Hirsch, S. et Borri-Anadon, C. (2023). Making Diversity in Rural Areas Visible: A Changing Perspective for Rural Schools in Québec. Dans C. Banack etD. Pohler (dir.), Building inclusive communities in rural Canada (p. 47-72). Edmonton, Alberta: University of Alberta Press. ISBN: 9781772126693

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MAKING DIVERSITY IN RURAL AREAS VISIBLE

A Changing Perspective for Rural Schools in Québec

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THIS CHAPTER REPORTS ON A TYPOLOGICAL APPROACH used in the project "Keys for a Better Understanding of the Ethnocultural, Religious, and Linguistic Diversity in Schools."[1] The project and its typology bring to the forefront the different forms of diversity that exist within and across the 17 administrative regions of Québec.[2] Research on ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic diversity in Québec too often focuses only on the province's metropolitan regions—Montréal in particular—forgetting how, or even that, diversity manifests across the province. In this way, the diversity of metropolitan Québec is overvisibilized, while the diversity of nonmetropolitan Québec is invisibilized. The typology of the "Keys for a Better Understanding" project is worthwhile in that it investigates diversity in all of Québec's administrative regions, across the rural-urban spectrum.

The "Keys for a Better Understanding" project is focused on diversity in the context of education. The typology reported here thus focuses on student-specific indicators of diversity, though it also looks at some indicators that are applicable to many contexts in Québec society. Because of its school-centred focus, however, we see this typology as a valuable tool in encouraging schools to take stock of their local diversity profiles as they design and deliver educational programs. It contributes to research

on ethnic relations in education in Québec by offering a detailed and nuanced understanding of diversity across the province and in its schools, and ultimately supporting the development of educational policies that are better adapted to region-specific needs in Québec and elsewhere.

It should be understood, however, that typologies such as this one are snapshots of data from particular times and places and are susceptible to change. Still, this snapshot serves as a milestone in understanding the regional particularities of diversity across Québec—an understanding that has, until now, been largely neglected in the research.

RURALITY AND DIVERSITY IN AND ACROSS QUÉBEC

It is generally acknowledged that Montréal and the greater metropolitan region of Québec are highly ethnoculturally, religiously, and linguistically diverse, and that this diversity is due to large waves of immigrant settlement.[3] Recognition of the diversity within and throughout other regions of Québec is, however, more recent. This recognition and the associated exploration of the challenges of living together in a diverse society across the province are now becoming more prominent in both the public debate and within academic research. Indeed, throughout all regions of Québec, the historically diverse mix of Indigenous nations, majority French-speaking communities, English-speaking communities, and long-established racialized minorities has been amplified by more recent immigration. The long-standing and increasing diversity throughout Québec creates different opportunities and challenges across the province that cannot be overlooked.[4] Yet in discussions of Québec's diversity, we continue to think in terms of a divide, frequently expressed in public opinion, between Greater Montréal and Québec's other regions. This divide is a result of the common assumption that diversity is a phenomenon that is exclusive to metropolitan areas, and that all other (more rural) regions are ethnically, religiously, and linguistically homogenous. The presumed divide between metropolitan and other regions fails to acknowledge the diversity inherent within and the challenges unique to nonmetropolitan areas, which are too often simplistically considered homogenously "rural."

Research often treats everything that is not urban as rural (Mc Andrew and L'Équipe du Griés 2015), not considering the variety

of local realities, such as urban centres located outside metropolitan areas. Using the term *rural* therefore carries the risk of homogenization and reduces the possibility of contextualizing diversity, which is more necessary now than ever. We do not understand rurality in this simplistic way. For us, the notion of rurality must be apprehended in a complex way that takes into account the unique sociocultural profiles of each individual "rural" region. In this chapter, when we talk about the "regional context" or "regional level," we are talking about the different realities of Québec's regions in all of their complexity, and thus go beyond the simplistic rural-urban binary and nuance the general understanding of "regional" in the Québec context. Nuancing the rural in this way will allow us to consider how regions' unique diversity profiles impact school settings—the focus of the "Keys for a Better Understanding" project. By increasing the visibility of the unique profiles of cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity in rural or nonmetropolitan regions, we can encourage more inclusive approaches to education for diverse rural students, and in the process build a more deeply equal society.

In Québec's school system, the effects of the presumed urban-rural divide are observed in at least three areas. First, public policy, based on a notion of "critical mass" diversity (Vatz-Laaroussi 2005), adopts a vocabulary that mostly describes diversity within the context of Montréal, thus ignoring the diversity across the province. Second, research shows that there are important differences in the practices adopted by and sometimes between schools in Québec's administrative regions—such as the kinds of support given to newly arrived immigrant students to further their educational, social, and linguistic integration (De Koninck and Armand 2012). However, these local initiatives have yet to be documented, especially in the areas outside of Montréal (Mc Andrew and L'Équipe du Griés 2015). Finally, diversity as a theme is weakly anchored in preservice and in-service teacher training in the regional context. This is not due to the lack of diversity in schools, but to the fact that only a few researchers study these issues and almost no courses address them (Larochelle-Audet et al. 2013; Borri-Anadon et al. 2018; Hirsch and Mc Andrew 2016).

As we see it, the biggest challenge to recognizing the particularities of diversity at the regional level across the regions of Québec are

the phenomena of, first, overvisibilization of the presence and needs of certain diverse groups in certain areas and, second, invisibilization of the presence and needs of other diverse groups in other areas. These phenomena impede the recognition of diversity as it actually exists across Québec.

Overvisibilization occurs through the instrumentalization of diversity both in the media and in politics (Potvin 2008, 2010). According to Potvin (2017, 50), these instrumentalizations have led to narratives that "have repetitively, spectacularly and mimetically spun various anecdotal news stories by priming, agenda setting and contentiously framing diversity." In the context of our project, overvisibilization works to frame diversity as something that, for all intents and purposes, exists almost exclusively in metropolitan zones. This is problematic not only in that it neglects the fact that diverse populations live throughout Québec, but in that it narrowly limits diversity to the kinds of diversity that we see in metropolitan areas. That is, it doesn't allow for the diversity of diversity itself.

Invisibilization is the other side of the same coin, perhaps embodied most obviously in the status of Indigenous Nations in Québec, where the majority francophone group takes precedence. Indigenous Nations are not included in any consideration of interculturalism in Québec, and are thereby relegated to the status of a cultural minority like other cultural minorities in the province. This negates any possibility of nation-to-nation relationships, rendering Indigenous Peoples invisible in analyses of diversity within Québec society (Bouchard and Taylor 2008; Frozzini 2014). The Gouvernement du Québec's (2019) report on relations between Indigenous Peoples and certain public services in Québec highlighted the tensions that exist in some regions of the province between Indigenous peoples and the rest of the Québec population.

The impacts of over- and invisibilization are felt province-wide, though some regions feel it more intensely than others (Gouvernement du Québec 2019; Potvin 2017). As the "regionalization" of immigration—that is, the encouraging of immigration to nonmetropolitan regions of Québec—becomes a frequent political talking point, the need to understand how these phenomena impact and function within the province's different regions and their school systems becomes more urgent.[5]

To address the need for region- and school-specific information around diversity, we began the "Keys for a Better Understanding of the Ethnocultural, Religious, and Linguistic Diversity in Schools" project in 2017. This project collects diversity data from each of Québec's 17 administrative regions, and organizes it according to four categories: (1) a historical portrait of the region's diversity from its historical and colonial past up to contemporary waves of migration; (2) an analysis of how the media have portrayed diversity; (3) the key current demographic characteristics of each region; and (4) the implications of this diversity for schools by means of a statistical portrait and an overview of some of the relevant and promising initiatives already in place (Borri-Anadon and Hirsch 2019). This chapter focuses primarily on categories 3 and 4, which we will refer to simply as "the databases" in this chapter.

Using data from the "Keys for a Better Understanding" project, this chapter aims to make the range and particularities of diversity across Québec visible without setting them in stone. We start by presenting the theoretical and methodological choices we made to extract from the data the differences and similarities in diversity within and between Québec's administrative regions. We then offer a typology that regroups the 17 administrative regions of Québec into six groupings based on their particular diversity profiles. We conclude by discussing the particular, diverse makeups of these new groupings, the unique needs and challenges they imply, and the impacts they have on schools.

THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Adopting a Constructivist Perspective

Like Juteau (2018), we use a constructivist approach that understands diversity as a social construct—a result of the mobilization of certain social boundaries, or markers. Juteau understands these markers as "lines of demarcation" that denote the existence of distinct social relationships systems and the mechanisms designed to maintain them (30). These socially constructed boundaries are two sided. One side is "internal": the relationship a specific group has towards the markers of its own diversity. The other side is "external": the categories of diversity attributed to a specific group by other, often majority, groups.

It should, however, be made clear from the outset that operationalizing these markers using the available data has certain limits. For one, data often only focuses on one or the other of these two-sided boundaries. On the one hand, fact-based or so-called objective data[6]—which includes, for instance, information gathered by Statistics Canada about place of birth, age, and sex—involves externally assigning people to particular categories. On the other hand, self-reported data—for instance, data about Indigenous identity and gender—are often internally categorized; people assign themselves to certain categories through self-reports.

Other limits follow from this. For instance, from a deliberately constructivist perspective on otherness (Mc Andrew 2011), using solely statistical and fact-based analyses runs the risk of essentializing a given group by implying that the data describe inherent characteristics of the group, leaving no room for how group characteristics are socially defined and may therefore shift and change over time. (Juteau 2018). Using solely self-reported data comes with its own challenges. Because these data often reflect broad societal changes, they pose interpretative challenges.[7]

Recognizing Particularities and Establishing Groupings: Using Typological Analysis to Move Towards Mapping

With the goal of portraying the ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic particularities of diversity for each of the regions of Québec, we use Demazière's (2013) typological method, an inductive and descriptive multistage approach. For Demazière, the challenge is to use the typology efficiently by extracting and comparing individual cases to identify similarities without losing the richness of the corpus. This approach helps sociologists (and, by extension, their public) to understand the diversity that exists within a general class of phenomena (Ragin 1987, 149; Demazière 2013). It serves to put things in order—that is, to reduce the complexity without destroying it (Demazière 2013, 334).

In the context of our study, we extracted cases from our databases and the variety of data collected there. We used data from three main sources: federal data from the 2011 and 2016 censuses; provincial data from the Ministère de l'Immigration, de la Diversité et de l'Inclusion (MIDI 2016); and school data from the Ministère de l'Éducation et de l'Enseignement supérieur (MEES 2017). A first step in selecting and

condensing relevant and pertinent information was to identify indicators of diversity that captured the diversity that was characteristic of the different regions of Québec.

The data on which these indicators were based are self-reported in some cases and fact based in others. Sometimes, self-reported data was included because it was the only data available. This is true of, for instance, religious affiliation. While religious affiliation was not one of our primary indicators, it did, in some regions, offer insight into diversity. This data allowed us to build an interesting portrait of religious diversity in Québec, which includes those who declare Catholic affiliation (still a clear majority in all regions of Québec); those who declare being nonreligious (ranging from less than 1% to 17%); and those who declare affiliation to other religions, including various branches of Protestantism, Islam, Judaism, Buddhism, and so on (Statistics Canada 2017). Even though the numbers were too low in many regions to be used as significant diversity indicators for our categories, they enabled us to take religious diversity into account in our general cartography by documenting the importance of the Catholic majority within religious diversity.

Other times, self-reported data provided a better portrait of certain aspects of diversity than fact-based data. This was particularly true with regard to Indigenous identity. To establish the proportion of Indigenous people in Québec's different regions, we used self-declared data on Indigenous identity as opposed to fact-based data on the number of people with treaty and Indian status because this latter data has excluded some Indigenous people for historical and political reasons that are often not accepted by Indigenous Peoples.[8]

Fact-based data were the bases of the other indicators, which describe regional immigrant populations.[9] This data was important to understanding the proportion of recent immigrants, notably refugees, admitted to Québec between 2005 and 2014, many of whom had been settled in nonmetropolitan regions by the state.[10] The data on students from immigrant backgrounds, based principally on the students' and their parents' countries of birth and mother tongues, were also considered for analysis purposes. We analyzed the proportion of first- and second-generation students from immigrant backgrounds; the growth of these populations between 2013/14 and 2016/17; the number of mother-tongue languages

declared by parents; and the proportions of francophones, anglophones, and allophones.[11]

The next steps in the process were to compare the different regions using our primary indicators, to group broadly similar regions together, and to identify regions with differences in certain indicators. The goal of grouping and differentiating regions in this way was, as mentioned already, to overcome the urban-rural dichotomy. As it turned out, however, the groupings varied enormously depending on the indicator selected—a finding that brings to mind the implications of over- and invisibilization in data analysis. Because of this variability, we opted for a typology of the different regions that was based on a selection of indicators that researchers have found to be particularly relevant for better understanding school diversity, and which were subsequently categorized as core units (Demazière 2013, 336). We settled on seven primary indicators:

- Proportion of Indigenous people in the total population
- Proportion of immigrants in the total population
- Proportion of refugees among first-generation immigrants
- Proportion of student population from immigrant backgrounds
- Proportion of second-generation students among immigrant background students
- Growth in number of students from immigrant backgrounds
- Proportion of student population that is anglophone or allophone

The collected data clearly demonstrate the importance of cross-referencing the various indicators to make all existing data meaningful.

RESULTS

A Typology of the Ethnocultural, Religious, and Linguistic Diversity in the Regions of Québec

Having used the same types of data for all regions, we grouped Québec's administrative regions according to their common characteristics in order to have a better understanding of the similarities and differences in their unique diversity profiles. These groupings are illustrated and summarized in Figure 2.1. For each grouping, we focus on describing

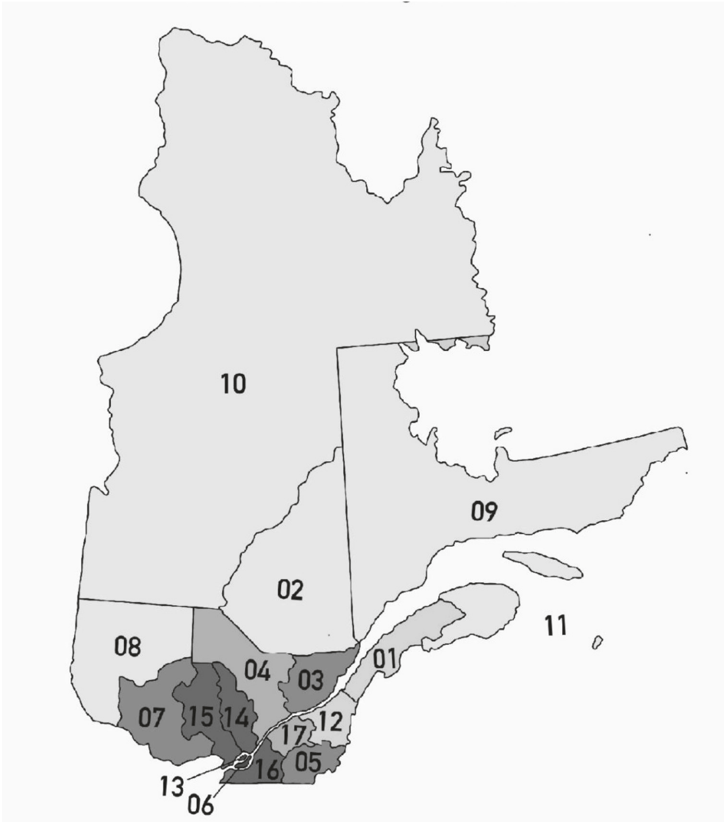
the different primary indicators selected. These primary indicators are listed in Table 2.1. We then provide information on the characteristics of each of the six groupings of our typology based on these indicators.

Detailed Presentation of Regional Groupings in the Typology

Group A in our typology corresponded to the metropolitan administrative regions of Montréal (06) and Laval (13). These two regions stood out from the other regions of Québec as they had the highest number of immigrants, particularly from the economic and family unification admission categories.[12] Together, they account for more than 25% of the immigrant population. These administrative regions also had a large proportion of students compared to other regions. Around 50% or more of these students were from immigrant backgrounds, and most of these students were second generation. Some schools in these administrative regions were attended almost entirely by students from immigrant backgrounds. Growth in the proportion of students from immigrant backgrounds has begun to slow, especially in Montréal. Still, it comes as no surprise that these two administrative regions had the highest number of mother tongues in the province (more than 110 languages). Less than 50% of parents in Montréal and Laval declared French as a mother tongue. These administrative regions also had the highest proportion of English speakers (10%–20%) and allophones (around 40%) in Québec. Religious diversity was also a salient feature. Compared to all other regional groupings, Montréal and Laval had the lowest proportion of people declaring Catholic affiliation (50%–65%) and the highest proportion of people declaring other religious affiliations in the province. Group A also had the lowest proportion of people identifying as Indigenous. On the basis of all our indicators, the data showed that these two regions are extremely diverse and that this diversity could be mainly attributed to the migratory movements that have marked Québec's past and present.

Group B included the administrative regions that surround the Group A metropolitan areas: Lanaudière (14), the Laurentides (15), and Montérégie (16). These administrative regions had similar diversity profiles, though the similarity was less pronounced than Group A. The average proportion of immigrants to these regions ranged from 5%–10%. The distribution of these people among the immigration admission

FIGURE 2.1 Groupings of Québec administrative regions according to typology of diversity



■ **Group A**
Metropolitan regions
13 Laval
06 Montréal

■ **Group B**
Areas surrounding metropolitan regions
14 Lanaudière
15 Laurentides
16 Montérégie

■ **Group C**
Medium-sized urban agglomerations
03 Capitale-Nationale
05 Estrie
07 Outaouais

■ **Group D**
Central regions
04 Mauricie
17 Centre-du-Québec

■ **Group E**
Semi-remote regions
01 Bas-Saint-Laurent
12 Chaudière-Appalaches

■ **Group F**
Most remote regions
02 Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean
08 Abitibi-Témiscamingue
09 Côte-Nord
11 Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine
10 Nord-du-Québec

categories, including refugees, are the same as for Group A. Group B schools welcomed a high proportion of students from immigrant backgrounds (10%–25%). This proportion is set to rise as Group B regions have seen a significant increase in the numbers of students from immigrant backgrounds, especially those who are second generation, since the early 2010s. The majority of the population in Group B declared French as their mother tongue, including more than 75% of students in these regions. Nonetheless, more than 60 other languages were declared, and the proportion of allophone students was average compared to other regional groupings (4%–9%). The proportion of anglophone students varied largely across the three regions in Group B, ranging from around 1% in Lanaudière to almost 8% in Montérégie. This wide variation can be explained by the migrational history of each of these regions, notably the settlement of anglophone communities and more recent immigration. The majority of people in Group B regions, as in all Québec's regions, declared Catholic affiliation, but some religious diversity was observed: between 5% and 10% professed another religious affiliation. Thus, as concerns the ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic markers, the selected indicators revealed that the level of diversity in Group B was qualitatively similar to, albeit quantitatively much less significant than, that of metropolitan Group A.

Group C in our typology gathered together the administrative regions that have sizeable urban agglomerations: Capitale-Nationale (03), Estrie (05), and Outaouais (07). Even though the immigration rate in these regions was comparable to other regional groupings (5%–10%), there were considerably more refugees in the Group C immigrant population than in other groupings (16%–30%). The proportion of students from immigrant backgrounds varied between 10% and 25% and was similarly distributed across the first- and second-generational statuses. Group C regions have seen an overall increase in the number of students from immigrant backgrounds since the early 2010s, due largely to an increase in first-generation students. More than 75% of the students in Group C regions declared French as their mother tongue. Still, as in Group B, more than 60 languages were declared. The proportion of allophone students was average, ranging from 4% to 10%. There was considerable variation among the three administrative regions in Group C

with regard to those whose first language was English: 1% of respondents in Capitale-Nationale were anglophone, compared to almost 16% in the Outaouais region. The proportion of anglophones in Outaouais can be at least partly explained by this region's geographical location bordering Ontario, more specifically Ottawa. The portrait of religious diversity in Group C was very similar to that of Group B. The proportionately large number of refugees in the urban agglomerations of Group C made this grouping distinct from others in our typology. This finding also leads to the conclusion that diversity in Group C is a relatively recent phenomenon in the social fabric of these regions.

The two central regions—Mauricie (04) and Centre-du-Québec (17)—comprise Group D. This group was characterized by low immigrant population (around 2%). As state-sponsored refugees had been settled in the towns in these administrative regions, however, the regions represented 22% and 40% of all immigrants welcomed between 2005 and 2014, respectively—the highest proportions in the province. The proportion of students from immigrant backgrounds in Group D schools corresponded to the provincial median (7%–8%) and was equitably divided between the generational statuses, but was showing a rapid increase. This increase was largely due to a growing number of second-generation students from immigrant backgrounds, which suggests that the diversity in Group D is not exclusively from recent immigration. Linguistic diversity was similar in the two regions in Group D: 44 mother tongues in Mauricie and 48 in Centre-du-Québec. The proportion of allophone students was around 2%; anglophones sat at just under 1%. Although a very high proportion of the population (more than 95%) spoke French at home, Group D is approximately within the average of all six regional groupings in our typology in terms of language diversity. Group D stands out for the proportion of refugees among recent immigrants to its regions. Still, it shares several characteristics of diversity with Group E.

Group E was composed of two semi-remote regions—Chaudière-Appalaches (12) and Bas-Saint-Laurent (01)—that both had a very low proportion of immigrants (less than 2%). The number of students from immigrant backgrounds was also very low (around 5%) and predominantly second generation. Unlike the other groups, the numbers of

students from immigrant backgrounds in Group E showed very little growth. It is therefore not surprising that French was the mother tongue for more than 95% of students in these regions and that there was only a tiny percentage of anglophones and allophones (less than 1%). The actual numbers of languages spoken varied between the two administrative regions: 27 languages were declared in Bas-Saint-Laurent versus 41 in Chaudières-Appalaches. The proximity of the latter region to Capitale-Nationale partly explains this difference.

Group F, the last grouping in our typology, incorporated the five most remote regions: Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean (02), Abitibi-Témiscamingue (08), Côte-Nord (09), Nord-du-Québec (10), and Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine (11). The Indigenous population was larger here compared to any of the other regional groupings. Still, it was difficult to compare the diversity profiles of the regions in this group. Whereas the majority of the population in Nord-du-Québec declared Indigenous identity (almost 66%), the proportions were substantially lower in the other administrative regions. Only 5% of the populations in Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean and Abitibi-Témiscamingue, and 18% in Côte-Nord. Immigrants made up a very low proportion of the population in Group F, and recent immigration stemmed mainly from economic immigrants and family reunification. Indeed, three of the administrative regions in Group F had no refugees at all between 2005 and 2014. In the school context, given the small number of students from immigrant backgrounds, no common characteristics could be determined regarding either generational status or change in immigrant presence in Group F schools. It was also difficult to compare the linguistic diversity of the administrative regions in Group F. Although Nord-du-Québec declared only 19 mother tongues, it was here that we found the lowest proportion of francophone students of any administrative region (18%). In the other Group F regions, French was the predominant mother tongue (more than 85%). Overall, Group F was characterized by its Indigenous population and the diversity among the different Indigenous Nations present.

Still, the one thing all regional groupings had in common was the low proportion of people declaring Indigenous identity (1%–3%). The Outaouais region, where Indigenous peoples made up more than 5% of

the population, was an exception to this rule. Despite this, all regions contained one or more traditional and usually unceded territory of the eleven Indigenous nations in Québec. The regional groupings differed, however, in terms of where Indigenous populations were largely located. In Group C, which had sizeable urban agglomerations such as Québec City, Sherbrooke, and Gatineau, Indigenous communities lived close to or in these urban zones. In other groupings, Indigenous communities were remote. In some of the groupings, contact between Indigenous populations and other populations was frequent, especially in school settings. In others, mostly Groups E and F, contact was relatively infrequent.

The profile for each of our six regional groupings based on our primary indicators is summarized in Table 2.1.

TABLE 2.1 Selected diversity indicators by diversity group

	Group					
	A	B	C	D	E	F
Proportion of Indigenous people in total population (%)	≤1	1–3	1–3*	1–3	1–3	≥5
Proportion of immigrants in total population (%)	≥25	5–10	5–10	~2	≤2	≤2
Proportion of refugees among first-generation immigrants (%)	9–13	9–13	≥15	≥15	3–8	≤4
Proportion of student population from immigrant background (%)	≥50	10–25	10–25	~7	~5	≤4
Proportion of second-generation students among immigrant background students (%)	60–75*	60–75	50–60*	50–60	50–60	Variable
Growth in number of students from immigrant background (%)	10–15	15–30	15–30	15–30	5–10	Variable
Proportion of English-speaking	10–20	1–8	1–8*	–1	–1	1–8
and allophone students (%)	≤40	4–10	4–10	~2	<1	<1

Sources: Data on total Indigenous and immigrant populations is from Statistics Canada census profile data for the 2016 Census of Population. Data on proportion of refugees among recent immigrants is from MIDI (2017). All other data is from MEES (2017).

** Intragroup variation not considered by the typology. These nuances are discussed in the detailed presentation and discussion.*

DISCUSSION AND CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE TYPOLOGY

Support for a Detailed and Nuanced Understanding of Diversity across Québec's Regions

Our typology of the ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic diversity across the 17 administrative regions of Québec begins to lay bare the shortcomings of such a widespread dichotomy between Montréal and the province's other regions. A map is beginning to emerge from this typological analysis, charting the extent and nature of diversity across the different groupings.

In effect, our typology aims to "explore the differences, describe them more fully, explain how they break down, combine, and connect, and identify borderline categories" (Demazière 2013, 340). As our typology shows, the rural-urban binary does not hold, or at least not in an uncomplicated way, when it comes to diversity. Indeed, even our six-pronged typology has its limitations in displaying the complexity of diversity across Québec's regions. For one, it is important to group the administrative regions of Laval and Montréal together as "metropolitan regions" (as we have done), even though the growth rate of students from immigrant backgrounds in Laval plays out differently than it does in Montréal, which, since the early 2000s, has received fewer and fewer of these students to the benefit of the other Québec regions (MELS 2014). In other words, the diversity of Montréal's student population is no longer growing as quickly as it once was. Our typology also brings to light the fact that regions in different groupings share diversity indicators with one another.

It is, for instance, clear that, even though the extent of the diversity in the metropolitan regions generally sets it apart from the other typology groupings, it shares some of the dynamics found in other groupings. For example, the number of anglophone students in Outaouais, a Group C region, is comparable to that of Group A. Group B regions also share indicators with the metropolitan zone. In particular, the numbers of second-generation students from immigrant backgrounds in the Montérégie region are similar to those of Laval and Montréal. In terms of linguistic diversity, Montérégie has the second highest number of mother tongues in the province (148), after Montréal (193). Furthermore, the administrative regions in Group B receive as many refugees as the metropolitan regions (9%–13%).

Our analysis also shows that, although the five nonmetropolitan groupings rank lower than Group A on most diversity indicators, there are some telling exceptions—notably, the Indigenous population in Group F. Without going into detail on the plurality of realities that shape the entire territory, our typology helps shed light on what we call the diversity of diversity. It has thus been important for the groupings that have emerged from our analysis to be sufficiently adaptable to allow for variation not only in the selected indicators, but also in the political, economic, and social contexts in Québec's regions. This is particularly true of the Bas-Saint-Laurent region, which, although it is part of the semi-remote Group E, is likely to shift into another grouping in the future, given that Rimouski, its largest city, has been designated as a major area to receive refugees (MIDI 2017).

Support for Schools

It seems to us that this mapping is essential to acquiring a better understanding of how the phenomena of overvisibilization and invisibilization of diversity work in Québec, including in education. Indeed, just as there is variation in the indicators themselves, the impact of these indicators on schools varies among the different diversity groupings. The typology can thus contribute to the schools' tripartite mission of instruction, socialization, and qualification (MEQ 1997), and help guide Québec's schools on the best ways of adapting their teaching methods to the reality of the diversity in their schools.

With regard to the mission of instruction, our typology may inspire schools in the various groupings to use teaching practices that respond to their particular diversity realities and experiences in order to support the academic progress of students. The Québec Education Program supports this differentiated teaching by suggesting that Ethics and Religious Culture teachers address local issues according to their area's "own characteristics" (MEQ 2001). Knowing the diversity portrait of each specific region and understanding the possible similarities and differences with other regions will allow teachers to *truly* adapt their teaching to the actual diversity characteristics of their area rather than to the image they have of this diversity. This is particularly important as this false image is often tainted by the prevailing narratives and stereotypes about

certain regions, including, in no small part, the imagined divide between Montréal and the other regions. The current revision of the Ethics and Religious Culture program can also make use of a typology like ours to better identify the markers of diversity observable throughout Québec rather than focusing—as they did in this program—specifically on religion as a marker of diversity.

With respect to educational qualification, the typology sheds light on the importance of schools adopting initiatives that prepare students to enter the workforce of Québec's society. This is particularly important when taking into consideration the elevated high school dropout and nongraduation rates affecting some communities and racialized groups. For example, research has shown that Indigenous students in particular face challenges regarding educational success (CSE 2010; Presseau, Martineau, and Bergevin 2006). Our typology indicates which regions have higher proportions of Indigenous and racialized students and can be used to support projects that increase these students' sense of equality, belonging, inclusion, and well-being at school. Creating information and awareness-raising tools that are crafted for specific student populations and parents to educate them about the Québec school system and its pathways to qualification could be a promising starting point. Ultimately, we hope such projects improve retention and graduation rates.

To encourage socialization, schools can start to promote intercultural education and "living together" by preparing students to recognize the diversity in their own regional context. This knowledge of diversity can then be expanded and adapted to other contexts. The implementation of practices aimed at establishing an equitable intercultural climate is especially important in schools that belong to groupings with mainly second-generation students from immigrant backgrounds, given that some research suggests that these students perceive greater inequities within their schools (Archambault et al. 2019). More concretely, over and above the practices that aim to welcome new arrivals or to celebrate the diverse origins of students, schools would benefit from creating opportunities to promote discussion about diversity and to act on the processes that exclude minority groups, at both the regional and provincial levels.

Contributions to Rural Inclusivity

This analysis contributes to the reflection on rural inclusivity in several ways. First, the typology allows us to recognize, appreciate, and take advantage of the presence of ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic diversity in all regions of Québec, including the rural and remote regions. By regrouping the regions according to different criteria, the schools in these areas find themselves united around common realities. This provides an opportunity to share spaces for reflection and for learning from one another, and to gain inspiration from the experiences that have already been documented by some schools. In addition, the "Keys for a Better Understanding of the Ethnocultural, Religious, and Linguistic Diversity in Schools" project from which this typology emanates has already identified promising initiatives from across the regions of Québec.

The typology also allows schools from groupings with similarities—for instance, in smaller urban agglomerations and central regions, which both welcome a high proportion of refugee students—to connect, share, and collaborate on their initiatives. As one example, these areas could collaborate on initiatives aimed at students that are more at risk academically and who are more likely to drop out. The significant proportion of refugees among immigrants in the central regions increases the probability that schools in these regions will welcome students who have experienced a more difficult migratory journey and have had to interrupt their schooling. The challenges of linguistic, educational, and social integration are all the more salient in these contexts, and call for differentiated support practices (Papazian-Zohrabian et al. 2018). Thus, schools must encourage collaboration with refugee families' host organizations and implement services that respond to the needs of refugee students who are critically behind in their schooling or who have experienced traumatic situations and bereavement.

A second way in which the typology contributes to rural inclusivity is by making a case for the inclusion of the regions themselves in the updating and implementing of educational policies and training practices, which are currently largely thought about in terms of the urban-rural divide. Our typology clearly shows that policies cannot be based solely on the notion of "critical mass." Some rural and remote administrative

regions, for example, are confronted with challenges relating to the recognition of diversity and the building of inclusion, in the sense of deep equality (Banack and Pohler, introduction to this volume), into their schools given the fact that the numbers of diverse students in their schools may not be as quantitatively significant as in other regions. Our typology also shows the diversity of our groupings' diversity portraits, leading to an understanding of the similarities and differences in the diversity of administrative regions near and far. By illustrating ethno-cultural, religious, and linguistic markers across the province, the door is opened to a wider study of diversity within Québec society. This is an invaluable tool for intercultural education as it offers schools opportunities for developing awareness and discussing the different aspects and manifestations of this diversity (MEES 2019, 14). Neglecting the plurality of Québec's diversity has real policy- and budget-related consequences for schools. For example, the subsidies provided under the budgetary support measure for intercultural education are based on the number of first-generation students in schools (MEES 2019), but as our typology shows, this is only one indicator of diversity in schools. Budgetary support is highly relevant to the development of awareness around issues of ethno-cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity among students, but the current means of financing schools fails to provide the support needed by some regional groups, like those in the semi-remote regions.

Our typology will also be a critical tool for improving preservice and in-service teacher training practices around diversity. These practices must be adapted to illustrate a local reality or be used to present a more detailed picture of schools across Québec, given that schools must each respond to different kinds of challenges, each just as important as the next. This is also the case for university-led initiatives that partner with Indigenous communities on their territory to provide training to help those working in the remotest regions to understand Indigenous realities.

The particularities of Québec's regional diversity profiles have consequences for education. These particularities need to be taken into account not only by teaching, nonteaching, and administrative school staff, but also by those working on education-related research, policies, and programs, and those training to enter the educational workforce.

NOTES

1. This is an English translation of the project's original French title "Des clés pour miex comprendre la diversite ethnoculturelle, religieuse et linguistique en milieu scolaire." This project was made possible through the support of the Direction de l'intégration linguistique et de l'éducation interculturelle of the Ministère de l'Éducation du Québec. The project is availabe in French through the Laboratoire éducation et diversité en région at www.uqtr.ca/ledir/fichesregionales.
2. The province of Québec is divided into 17 administrative regions for the purposes of organizing government services. Each region is identified by a number in official documents; these same numbers are used on the map in Figure 2.1. Statistics Canada data used in this chapter also largely corresponds to these administrative region divisions, though it is technically organized by economic regions.
3. The expression *ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic diversity* is currently used in Québec (notably in *A School for the Future: Policy Statement on Educational Integration and Intercultural Education* [MEQ 1998]), to refer to the multiethnic character of Québec's society and the relationship between the majority and the minority populations (Potvin et al. 2015). When we use the term *diversity* in this chapter, we are referring to ethnocultural, religious, and linguistic diversity in this sense.
4. Take for example the Gouvernement du Québec (2019) report *Public Inquiry Commission on Relations Between Indigenous Peoples and Certain Public Services in Québec: Listening, Reconciliation and Progress*, which highlighted the current tensions that exist in some regions of the province between Indigenous Peoples and the rest of the Québec population. In addition, headlines have been made in the last few years by the endless debate on visible religious symbols, the attack on the Québec City mosque in January 2017, the Muslim community's search for land for a cemetery in the Capitale-Nationale region, and the attempts by various Muslim communities (including those of Shawinigan and Trois-Rivières) to find meeting places, among other issues.
5. In fact, since the 1990s, when the *Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* was adopted, Québec has been regionalizing its immigration (MICC 1990). That is, its immigration policies have encouraged the settlement of as many immigrants as possible in its different regions and have emphasized the importance of welcoming and supporting them. According to the policy statement, "the imbalance in the regional distribution of immigrants in Québec raises important issues that must

be addressed. First, the level of urban concentration [i.e., in Montréal]—the highest of any of the Canadian cities—deprives many of Québec's regions of the economic, demographic, and sociocultural benefits of immigration…Moreover, without a balanced regional distribution of immigrants, the responsibility integrating new arrivals falls solely on Montréal and its institutions…Finally, this imbalance could create an important gap over the long term between the metropolitan region and the rest of the province" (MICC 1990, 73; our translation).

6. This data is often designated as "objective." However, constructivist approaches to data analysis, because of their focus on the social factors at play, problematize the conventional understanding of objectivity. For this reason, we prefer the term *fact-based*.
7. Take, for example, the data on religious affiliations. For several years now, these data have presented somewhat of a conundrum. There has been a significant drop in Catholic religious practices—for instance, the number of marriages fell by 51% between 1968 and 2001—yet the drop in those self-identifying as Catholic during the same period has been much less significant (Meunier and Wilkins-Laflamme 2011). The way in which these various data have been interpreted has given rise to criticism. This has led Statistics Canada to promise changes to the way the questions are asked to ensure that a clearer picture of religious and ethnic diversity in Canada emerges from the 2021 census (Statistics Canada 2019).
8. Statistics Canada (2018) uses the term *Aboriginal identity* to refer to those who are First Nations, Métis, or Inuit, and/or are status or treaty Indians, and/or are members of a First Nation or an Indian band (under the terms of Canada's Indian Act). This usage is based on Section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982, which states that "Aboriginal peoples of Canada" include Indians, Inuit, and Métis people. It should be noted that the available data collected in this way are subject to criticism by Indigenous Peoples themselves (APN 2019), which may impact some communities' willingness to participate in surveys (Guimond 2009). Indigenous identity may thus be much higher than conveyed by national statistics based on household surveys, and self-identification data may present a better portrait of the size of Indigenous populations.
9. The term *immigrant population* refers to persons who are, or have at any time been, landed immigrants or permanent residents. Such persons have been granted the right to permanently live in Canada by immigration authorities. Immigrants who have obtained Canadian citizenship are also included in this category (Statistics Canada 2018).

10. Refugees, including those admitted to Québec between 2005 and 2014, are categorized as follows: “Refugees and persons in a similar situation are subdivided into five subgroups: government-assisted refugees, sponsored refugees, locally recognized refugees, family members of locally recognized refugees, and other refugees” (MIDI 2018, 26; our translation).
11. In our research, we define allophone students as follows: “allophone students are all students who declare a mother tongue other than French, English, or an Indigenous language” (MELS 2013, 2; our translation). This notion, even though it has been much criticized on conceptual and methodological grounds, is widely used to understand linguistic diversity (Boisvert et al. 2020).
12. These admission categories refer to “the immigration program or group of programs under which an immigrant has been granted for the first time the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities” (Statistics Canada 2018). The economic category refers to the ability of the immigrant to contribute to Canada’s economy. The family unification category refers to those who are sponsored by family members who are already Canadian citizens. Immigrants may also be admitted under the refugee category. Refugees are granted permanent resident status on the basis of a well-founded fear for their life and well-being should they return to their home country. For more information, see the Statistics Canada (2018) entry on admission categories.

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