information	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collection and Dissemination of Data by the City • Terminology Concerning Ethnocultural Diversity • Training, Glossary and Terms of Reference for City Employees

29 The principles of accessibility and the areas of intervention were determined by the CIM in line with the overall intercultural strategy presented in this statement.

but also the ways in which to address them, in order to respond to the democratic criteria of the intercultural principle presented earlier.

The list presented below associates selected areas relating to intercultural relations to principles of access. Doing so, it strives to highlight potential issues of interactions in need of attention. The broader view of an intercultural democracy, prompted by our intercultural principle, calls on to broaden the general participation of all Montréal residents, and thus promotes access to recognition, rights and productive interactions, specifically focusing on barriers for racialized persons, minorities or marginalized populations. This makes it consistent with the Ville de Montréal's inclusion objectives as outlined in the *Policy on Social Development* (2017) and the *Montréal inclusive* action plan (2018b), based on a similar approach.

The multidimensional complexity of these issues, illustrated in the table above, does not square well into the general overview of the *Policy on Social Development* (2017) framework, even if the goals are similar. Available human and financial resources seem insufficient and unable to ensure the long-lasting attention needed to keep track of the issues involved and elaborating a thorough transversal outlook. It is therefore important to establish a mechanism of vigilance, both normative and administrative, specifically dedicated to intercultural relations,³⁰ since the mere recognition of an intercultural principle in the *Montréal Charter* will not do.

2.1.2. *Montréal inclusive*

The recent action plan for welcoming and integrating newcomers, *Montréal inclusive* (2018b), presents several significant breakthroughs, but is nevertheless limited in scope, given the range of the potential issues listed in the previous section. The CIM understands that the focus on immigrants in a number of areas could be expanded in an upcoming action plan for the *Policy on Social Development*. It also endorses the objective of establishing an effective framework in support of newcomers, many of whom are very vulnerable, in terms of access to employment, housing, and services (Leloup *et al.*

2016), and the importance of extending their rights to ensure their safety in Montréal. At the time of writing, it is impossible to assess the scope and effectiveness of these measures. The CIM welcomes many of the initiatives put forward in the *Montréal inclusive* action plan (2018b), which cover many key issues relating to intercultural relations.

However, the five selected indicators to measure the effectiveness of its initiatives (Ville de Montréal 2018b:10) seem unfortunately quite limited. Evaluating the measures that promote access to services for people of precarious status, reducing the gap between unemployment rates between newcomers and well-established residents, and improving access to housing are certainly welcomed and necessary indicators. The percentage of Montréal's population receptive and sensitive to diversity is, on the other hand, more problematic. Although it might illustrate a certain city-wide consensus on the value of diversity, it does not dig deep into who values what and how. As many studies suggest, the tolerance and acceptance of diversity cannot in itself ensure the absence of more insidious and historical forms of systemic and indirect discrimination or even the proliferation of inequalities (Ahmed 2012, Benn Michaels 2006, Breidenbach and Nyiri 2009, McKey 2002). It would therefore be important to implement measures capable of brushing a much more nuanced picture of exactly what is valued and how. It is important not to lose sight of how superficial tolerance can sometimes be accompanied by implicit prejudices.

Considering only the level of satisfaction of newcomers, with regards to the municipal services they receive, can also be an issue. Although the mechanism may be relevant for assessing the adaptation of such services, it will tell us nothing about how other services should adapt to the needs and sensibilities of the city's diversity. If diversity and inclusion are set as an organizational priority, as the first axis suggest – "Make Montréal an Exemplary City" (Ville de Montréal 2018b:14) –, the indicators should be multiplied to ensure inclusiveness and the foundations for a "strong evaluation culture." While attention to newcomers remains crucial, for reasons already mentioned, such a focus may nevertheless be restrictive in thinking through the various issues relating to intercultural relations in the Ville de Montréal.

30 On the contribution of strong normative intercultural initiatives, see Anne-Linde Joki, Alexander Wolffhardt and Thomas Huddleston (2017).

2.1.3. An Intercultural Policy: Going Beyond the Initiatives in Place

In their current form, normative and administrative tools are thus, paradoxically, both too broad and specific: too broad in the sense that one wonders how a team as small as that of the Division des relations interculturelles et lutte aux discriminations, or even that of the SDIS, can take charge of the complexity and the multidimensional nature of the issues relating to intercultural relations; too specific in the sense that, despite the very real breakthroughs brought about by *Montréal inclusive*, the very focus on immigrants and structure of the BINAM – based on specific and one-off projects –, does not sufficiently establish a long-lasting attention to these numerous issues. The goal here is not to criticize the work of the new SDIS, but to highlight some possible limitations in terms of insufficient human and financial resources. Structurally speaking, the SDIS simply cannot provide an overview or document thoroughly the whole spectrum of challenges.

The CIM is particularly concerned that the production of a “municipal intercultural relations strategy that has been the subject of consultations with partners and boroughs” (Ville de Montréal 2018b:16, our translation) is not fully understood in its transversal and multidimensional dimension. If the Ville de Montréal wishes to make diversity an organizational priority, as it has suggested in *Montréal inclusive* (Ville de Montréal 2018b:14), it must give itself the means to do so.

In a brief devoted to the Ville de Montréal's cultural development policy, Diversité artistique Montréal (DAM) emphasized the lack of data on forms of discrimination (an issue rarely addressed in a proper way):

“One of the major trends that the new policy cannot ignore is certainly the frustration, fatigue and dissatisfaction of a pool of graduate and proven artists at home and abroad who, because of their immigrant background, their skin color, their accent or their surname, suffer from a differential treatment and have difficulty integrating the institutions and artistic networks of Montréal which tends, still in 2017, to stress, to favor a certain group of individuals, despite the few programs and

awards available for its diversity” (Diversité artistique Montréal 2017:7, our translation).

DAM emphasizes here a key element in noting the lack of empirical data on the representation of Montréal's diversity and how the lack of a “specific attention to these issues minimize the record of its achievements, which are highlighted in this cultural policy initiative” (Diversité artistique Montréal 2017:7, our translation).” With this in mind, DAM (2018) recently published a report on systemic racism in the media, which suggests that these trends may also be widespread.

The Laboratoire de recherche en relations interculturelles (LABRRI) also noted this same problem in a brief presented during the provincial public consultations on the renewal of Québec's immigration policy:

“We know that certain types of interactions in a multi-ethnic context are more problematic and more frequent than others; but we have no tools to measure either the frequency of these phenomena or their consequences for individuals or for society. This means that many public and human resources are invested in solutions without the actual sources of the problem having [...] been analyzed. We know, for example, that systematic discrimination prevents many visible and ethnic minorities from breaking into the [employment] market, but we do not have data on post-employment barriers or knowing whether these dynamics are occurring or found in many areas” (White *et al.* 2014:18, our translation).

A public consultation is therefore needed as an initial step to collectively establish the issues and needs of Montréal's ethnocultural diversity. Their perspective would allow us to both clarify and document both positive and negative aspects of intercultural relations within the city: who knows the multiple and subtle forms of discrimination better than those who encounter it? The implementation of an intercultural policy makes it possible to envision the lasting establishment of a real cartography of issues relating to intercultural relations. To date, no mechanism exists in the Ville de Montréal that would ensure the recognition and the systematic transversal consideration needed.

Indicators of unemployment and access to housing do exist, of course, but direct or indirect discrimination and questions relating to levels of representation

should be further documented. As the LABRRI suggests, this would allow a better understanding of the challenges we collectively face, but also to come up with innovative solutions.

The CIM therefore suggest the implementation of an intercultural policy that would bridge the gap between the too wide and the too specific. It would establish a normative and administrative parameter, ensure constant vigilance on intercultural issues and, most importantly, document under-explored forms of discrimination. The recognition of the fundamental contributions of intercultural relations to Montréal's identity, the complexity of the challenges ahead and the extent of the issues call for a more specific treatment than the one offered by the *Policy on Social Development* and more general than the action plan of BINAM, which is especially devoted to newcomers.

Thus, the CIM favors an intercultural policy based on the common intercultural recognition of the issues and the collective identification of the means to resolve them. Based on embedding an intercultural principle in the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*, an intercultural policy makes its operationalization possible by establishing a framework of constant recognition and vigilance towards intercultural issues. It would render

concrete and prioritize the many areas of interventions (which, in turn would broaden the scope of its application). It would systematize the approaches to challenges relating to intercultural relations in all spheres (political, economic, social, cultural, and so on). It would especially pay special attention to situations that weaken these relations. Faced with such a complexity, thorough and collective identifications, evaluations and resolutions are necessary.

A formalized intercultural perspective is all the more relevant today in the growing presence of hate speeches and prejudices that widely circulate in the public sphere and which are not adapted to the real demographic processes already underway. The Ville de Montréal has a responsibility to remind all of Québec of the important contributions of its ethnocultural diversity, since it remains the incarnation *par excellence* of these dynamics and their effects in the province.

Reasserting the fact that intercultural relations are at the heart of Montréal's identity, involves taking fully into account the political contributions of diversity to the city's aspirations for acceptance and tolerance. It is also important to include and engage the majority in an intercultural dynamic in which it is sometimes reluctant to join.

Recommendation 3

Considering that the implementation of an intercultural principle and intercultural policy must also be based on the concerted practices and procedures of municipal civil servants;

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal recommends that the Ville de Montréal support the steps taken to develop a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations for municipal civil servants.

2.2. Development of a Terms of Reference Dedicated to Intercultural Relations for Municipal Civil Servants

Since its annual report of 2007, the CIM has recommended the implementation of a terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations for all city administrative bodies. The CIM also offered its collaboration for the elaboration of such a toolkit. A mandate was given to the SDSS in 2014 to move forward (before the creation of the SDIS) and a working committee made up of SDSS and CIM representatives, as well as LABRRI researchers, was established to oversee the process. Yet, it was never implemented. While the previous pages seek to demonstrate that a terms of reference without a fully-fledged intercultural policy would not be sufficient, the opportunity of a consolidated, coordinated and integrated approach covering all bases arises through the previous recommended steps: embedding an intercultural principle in the *Montréal Charter of Rights and Responsibilities*, implementing an intercultural policy and developing an intercultural terms of reference dedicated to intercultural relations for municipal civil servants.

A terms of reference is first and foremost an administrative tool to guide the delivery of services and the work of civil servants in a plural context. The main objective of such a terms of reference is to develop clear guidelines in order to support and render more coherent the action of the Ville de Montréal and its boroughs. Such an effort should also be based on the main principles and guidelines that will emerge from the intercultural platform described in the previous pages. A terms of reference also meets the demands

of municipal employees and partners in the face of Montréal's diversification, as they can help reassure civil servants by clarifying everyone's role, objectives and ways of proceeding.

It is important to highlight some of the shortcomings identified by LABRRI during its participation within the project helmed by the SDSS in 2014, in particular the absence of common references for analyzing the intercultural issues; the difficulty of identifying prominent issues, the lack at the level of documenting available expertise, the lack of resources and tools for the development of common intercultural skills and an analytical grid to discuss transversal issues (LABRRI 2016:14). Although the Ville de Montréal has developed an internationally recognized intercultural expertise, its orientations remain sometimes nebulous and, as we have seen, certain more problematic aspects of intercultural relations sometimes seem to be evacuated in favor of others, given the structure of the administrative framework. Moreover, without a policy or terms of reference, expertise and institutional memory may disappear over time. The CIM therefore wishes to reiterate its support for the development of a terms of reference, but suggests that the project be included in a more general intercultural initiative, in order to ensure the coherence and continuity with the rest of the strategy. The steps suggested for the implementation of a large intercultural platform seem able to respond to the needs and the ambitions of the Ville de Montréal.

Recommendation 4

Considering that the SDIS is responsible for implementing the Policy on Social Development and that BINAM's mandate is mainly focused on projects relating to newcomers;

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal recommends that the Ville mandate an administrative body and allocate the necessary human and financial resources in order to coordinate the entire intercultural platform to come and ensure, subsequently, a consistent follow-up and evaluation of its initiatives in these matters.

2.3. Mandate an Administrative Body to Ensure the Implementation of an Intercultural Policy

Existing administrative bodies that could be mandated to implement an intercultural policy occupy a position in the Ville de Montréal that suggests that an overview of the issues identified is neither optimal nor a priority (see Appendix 2). The Commission sur le développement social et la diversité montréalaise (CDSDM), a public consultation body comprising of elected representatives, can produce reports on issues affecting the quality of life of Montréal's residents, but it does not guarantee the implementation of its recommendations. The BINAM, for its part, focuses on the integration of newcomers. The recent integration of BINAM into the new Service de la diversité et de l'inclusion sociale (SDIS), which includes a Division des relations interculturelles et lutte aux discriminations, is a definitive step forward from the former Service de la diversité sociale et des sports (SDSS), but the additional human and financial resources do not necessarily accompany these transformations. In addition, under the Direction générale adjointe à la qualité de vie, the SDIS is not sufficiently empowered to raise awareness in other administrative branches of issues relating to Montréal's growing ethnocultural diversity (CIM 2018:22).

In a recent statement on the civic participation of Montréal's diversity, the CIM recently suggested that:

"[The Ville de Montréal] nevertheless does not profit from a structured framework corresponding to its aspirations that would ensure a coherent and thoughtful approach to interculturalism. This fact is attested by the absence of coordination between administrative services, their scattered initiatives, and those of community-based organizations which are not always on the same page as those of the administration" (CIM 2018:10).

Before the transformation of SDSS into SDIS, the CIM had emphasized:

"[T]he fact that the SDSS and the BINAM are both institutionally linked to Direction générale adjointe à la qualité de vie indicates that no superior authority is entitled or mandated to

promote and sensitize other administrative sectors to the importance of acting and considering diversity. This issue is decisive since a correlation exists between the importance accorded to the issue of diversity within the administration and the hierarchical position of the service responsible for it. Strategically positioned, this service can more easily coordinate the municipal action and implement a coherent strategy, having more legitimacy to do so. Nevertheless, without having to proceed to a drastic overhaul of the municipal organization, the creation of a *Direction générale adjointe à la diversité montréalaise* would allow the Ville de Montréal to better outline and improve the quality of its interventions on the issue. Specific and general initiatives can be implemented by public authorities to ensure that diversity is an authentic priority, adequately treated with regards to its growing importance in urban spaces" (CIM 2018:22, our emphasis).

While the Ville has somewhat alleviated the coordination problem by incorporating the BINAM into the SDIS, the problem of the influence of this service remains unresolved. Therefore the city is still insufficiently equipped to deal in a transversal and structuring manner with the challenges raised by the diversification of its population. In this sense, it cannot properly defend its inclusiveness or even the fundamental rights of all its residents.

Considering that the issues go well beyond the traditional economic indicators, the city's approach suffers from a lack of data regarding the social dimension and is therefore more or less equipped to deal with the complexity involved. It is not so much the quality of the services offered that is at stake, but the structural administrative limits: intercultural relations are simply not sufficiently used as both documentation and tool for the transversal resolutions of our collective challenges.

At the institutional level, taking into account all the issues relating to intercultural relations is therefore limited and calls for an institutionalization that is both innovative and integrated. The latter could reinforce collaborations between the various municipal levels and mobilize all stakeholders in the development of a working document identifying the main orientations of an intercultural policy project. This could lead

to more sustained and systematic attention on the various forms of discrimination by introducing certain diagnostic mechanisms: producing periodic reports on the situation in Montréal, developing indicators to better assess the situation and the effects of all implemented initiatives, providing more systematic reviews of administrative practices, encouraging the adoption of an intercultural perspective in the administration and for institutional partners, and so on.

It is important to set up an administrative body capable of coordinating and consolidating the coherence of the Ville de Montréal's efforts around the main orientations that will result from the public consultation, in order to establish an intercultural policy. A coordinated approach would also maximize resources, which are currently limited. The new administrative unit should be able to mobilize all stakeholders and partners around the principles of Montréal's democratic and intercultural life. It would guide it towards a comprehensive action plan and define clear and shared objectives for the short, medium and long term. The goal is to perpetuate, but also to constantly renew, the efforts through consultative procedures.

A more systematic listing of cross-cultural initiatives from here and elsewhere would also consolidate Montréal's role as an essential voice in defending diversity and the intercultural principle in the various provincial, federal and international forums in which the Ville de Montréal can have a voice. More than establishing guidelines, it is a matter of raising awareness that affects all the decision-making processes within the various municipal bodies as well as the residents (Service public fédéral de Belgique 2010:10).

The CIM also welcomes the recent appointment of a Commissaire aux affaires autochtones, mandated to develop a reconciliation strategy and implement training for civil servants. A similar appointment³¹, focusing this time on issues related to intercultural relations and ethnocultural diversity, could also be part of the general intercultural strategy presented in the previous pages.

31 Note that, in the fall of 2018, the members of the Table sur la diversité, l'inclusion et la lutte contre les discriminations recommended that the Ville de Montréal appoint a commissioner-inspector (Gervais 2018).

Recommendation 5

Considering the crucial role of public consultations in identifying political orientations that can fully meet the needs of the population and the adoption of an intercultural principle in the Montréal Charter of the Rights and Responsibilities;

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal recommends that the Ville de Montréal conduct an inclusive and participatory public consultation devoted to the implementation of an intercultural policy.

2.4. Public Consultation on an Intercultural Policy and its Implementation

The large-scale proposition that the CIM as presented in the previous pages should, of course, profit from the input of all Montrealers. It is essential that different points of view collectively determine the issues to be covered by the policy and the proper modalities of their resolution. As part of its implementation, the CIM recommends that the Ville de Montréal conduct an inclusive and participatory public consultation on the implementation of an intercultural policy.³² Since the proposed intercultural principle is so intimately linked to Montréal's democracy, it is also important that it be consolidated on exemplary grounds.

In its evaluation of the Ville de Montréal's membership to the intercultural cities program, the Council of Europe pointed out that actions in favor of democratic representation and decision-making – public participation – were in need of an upgrade: "It is perhaps through their actions in favor of democratic representation and decision-making that cities have the best chance of reinforcing their intercultural character" (Council of Europe 2011:19). In addition, the CIM has recently raised its preoccupations regarding the lack of representation of the city's diversity within the administration and political parties (CIM 2018:19). The elaboration of an intercultural policy therefore presents a good opportunity for the Ville de Montréal to fully demonstrate its willingness to hear from its residents. Such an approach would provide the Ville

de Montréal with a better overview of the nature of the issues, from which it could more effectively target areas of intervention.

For a public consultation on the implementation of an intercultural policy, Montréal's city council or the executive committee may mandate either the Commission sur le développement social et la diversité montréalaise (CSDSDM), or the Office de consultation publique (OCPM), at their discretion: the purpose of such a consultation is not *de jure* reserved to the OCPM.³³

However, the CIM suggests that CSDSDM should be in charge of conducting the consultations on the implementation of an intercultural policy. On the one hand, it has a greater availability, given the number of requests received by the OCPM.³⁴ On the other hand, this option has the advantage of ensuring the active participation of Montréal elected officials and their resources in the process. It also makes it possible to include a variety of participatory mechanisms (UMQ 2017) and to adapt the chosen approach to the city's specific intercultural context.

Indeed, a public consultation on the implementation of an intercultural policy would need to take into account the multiple barriers to citizen participation of people of diverse backgrounds and their particular modes of participation in public life, as it was recently recommended by the CIM (2018)³⁵. This broad consultation should embody the very idea of intercultural democracy, as suggested in the previous pages. It would therefore be a question of using a variety of participatory mechanisms (OCPM 2017) to facilitate the contribution of the greatest number and, more particularly, of those who are rarely heard through the usual institutional framework. The whole range of mechanisms – public assemblies, advisory committee, discussion groups, open forum, questionnaires and

32 The ministère des Affaires municipales et de l'Occupation du territoire (MAMOT) defines public participation as "the set of processes and activities that enable the municipal or regional body to integrate the concerns, needs and values of the community. in his decision-making. The term 'participation' therefore applies to the full range of methods by which the public can take part in decisions that concern them" (MAMOT 2013). As such, the recognition of municipalities as local governments in 2016 attests to the essential function for democracy at the municipal level, and agrees with the Ville de Montréal's policy of consultation and public participation (2005). The latter recognizes the complementarity of participatory democracy mechanisms and mechanisms of representative democracy, and defines the three pillars of these as information, consultation and participation.

33 According to article 93 of the Charter of the Ville de Montréal, public urban projects must imperatively go through a public consultation of the OCPM. In this case, the mandate could go to another instance.

34 On August 29, 2018, the Executive Committee of the Ville de Montréal entrusted the OCPM with the mandate to prepare and hold a public consultation on racism and systemic discriminations, the results of which should be, according to the CIM, taken into account in the development of an intercultural policy.

35 See also Annick Germain and Mary Sweeney (2002) on the issue of citizen participation, and OCPM (2017).

polls (UMQ 2017:17-18) – would lead to a good identification and delimitation of the objectives related to the implementation of an intercultural policy.

An eloquent example in this respect is the steps that led to the intercultural plan of Barcelona (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2010:12-14). Beyond the city council, working committees within the administrative bodies and experts consulted, the City of Barcelona has sought to deploy an inclusive consultation process to survey a large number of elected officials, civil servants and representatives of civil society, but especially its population. In order to involve as many people as possible, the capital of Catalonia offered two very simple online surveys to take the pulse of the employees of the city and the general population. Five questions were formulated to obtain indications as to the real appreciation of ethnocultural diversity in Barcelona, obstacles and facilitators of intercultural interactions according to the citizens, to the main principles that should be shared by the whole population, and spaces and daily intercultural interactions that can serve as models for the future. The website used to relay the questions was also used to archive the relevant documentation and make it available to the public. The objective was therefore to seek multiple and representative points of view: from the public service, from the population and from the civil society concerned (associative, cultural, religious, school, etc.). The Ville de Montréal could take inspiration from this example of a democratic and intercultural exercise in order to establish a solid foundation for its own intercultural initiatives.

The CIM suggest this approach should also promote the development of an intercultural policy, a tool which offers the full recognition and ownership of the complex and multidimensional nature of the many issues related to intercultural relations.

Recommendation 6

Considering that issues affecting Montréal's diversity must be a priority for all the Ville's departments and agencies

The Conseil interculturel de Montréal recommends that the Ville de Montréal, for all its regulatory and administrative initiatives, anticipate the potential effects on its diversity and include a “diversity impact clause” in its decision summaries.

2.5. Introduction of a “Diversity Impact Clause”

The CIM recently recalled (2018) the importance of incorporating a “diversity reflex” as a mechanism inherent in the decision-making process of the Ville de Montréal. This approach should be similar to the “youth impact clauses” that have made their appearance on the Québec political scene, backed by several groups of civil society, such as Force jeunesse. The CIM welcomes the desire to initiate a similar approach to reach out to First Nations,³⁶ as well as the recent initiative to integrate an inter-sectional analysis (pilot project ADS +) that takes an “upstream” approach to the needs of vulnerable groups and seeking to prevent discrimination:

“In order to take into account the needs of vulnerable, under-represented or excluded groups, the City of Montreal aims to eventually integrate a differentiated analysis aimed at preventing systemic discrimination in all its policies, programs and programs. services. In the meantime, three municipal departments and two boroughs will participate in a pilot project aimed at applying it in its decision-making processes” (Ville de Montréal 2018d, our translation).³⁷

These efforts are certainly in line with the logic of our intercultural approach and should be extended:

“A clause concerning underrepresented groups also finds echo in Kristen Intemann’s (2009) work, *which explains the relevance of such a practice through the principle of social justice*. The suggestion that an issue be prioritized by the Ville de Montréal through its formal institutionalization in the decision-making process is not new in Montréal” (CIM 2018:22, our emphasis).

The formal establishment of such an administrative mechanism would consolidate, at some level, the transversality of our intercultural approach by raising awareness to the realities of groups that remain under-represented in the decision-making bodies of the Ville de Montréal. This is a question of properly measuring the impacts “upstream,” by adding to the Ville de Montréal’s initiatives a short statement attesting to a reflection that does not neglect the impact of these decisions both on ethnocultural diversity and on intercultural relations.

36 At the first-ever First Nations and Municipal Summit on Reconciliation, the Mayor of Montréal said: “As local governments, cities have an increasingly important role to play in local governance, a responsibility that is embodied in territorial relations and partnerships. The Ville de Montréal assumes this leadership and sets a new milestone in the historic process of reconciliation with First Nations peoples. This historic Summit demonstrates Montréal’s desire to become a true metropolis of reconciliation, as we are implementing a paradigm shift to incorporate a ‘First Nations Reflex’ into the city’s policies and action plans. We see reconciliation as a necessary step towards a more equitable and inclusive society. Respect for the difference and the dignity of each person are essential [sic] to the expression and the valorization of the diversity of the metropolis” (Ville de Montréal 2018c, our translation).

37 See online Ville de Montréal (2018d).

Conclusion

Beyond administrative initiatives, the history of intercultural relations in Montréal has unfolded through major international upheavals. The impact of the French and English settlements on native populations, which marked the foundation of the city, have been succeeded by more recent waves of immigration: mostly European at first, then more representative of the diverse populations of other continents following the Second World War (Hawkins 1988, Kelley and Trebilcock 2010, Knowles 2016, Piché and Larocque 2007). In addition to these migratory waves, Montréal welcomes around 35,000 immigrants a year: "Of the immigrants admitted from 2006 to 2015 who were present in Québec in January 2017, 73.9% lived in the Greater Montréal Area" (MIDI 2017:18, our translation). If we combine newcomers (first generation) with the children on fairly recent waves of migration (second generation), around 56% of Montréal's population has a direct link with international immigration (Ville de Montréal 2015:4). The population born outside of Canada accounts for more than a third of the demographic composition of the island (MIDI 2014) and spreads in all the boroughs of the city, all enriched by ethnocultural diversity.³⁸

Ethnocultural, linguistic and religious diversity cannot, of course, be reduced to recent immigration. The importance of First Nations, French and English presences, the succeeding various waves of immigration of the twentieth century, the increasing number

of temporary workers and the large number of international students have marked and will continue to mark Montréal's ongoing history. However, this diversity is becoming more complex, inevitably transforming the city's demographic landscape. Statistics Canada recently projected an increase in the proportion of immigrants in the Greater Montréal Area: from 22.7% in 2011, it should reach between 28.4% and 34.2% in 2036. This will also happen through an increasing diversification:

"At the end of the projection period, between 28.9% and 30.3% of immigrants from Montréal will come from Africa, between 29.6% and 30.3% from Asia, between 21.2% and 22.2% from the Americas and between 17.5% and 19.8% from Europe.

In 2036, the proportion of residents with neither English nor French as their mother tongue should reach between 30.6% and 34.5% (23.2% in 2011), non-Christians should count between 15, 4% and 19.3% (10.6% in 2011), and that of people belonging to a visible minority group among the population aged 15 to 64, between 37.5% and 42.0% (20.5% in 2011)" (Morency *et al.* 2017, our translation).³⁹

Marc Termote, Frédéric Payeur and Normand Thibault's (2011) demolingistic projections also detail the heavy demographic trends, notably the marked increase of the demolingistic weight going to allophones,⁴⁰ to the detriment of both Francophones and Anglophones. However, it is important to underline that the decline

38 The Ville de Montréal is making notable efforts to avoid monoethnic enclaves and to promote social diversity (Boucher 2016, Germain *et al.* 1995, Radice 2010, Ville de Montréal 2011).

39 See also Appendix 3.

40 The group of allophones here consists of an amalgam of heterogeneous and changing linguistic groups.

in the relative weight of Francophones in Montréal does not simply result from international immigration, but is largely the result of low levels of fertility within Francophone populations, combined with their constant exodus towards the suburbs (Termote *et al.* 2011:117-118).⁴¹ As the authors point out, these "macro" behaviors explain why the presence of allophones in Montréal cannot be seen as a temporary phenomenon. Already, between 1971 and 2006, their demolinguistic weight was raised from 11% to 21% on the island (Termote *et al.* 2011:119).

"It is probably conceivable that, theoretically, any allophone immigrant will eventually abandon his or her mother tongue (and if not he, than his descendants). But we seem to forget that this process takes a lot of time. And the time between the arrival of the third-language immigrant and his assimilation to one or the other two linguistic groups – the time taken for the linguistic mobility to take place – the demographic changes continue: new allophone immigrants are arriving" (Termote *et al.* 2011:119, our translation).

All of these demographic trends therefore confirm that linguistic, religious and cultural diversity⁴² is and will be the rule and not just a temporary exception to overcome. These dynamics are, as the Ville recalls us, the "main driver of demographic growth" (Ville de Montréal 2015:1), without which Montréal would experience an average annual population deficit of 22,000.

As we mentioned earlier, this coexistence can no longer be reduced to a problem of integration that would target minority groups hosted by a single majority. Indeed, the intercultural perspective sketched in the first section suggests that the intercultural city cannot be build around a homogeneous majority which claims sole responsibility for managing heterogeneous minorities.

We must therefore start from a completely different premise: Montréal is already a dynamic plural milieu,

which seeks to establish certain parameters to govern itself in an intercultural and democratic way. Indeed, this growing diversity – or super-diversity (Vertovec 2007) – invites us to reiterate the importance of the intercultural nature of Montréal's democratic life. In a context where many vulnerabilities seem acute, it is important to identify common modes of solidarity and action to bridge the gaps between the inclusiveness targeted by the Ville de Montréal through its normative texts and the reality of several parts of its population who unfortunately face too many recurrent or even systemic barriers.

The intercultural policy proposed by the CIM opens up to a particular approach where Montréal's diversity is less of a problem to be managed than the main tool through which issues relating to diversity are managed. Although the Government of Québec has shown in recent years a timid opening to the establishment of an intercultural policy for the province (MIDI 2015, Secrétariat aux affaires intergouvernementales canadiennes 2017), this opening could just as easily be closed off following the Fall elections of 2018. In order to avoid reproducing the persistent oscillation that has marked the various levels of government for too long, the Ville de Montréal should establish its own structuring framework capable of promoting, consolidating and developing intercultural relations, and to defend both their democratic and intercultural ideals and practices.

In economic, political, social and cultural terms, Montréal has been and still is a fundamental international point of connection for Québec. That history can be read across all the migratory path that crisscross its territory. The city, after all, is first and foremost the result of a complex urbanization process, resulting from a singular history (its localization process). It is also integrated into the multiple regional, national and international networks which give it its dynamism. Whether the statistical projections presented earlier are exact or not, one fact remains: complex demographic processes, already well underway, require proactive management that can take into account and identify current and upcoming issues. Thus, the importance of establishing an integrated intercultural strategy and, most importantly, adopt an intercultural principle and policy, which would enable us the clear the path ahead.

41 Termote *et al.* (2011) refer to the decline in the relative weight of Francophones in Montréal, but their definition of "Francophones" is limited to people whose mother tongue is French, whereas we believe that it should also include people who speak French at home.

42 According to the statistics of the Ville de Montréal (2015:4), 65% of the population claims to be Christian, 18% without religious affiliation, 9% Muslim, 4% Jewish, 2% Buddhist, 1.5% Hindu and 0.5% other.

As a dynamic process at the heart of Montréal's identity and a way of managing diversity-related issues, interculturalism sometimes tends to put forth the majority's sense of vulnerability at the expense of minorities'. The danger here is therefore to minimize the discrimination that the model itself can induce by the constant reminder of the minority or precarious status of Québec's national identity, in a mainly English-speaking Canadian and North American context. The argument seems justified to us, and a certain vigilance is necessary in order to ensure a constant attention to the uses and the effects of established normative discourses. Some also suggest a clear separation between, on the one hand, a genuine policy to counter racism and discrimination and, on the other, a policy of intercultural rapprochement (Eid and Labelle 2013). Rather, we consider that an intercultural policy can and must be used to close this divide, by being both anti-racist and intercultural. The basis of our approach, intercultural democracy, is precisely intended to ensure that the voices that are poorly represented in the public sphere are taken into account, to hear and legitimize these claims, and to insist that they become part of our common project.

Recently characterized as the "melting-pot of intercultural relations" in Québec, the Ville de Montréal could truly take charge of its responsibility towards intercultural relations, as it is now recognized as a local government in the *Loi augmentant l'autonomie et les pouvoirs de la Ville de Montréal, métropole du Québec* (MAMOT 2017). The six-step integrated strategy presented in the previous pages, attempted to draw a potential path for the proper formalization of an intercultural perspective fully adapted to Montréal historical and contemporary context.

Thus, we invite the Ville de Montréal to undertake a similar turn to the one undertaken thirty years ago. If the latter inaugurated the city's turn towards intercultural relations, it is now time to give the approach some teeth. Rather than simply encouraging intercultural relations and exchanges, as most recourse to interculturalism in Québec suggests, it would be important to assert, loud and clear, the city's firm desire to collectively confront the challenges raised by these relations. It is also crucial that such a project always take into account the power relations inherent to the city's stratified intercultural life.

Montréal did not become inclusive by pure enchantment. This concern for inclusiveness grew out of the multiple claims to equality of racialized and minority groups and the resulting intercultural political mobilizations stemming from these claims. This fact deserves to be underlined and recognized thoroughly. It implies that intercultural relations are absolutely fundamental to the development of the city's aspirations and identity; not only economically or culturally, but also socially and politically. Montréal's diversity is therefore constantly involved in improving the city in a multifarious ways. They especially do so by highlighting the multiple prejudices we need to confront and overcome. In this sense, Montréal's diversity plays an important role in ensuring social cohesion by highlighting the inequalities and obstacles that block access to the city, which should belong to everyone.

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Appendix

Appendix 1

In the province of Québec, several municipalities have already laid the foundations for a structured approach by demanding the recognition of both their competence and their needs in terms of welcoming and integrating newcomers and managing intercultural

relations. The following table presents some recent or significant municipal efforts in diversity management and welcoming and integrating newcomers

Recent Municipal Action in Québec in Diversity Management

City Year(s)	Policies
Sherbrooke 2004 and 2018	<i>Politique d'accueil et d'intégration des personnes immigrantes Plan d'action en immigration 2018-2019</i>
Gatineau 2008 and 2017	<i>Politique en matière de diversité culturelle Stratégie de la Ville de Gatineau en matière d'immigration, de diversité culturelle et d'inclusion</i>
Saguenay 2012	<i>Politique d'accueil et d'intégration des personnes immigrantes</i>
Shawinigan 2013	<i>Politique favorisant l'accueil, l'intégration et la rétention des personnes immigrantes</i>
Trois-Rivières 2014	<i>Politique d'accueil, d'intégration et de rétention des nouveaux arrivants</i>
Longueuil 2015	<i>Plan d'action pour contrer le racisme et la discrimination 2015-2017</i>
Laval 2017	<i>Plan d'action régional en matière d'immigration, de diversité culturelle et d'inclusion 2017-2019</i>
Montréal 2018	<i>Montréal inclusive. L'intégration des nouveaux arrivants à Montréal, c'est l'affaire de tous!</i>

The main issues covered by these policies or action plans can be grouped into four focal points:

General Objectives of Municipal Action in Québec in the Field of Diversity Management⁴³

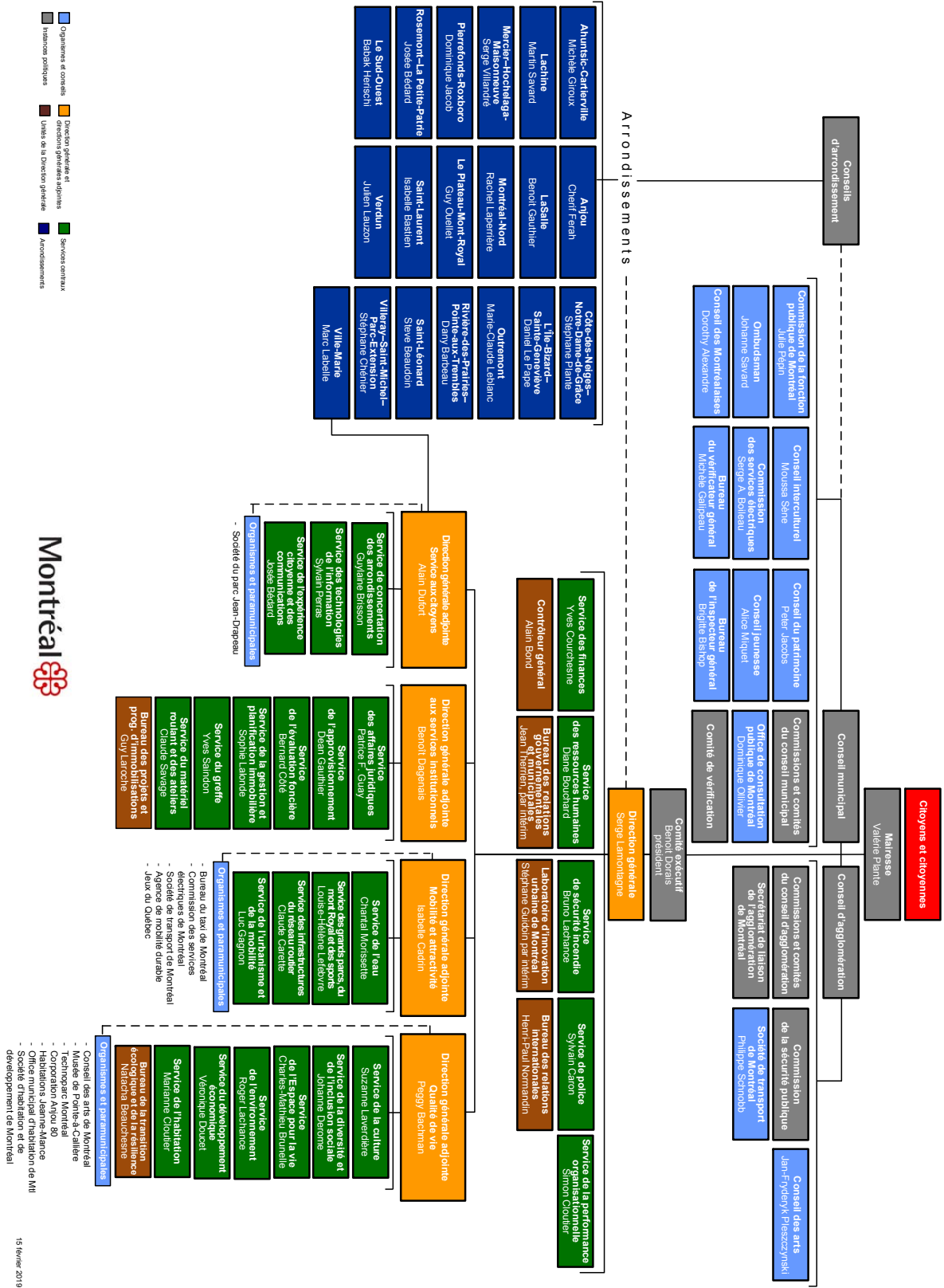
Facilitate the reception and integration of newcomers.

Fight against racism and discrimination, and promote the contribution of immigration and diversity.

Develop and better coordinate partnerships as well as methods of dialogue on issues related to immigration and intercultural relations in order to foster intercultural rapprochement and social cohesion.

Foster intercultural rapprochement and social cohesion.

⁴³ This categorization is based on recent policies and action plans on immigration and intercultural relations in Gatineau (2017, 2008), Laval (2017), Longueuil (2015), Saguenay (2012), Sherbrooke (2017) and Trois-Rivières (2014).

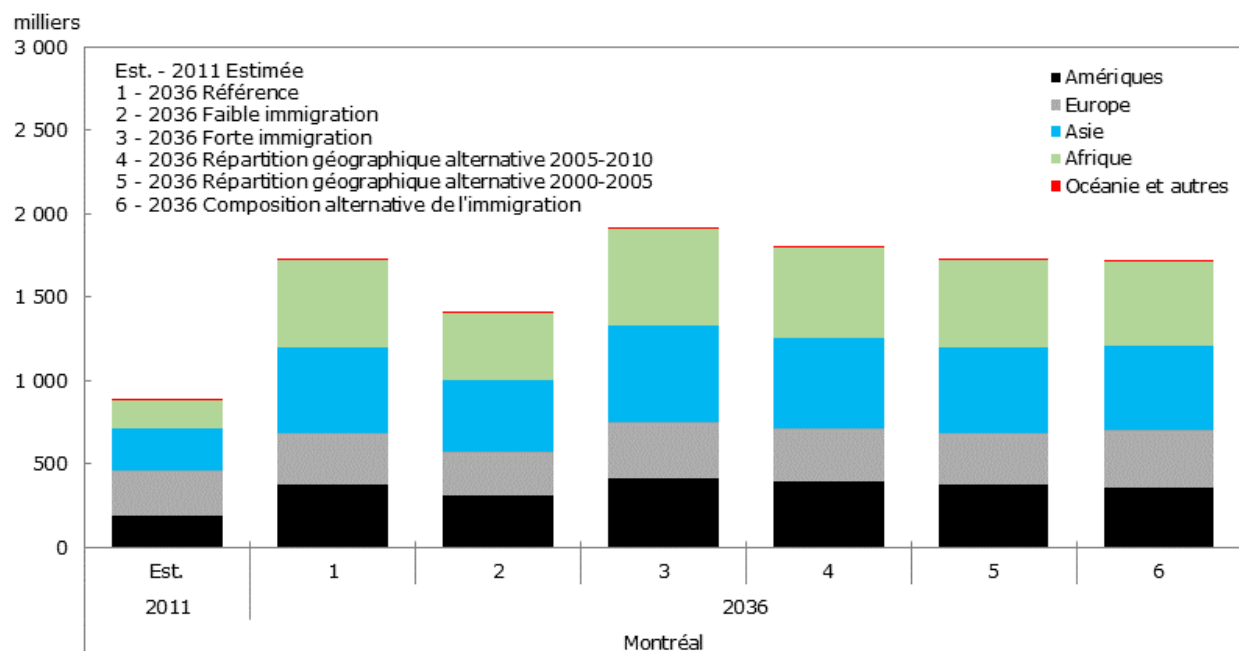


■ Organismes et comités
■ Direction adjointe et directions générales adjointes
■ Services centraux
■ Instances politiques
■ Unités de la Direction générale
■ Arrondissements



Appendix 3

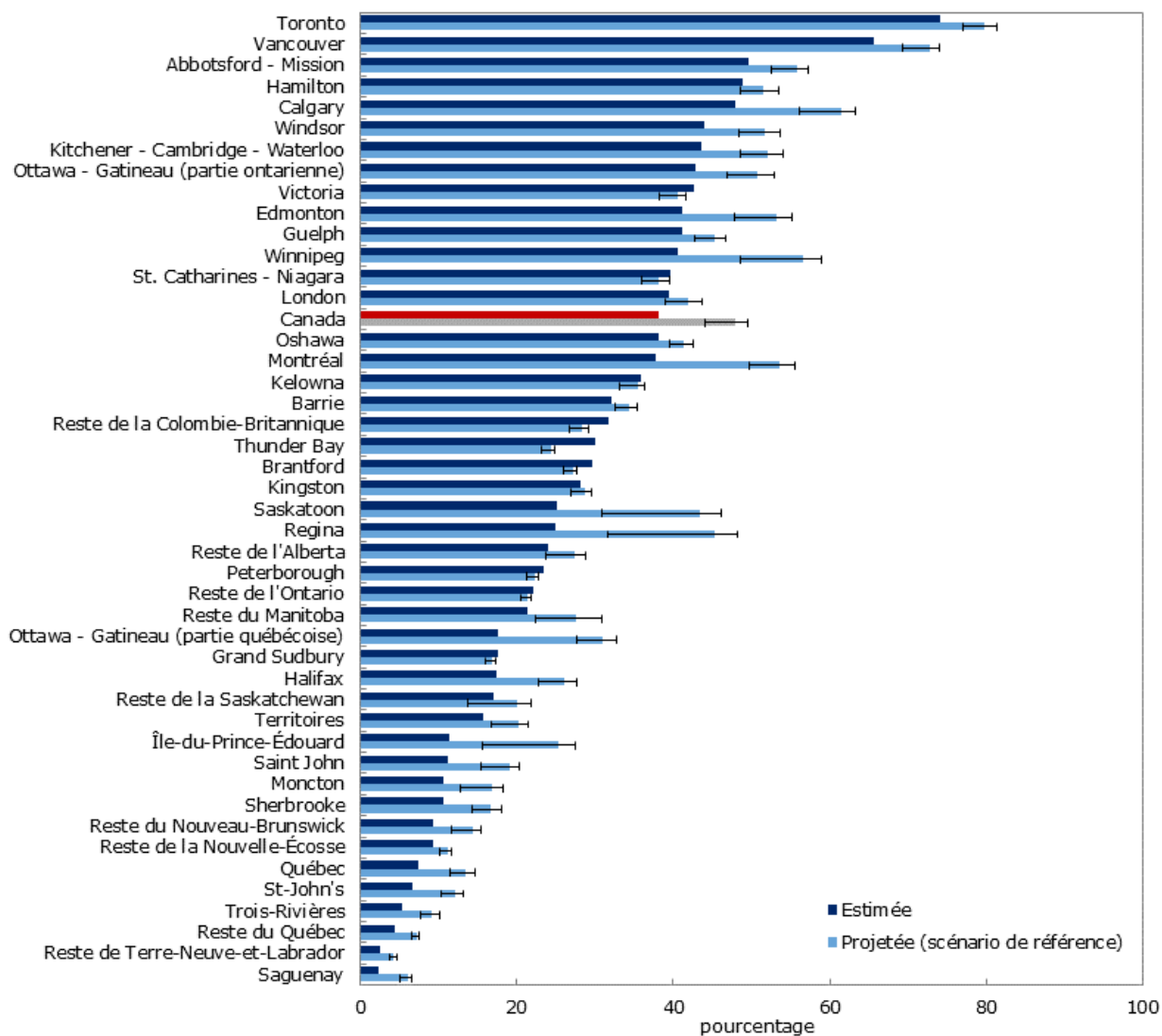
Figure 23a
Population immigrante selon le continent de naissance et le lieu de résidence, Québec, 2011 (estimée)
et 2036 (projetée selon six scénarios) - Montréal



Sources : Statistique Canada, Enquête nationale auprès des ménages de 2011 (ajustée) et Demosim 2017.

Appendix 3 (Part 2)

Figure 11
Proportion d'immigrants et de personnes de deuxième génération combinées selon le lieu de résidence, Canada, 2011 (estimée) et 2036 (projetée selon six scénarios)



Note : Le symbole |—| indique l'intervalle entre les valeurs minimale et maximale projetées par l'ensemble des scénarios considérés.
Sources : Statistique Canada, Enquête nationale auprès des ménages de 2011 (ajustée) et Demosim 2017.



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