International Journal for Talent Development and Creativity

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Cite this article

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Making the Case for Cosmopolitan Pathways for Canada's Diversity

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Abstract

This article seeks to develop the argument that it is time for a national roundtable negotiation among Indigenous peoples, the two English and French settler nations, the BIPOC communities and the various immigrant groups to consider the merits of cosmopolitanism as a moral and cultural framework of our interrelated relationships and intercultural encounters in Canada. In an interdependent globalized world that is becoming "superdiverse," I argue that it is time to shift from the language of "tolerance" of the "Other" to the language of "engagement" with "fellow human beings" guided by the moral and cultural cosmopolitanism for social and global justice, equality and equity, and inclusion through the fulfillment of human rights. The purpose of this public discussion is to urge the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education as well as the federal government to put this question on their agenda for consideration as a new framework for Canada's educational, social, economic and political policies. This argumentative paper has the potential to benefit policymakers, curriculum designers, educators, and ministries of education across Canada and beyond to consolidate moral and cultural cosmopolitanism as a national and international approach to harmonious human coexistence.

Keywords: Cosmopolitanism; diversity; multiculturalism; decolonization.

Introduction

In 2021, I launched a public discussion with prominent scholars and guest speakers through two online symposiums to discuss the following question: *Cosmopolitanism for Canada's Growing Diversity: A Better Strategy than Multiculturalism?* (Sfeir, 2021a, 2021b). The purpose of this ongoing public discussion is to urge the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education as well as the federal government and provincial ministries of education to put this question on their agenda for consideration for new cosmopolitan pathways for Canada's educational, social, economic and political policies. This Special Issue of the *International Journal of Talent Development and Creativity* emerged as an outcome of these symposiums. Further, national and international participants in these symposiums (George Sefa Dei, Ratna Ghosh, Pitseolak Pfeiffer, Noel Burke and Luke Sumich) and contributors to this Issue address important themes that suggest the need for a dynamic and evolving social and educational system at the macro, meso and micro levels of society, among others.

In this paper, I advocate for a shift in the Canadian multiculturalism narrative towards moral cosmopolitanism and cultural cosmopolitanism combined as the moral compass of each social, cultural, educational, and political Canadian policy (Brown & Held, 2010). Therefore, I use the term 'cosmopolitanism' to refer to both aspects, moral and cultural, by encompassing the key elements of both that are strongly intertwined. For example, moral cosmopolitanism in its basic form posits that "all human beings have equal moral worth" (Nussbaum, 1996/2002, p. xii). It emphasizes impartiality towards every human being and open-mindedness as well as the fulfilment of human rights (Hansen, 2010, p. 154; Nussbaum, 1996/2002; Brown & Held, 2010). Moral cosmopolitanism places the emphasis on the individuals as the unit of analysis rather than states or other forms of collective groupings (Brown & Held). Cultural cosmopolitanism recognizes that individuals possess hybrid cultural identities which require 'multilayered' *moral* obligations unconstrained by locality, ethnicity, nationality, or culture "in a culturally pluralist world" (Brown & Held, p. 11; Van Hooft, 2009). While moral and cultural cosmopolitanism each places more emphasis on some aspects than others, a cosmopolitanism core aspect is "that the moral standing of all peoples and of each individual person around the globe is equal" rejecting discrimination based on any classification of difference based for example on identity, nationality, race, language, religion, or ethnicity and that it is essential to restructure international institutions to transform them into more just ones (Van Hooft, 2009, pp. 4-5,

Brown & Held, 2010). The key premise of cosmopolitanism for global justice adopted by the proponents of this concepts is illustrated in the following definition by Van Hooft:

> A cosmopolitan outlook would respond to the vital needs of others, whether they are near or far and irrespective of their nationality, race, caste, religious commitments, gender or ethnicity. The cosmopolitan outlook refuses to allow the distance, difference or anonymity of those who suffer oppression, poverty or catastrophe to obscure the responsibility we all have to respond to their needs. (p. 83)

As the local has become the glocal with even non-immigrants' interactions, attachments and activities embody traits from various cultures (Saito, 2010, p. 337) characterising most Canadian cities, this moral orientation of cosmopolitanism has a great potential to harmoniously guide inter-cultural interactions among the various Canadian groups and provides genuine reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples rather than a performative one. Further, this orientation would act as a catalyst to strengthen and promote inclusive educational curricula across provinces, safe and fair policing interactions with marginalized groups not marred with racism, equitable hiring processes in public and private institutions, equitable allocation of public funding and research funding, fair representation of minority groups in the public media and public narrative as well as fair reporting on issues related to minoritized and racialized groups without stereotyping and discrimination, among others. Once this moral ethical guidance is fostered within the geographical and cultural boundaries of multicultural Canada, I argue it would sail to a great extent beyond geographical borders and categories of difference. It is evident from this discussion that cosmopolitanism is not only a moral and cultural framework, but also a political one (Brown & Held, 2010).

One caveat to be noted. Similar to what some scholars have observed, adopting a cosmopolitan lens towards our interdependent world does not mean that cosmopolitanism is the solution to all the problems facing humanity or the globalized Canadian society with historically colonized past and present. As Appiah (2006) states, "cosmopolitanism is the name not of the solution but of the challenge" (p. xv). In addition, Lu (2000) argues that "no ethical perspective—realist, communitarian or cosmopolitan—can be free from moral danger, for whichever ethical perspective we might adopt, all are corruptible" but "when properly understood, these ethical perspectives can all be enlisted to aid the betterment of the human condition" (p. 253). Therefore, it is crucial that an extensive negotiation of the aspects of cosmopolitanism for the Canadian context involves scholars, policymakers, curriculum designers, and educational stakeholders from various social, ethnic, religious, political, and cultural backgrounds. It is imperative also to attend to international voices and their insights on how to evolve in all our interactions for a better humanity.

Memoirs, biographies, personal narratives and scholarly works of national and international scholars advocating in their own way for justice, equity and inclusion comprise further illuminating insights about marginalized experiences that cosmopolitanism seeks to bring justice to. This exploration is beyond the scope of this article but to mention a few examples, Desmond Cole writes about his marginalized experiences as a Black man. Viola Desmond is an historical Canadian activist against anti-Black racism in Nova Scotia and in many parts of Canada. George Sefa Dei, a Ghanaian-born Canadian, has extensively contributed to anti-racism and anti-colonialism theory and research, African Indigeneity, and Black youth education, among others. The Indigenous Canadian playwright Tomson Highway and Richard Wagamese wrote about Indigenous experiences with colonialism. The American authors and journalists Isobel Wilkerson and Ta-Nehesi Coates present compelling personal memoirs addressing ongoing racism by integrating the past with the present ongoing racism.

I begin by providing a brief overview of the concept of social cohesion. Second, I briefly explore the theoretical and practical impacts of 50 years of multiculturalism on social cohesion, inclusion, and justice. In this section, I highlight the successes of multiculturalism, explore multiculturalism as form of "racialized governmentality" (Bilge, 2013, p. 163) and discuss interculturalism in the Quebec context and the challenges that emanate from the way it is implemented. I end this section with a discussion of colonial multiculturalism. Then I turn to highlight elements of "radical anti-racist politics" (Bilge, 2013, p. 163) infused in the federal and provincial

education programs and other initiatives that have paved the way for the potential to negotiate the merits of the concepts of cosmopolitanism. I conclude using a broad brush to delineate the distinction between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism and make my case to seek cosmopolitan pathways for Canada's growing diversity.

What is social cohesion?

Since the 1990s, the concept of social cohesion has attracted the attention of academics and policymakers in Canada and abroad who have offered different approaches to it, sometimes confusing, each focusing on a particular set of components, factors or policies affecting it positively or negatively, or the societal outcomes it may generate (Chan, To, & Chan, 2006). However, Jeannotte (2003) states that we should not underestimate the contribution of these definitions to the idea of social cohesion, even when they focus on a single element. Drawing on Chapman's (2002) systems theory to address social issues, Jeannotte notes that "social cohesion results not from the individual components of a cohesive society but from the *interconnections* and the feedback loops between them. It is the *interactions* that are important, and not simply the individual parts to the system" (p. 11, emphasis in original). Along the same lines, Jeannotte emphasizes the importance "of the role that different contexts, cultures, histories, disciplines and allegiances play in the definition of social cohesion and in understanding how the various dimensions of social cohesion fit together in that particular society" (p. 12). Similarly, regarding social cohesion and its association with social capital and immigration, Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, and Solomos (2007, p. 43) note that "what is considered to be social cohesion is a movable feast, aligned with the political and ideological positions of policymakers, practitioners and academics." Jenson (1998) states, "there is no single way of even defining it. Meanings depend on the problem being addressed and who is speaking" (p. 17). Therefore, it is better to consider its global definition as "an umbrella term that helps frame discussions about social harmony, community well-being, and inclusion" (Tolley & Spoonley, 2012, p. 4). I invoke these insights on social cohesion to draw the attention to the shifting grounds of the concept of social cohesion which necessitates specificity in its use in relation to the concepts of multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. In the next section on multiculturalism, I will seek to provide some specific evidence on the relationship between multiculturalism and social cohesion in Canada.

50 years of multiculturalism

Canada celebrated 50 years of multiculturalism on October 2021. Canada is "the first country in the world to have a policy on multiculturalism" (Ghosh, 2011, p. 3). Canada is internationally renowned as a "world leader" for its management of diversity (Berry, 2013, p. 666). It enjoys the reputation of being "one of the world's most immigrant-friendly countries" (US News 2021, as cited in Fleras, 2021, p. 19) and of being "a defender of human rights" with "a strong record on core civil and political rights protections guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms" except when the Indigenous Peoples' wellbeing is considered (Human Rights Watch, 2020, p. 111). Internationally, "Canada was the first to ratify (in 2005) the United Nations Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions" (Berry, 2013, p. 664). Further, the *2016 Employment Equity Data Report* on 'the value of diversity' states that "the World Economic Forum ranks Canada as the best in the world for its treatment of women and of the LGBT+ community" (Section 1.3). According to *the Ethnic Diversity Survey*, 78% of Canadian population aged 15 and older expressed that "they never felt uncomfortable or out of place" because of their religion, skin color, their race, ethnicity, language culture, or accent while 24% of all visible minorities expressed the opposite (Statistics Canada, 2003, p. 16) and 86% stated that they did not face ethno-racial discrimination (p. 18). According to the findings of *the Environics Institute for Survey Research on Muslims in Canada* (2016), the sense of belonging to Canada ranks high among the majority of Canadian Muslims who are proud of Canada's democracy, diversity, multiculturalism, and freedom to a varying extent (p. 7). Of course, these results may be questionable today in the wake of the pandemic and Quebec context under the Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ).

Educationally, according to the *International Report Card on Public Education: Key facts on Canadian Achievement and Equity*, Canada is considered an international leader of equity in education in terms of educational attainment. Canada ranks also high in terms of educational achievement

between rich and poor children, and immigrant and non-immigrant children, except when the education of Indigenous students is considered (Parkin, 2015). On the other hand, regarding to several measures of child well-being, UNESCO ranked Canada "at a miserable 17th out of a total of 29 nations" with poverty mostly impacting recent immigrants, racialized families and Indigenous Peoples (Campaign 2000, November 2015, p. 15).

However, I agree with Reitz and Banerjee (2007) that it is problematic to believe that Canada fares better in its management of diversity by international standards and that racial discrimination is not a significant issue. It suggests that existing government policies as well as human rights and multicultural policies successfully tackle racial discrimination, and no need for further adjustment to these policies. However, several Canadian policies addressing racial issues highlight "broad ideals" and goals rather than clear targeted ones, the authors argue (p. 522). They are spread across agencies as well as federal, provincial and municipal governments with no adequate coordination; thus, the subsequent processes that are followed undermine social cohesion and the integration of racial minorities. These policies such as multiculturalism do not "effectively bridge that social divide" (p. 527). The findings of Reitz and Banerjee's research indicate that multicultural policies "may have worked less well for racial minority groups than for White immigrant groups" (p. 525).

In addition, the multicultural policy has proven to have further significant shortcomings since its inception in the 1970s, and the related literature abounds with controversies around its merits. Before addressing some of these shortcomings, I would like to point out that when multiculturalism does not fare well or its shortcomings are highlighted, some of its proponents find refuge in the claim that additional policies and initiatives are needed to supplement its progress. For example, Jedwab (2021, p. 28) argues that multiculturalism should be supplemented "with multiple civic, institutional and legislative initiatives that include employment equity laws, cross-cultural dialogue, respect for rights and freedoms, and hate crimes legislation to name a few" as their successes and shortcomings impact the successes and shortcomings of multiculturalism. Similarly, Kymlicka (2021) further asserts that "there's no evidence that embracing multiculturalism blinds people to the realities of discrimination or colonialism" (p. 5). In the same vein, Levrau and Loobuyck (2013) refute the argument that multicultural policies cause segregation, division, lack of solidarity and mutual trust among minority and majority groups, particularly when combined with policies. While I agree that supplemented social, political and educational policies are essential to weave a solid foundation for social cohesion in any society, attention should be given to the critiques of anti-racism scholars who consider multiculturalism as a form of 'racialized governmentality.'

Multiculturalism as a form of "racialized governmentality"

Several authors' perceptions of the merits of multiculturalism and how multiculturalism works differ to various extents than the claims provided by the proponents of multiculturalism, an observation that is widely noted in the related complex and extensive literature. Appiah (2006) states, "Multiculturalism designates the disease it purports to cure" (p. xiii). To Fleras and Elliot (1999), multiculturalism is an approach for "assimilation in slow motion" (p.28). Bilge (2013) confer with several critical race scholars that multiculturalism is a tool for the exercise of "racialized governmentality" because it lacks a "radical anti-racist politics" (p. 163) as it does not seek to curb racism in its management of diversity. Bilge explains that "racialized governmentality" is a covert and overt system of governance that is racially reproduced and reinforced, such as multiculturalism (p. 163). This is also evident in the way multiculturalism is celebrated in Canada along the continuous exercise of colonialism of Indigenous Peoples, discrimination and violence against 2SLGBTQI+ communities, Black people and people of color, persistent inequity and poverty of marginalized peoples, and the promotion of integration policies advocating assimilation into the dominant white settler nation with emphasis on bilingualism turning multiculturalism into "a technology of settler colonialism" (Dhamoon, 2021, p.48). Accordingly, Dhamoon refers to those 50 years of multiculturalism as "multicultural colonialism" (p.49). Similarly, Pfeifer (2021), an Inuit guest speaker in the above-mentioned symposium on cosmopolitanism, strongly condemns the failure of 50 years of multiculturalism and education to address the Indigenous struggles such as the high rates of suicide

among Inuit and the lack of clean drinking water on reserves. He also expressed scepticism of cosmopolitanism. He further states,

> Neither multiculturalism nor cosmopolitanism include any nation-to-nation dialogue or equal partnership; Multiculturalism positions the nation otherwise settler colonial state as the guarantor of specific rights; thus, effectively making Indigenous Peoples as a special rights or special interest group. (2021, April 30, 56:17 minutes)

Reitz and Bannerji (2007) analyzed data from Ethnic Diversity Survey 2003 and concluded that, compared to other groups of European origins, visible minorities are experiencing various racial discriminatory treatments entrenching racial inequalities in Canada. These include discounting of their academic qualifications, prejudiced attitudes towards minorities, a glass ceiling preventing career advancement towards occupying senior positions, and expansive public services and educational programs needed by new immigrants, among others. These discriminatory practices create economic and social obstacles.

From the same view, Eliadis (2007) asserts that evidence from the human rights movement in Canada supports the link between inequality and racial discrimination. Racial inequality is increasing and certain groups are economically, and socially disadvantaged posing a threat to social cohesion. However, "Canada, as a rule, has shrugged its shoulders and assumed that at an institutional level, no one would care enough to raise a fuss" (p. 548). Eliadis further argues that we should focus our concern on equality rather than social cohesion for two reasons: first, cohesion can be achieved through genocide or atrocities such as in Nazi Germany. Second, it is equality rights that is endorsed in the Canadian Constitution and not social cohesion. Social cohesion and diversity can neither settle disputes nor "identify underlying values" (p. 550) and "multiculturalism is a weak, almost empty norm" (p. 551). It is equality and human rights that guarantee fairness and protection from exclusion and discrimination in conflict resolution.

Regrettably though and despite a significant progress in addressing racism and integrating marginalized voices in the curricula across provinces, we continue to encounter expressions of racism, exclusion and stereotyping against various immigrant groups and Indigenous Peoples. Recently, a report by the CBC on a racist assignment against immigrant and refugees indicates that the Anti-Racism Coalition of Newfoundland and Labrador to take action to combat this type of racist education in K-12 social studies curriculum. The textbook contains negative stereotypes of immigrants and refugees perpetuating immigrants as threat to Canada or immigrants deserve low paying jobs with statements such as, immigrants "may take jobs away from resident Canadians" and "immigrant fill job vacancies that resident Canadians do not want to fill" (Roberts, January 24, 2022). The struggle of immigrants and minority groups in Quebec socially, economically, politically and educationally is being more exacerbated by Quebec moving away from the true spirit of interculturalism.

Quebec interculturalism

From its inception in the 1970s, Quebec saw multiculturalism as a threat to its nationalist aspirations, and therefore, rejected it and adopted instead interculturalism (Mackey, 2002). Concisely put from the perspective of its prominent advocate, Gérard Bouchard (2011), interculturalism emphasizes the primacy of the legitimacy of the majority group, such as the dominant francophone community in Quebec, to promote and protect its values, culture, identity, language, social practices and beliefs. The author further claims that interculturalism accounts to the "rejection of all discrimination based on *difference*" (p. 440, emphasis in original). Bouchard explicitly excludes Indigenous experiences from his discussion of interculturalism claiming that Indigenous Peoples do not consider themselves as "cultural minorities with the nation of Quebec" and that the government of Quebec has agreed to "nation to nation" relationship with Indigenous communities (p. 439). Dewing (2009) presents a more accurate and realistic articulation of Quebec interculturalism:

> It is mainly concerned with the acceptance of, and communication and interaction between, culturally diverse groups ('cultural communities') without however, implying any intrinsic equality among them. Diversity is tolerated and encouraged, but only within a framework that establishes the unquestioned

supremacy of French in the language and culture of Québec. (as quoted in Berry, 2013, p. 673).

Despite the fact that Bouchard warned against the danger of this duality in intercultural relationships as it can turn into a divisive relationship, successive Quebec governments or politicians have successfully used the "fragility of the French language" as a weaponized tool to advance social policies and educational policies that are discriminatory placing minoritized and racialized groups as a second class citizens with the majority francophone community assuming supremacy with the right to dictate the behaviors of "Others," deny public funding for their institutions, limit their participation and promotion in public institutions, and subject them to racial police profiling.

For example, the *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences* known as the Bouchard-Taylor Commission was established in 2007 to provide recommendations that "ensure that accommodation practices [of religious minorities] conform to Québec's values as a pluralistic, democratic, egalitarian society" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 17). The public debate was known as the Reasonable Accommodation debate. The commissioners Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor concluded in their final report entitled *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation* that Québec society is divided and called for reconciliation, "compromise, negotiation and balance" (p. 39). Their key recommendations include tackling racism, discrimination, inequality, anti-Semitism, Islamophobia, "underrepresentation of ethnic minorities in the government," and providing support to immigrant women (p. 22). Despite these recommendations, the outcome of this consultation for accommodation was the entrenchment of the "racialised hierarchies and exclusions that it wanted to redress" (Mahrouse, 2010, p. 88), "primacy to the rights of the French-Canadian majority" (Eliadis, 2021, December 6, para, 9) "within a colonialist imperative" (Legassic, 2009, para 7). It is important to note that the Commission has intentionally skipped the discussion of the Aboriginal experiences in relation to the reasonable accommodation. As Mahrouse explains, "this had the consequence of dehistoricising the discussions that related to other racialised groups and obscuring the fact that Québec nationalism has always been in conflict with the nationalism of the First Nations" (p. 88). Then, in 2013, the proposition of *the Quebec Charter of Values* by the Parti Québécois (PQ) also referred to as Bill 60, has exacerbated these concerns among minority and majority groups as was evident in the public outcry and the media. *The Quebec Charter of Values* is a government policy document that proposes the banning of overt religious symbols and garments by public employees**.** The purpose of this document is to affirm religious neutrality and secular values of the State, equality between men and women, and the "primacy of the French language" (Bill 60, p. 2). The Coalition Avenir Quebec's Bill 21, *An Act Respecting the laicity of the State* is another version of Bill 60 causing an increase in harassment against hijabi women since the law passed (Rowe, 2022, March 16). In other words, building cohesiveness in Quebec is sought in terms of coercing different religious and cultural practices to converge towards a common cohesive culture woven around the French language and secularism. This coercive policy was followed by the recent tabling of *Bill 40, An Act to amend mainly the Education Act with regard to school organization and governance* (October 1, 2019) known as the bill to abolish the English school boards and culminated into a provincial crisis by the proposition and adoption of *Bill 96, An Act Respecting French, the official and common language of Québec* (proposed May 13, 2021, adopted May 25, 2022). These bills are an attack on the educational, social, political and human rights of English-speaking communities and their economic wellbeing. As Eliadis (2021, December 6) puts it, Bill 96 "should be seen and understood in context, as part of sustained assault on equality rights, fundamental freedoms, and human rights more generally that has been ongoing in Quebec for over a decade" (para. 8). Eliadis also adds that Bill 96 does not account to the existence of Indigenous languages in Quebec; omission is "an effective hegemonic strategy" (Orlowski, 2011, p. 3). As widely known, Indigenous Peoples' representatives as well were excluded from consultation on any of these bills.

The failure of interculturalism as well as multiculturalism in Quebec are further highlighted in the hiring discrimination in the public service in Quebec. According to the *Full Participation of Black Communities in Quebec Society's* report (2005, August): "Despite having slightly higher than average educational levels, the black communities have an unemployment rate of 17.1%, in comparison with

8.2% for the general population" (p. 2). Further, Quebec English-Speaking Communities Research Network (QUESCREN) released a report entitled *Employment of English Speakers in Quebec's Public Service* (Cooper et al., 2019), a synthesis of various sources documenting the decrease in the representation of English speakers in the public sector in Quebec from 7.4 % in 1941 to around 1% since 1972 (p. 7). *The Quebec Human Rights Commission's Report* (2019-2020) on employment equity states that only 6.3 percent of visible minorities and 0.3 percent of Indigenous Peoples are employed in the public sector in Quebec in 2019 (Global News, 2020, June 10).

The policies of the current Quebec government continue to accentuate divisions and discrimination in the province — and is a significant barrier to cosmopolitanism — even in the wake of the highly broadcasted murder of George Floyd in May, 25, 2020 that spurred a dramatic shift towards radical anti-racist narratives, particularly in Canada and the United States. The murder of Gorge Floyd was a pivoting point in raising awareness particularly about anti-Black racism and racism against all marginalized groups in the various sectors of society such as policing, education, hiring processes in all government and business institutions, representations and misrepresentations in the media and in the political narrative, etc. As Abu-Laban (2021) observes, "there was a veritable explosion of interest in anti-racism and social justice along with deep introspection" (p. 11), an interest that 50 years of multiculturalism (or over 40 years of interculturalism) has failed to generate, I argue.

Colonial multiculturalism

Since its inception in the 1960, multiculturalism was conceived by Indigenous Peoples as "colonial multiculturalism" because it denied them their inherent rights and political aspirations, and reaffirmed the privilege of the two settler societies (MacDonald, 2014, p. 68). MacDonald argues that multiculturalism "perpetuated a myth of liberal equality in a settler colonial society still dominated by settler values and institutions" (p. 75). The residential school systems and the recent discoveries of the unmarked graves of Indigenous children are evidence to colonial harm and genocide throughout Canada's history. Recently, the report entitled *Building Inquiry Commission on Relations between Indigenous Peoples and Certain Public Services in Quebec: Listening Reconciliation and Progress,* and referred to as the Viens Commission Report, re-emphasized the undeniable and unending systemic discrimination (a combination of direct and indirect discrimination) against First Nations and Inuit peoples in various sectors of Quebec society after holding hearings for 38 weeks with 765 witnesses (CERP, 2019, p. 23). These sectors are the correctional services, justice services, police services, youth protection services, and health and social services. The report strongly condemned the fact that "our current structures and processes show lack of sensitivity toward the social, geographical and cultural realities of Indigenous peoples" (p. 203). Further, "40% of Indigenous children live in poverty" according to the *2015 Report Card on Child and Family Poverty in Canada* (Campaign 2000, 2015, p. 6). According to the World Report - Human Rights Watch (2020),

1. The final report of the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls (2016) states that "genocide" was committed against Indigenous women and girls (p. 113).
2. The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal pointed out that "willfully and recklessly" the government did not provide the needed fundings to support child and family services for Indigenous Peoples living on reserves (p. 113).
3. 56 First Nations communities do not have access to clean and safe water in 2020 (p. 111).

It is important to note though that the report acknowledges the efforts of the Trudeau government to further the fulfillment of the human rights in Canada (p. 111), but Canada is still way behind in its fair treatment of Indigenous Peoples and in its effort to decolonize education.

The educational achievement of Indigenous Peoples falls way behind the achievement of non-Indigenous students (Parkin, 2015, p. iv). The curriculum, particularly the social studies and history curricula in some provinces are exclusionary and discriminatory. My extensive review of the social studies curriculum of Saskatchewan high schools for grades 9-12, written respectively in between 1992 and 1997 except Social Studies of grade 9, reveals that the curriculum is marred with racism and discriminatory representations and stereotypes (Sfeir, 2016). Regrettably despite some updates, this

curriculum is still available on the website of the Saskatchewan Ministry of Education today, March 2022, and the Ministry continues to guide teachers to this outdated curriculum as it is stated on its website. Here is a sample statement from this curriculum: 1) "Aboriginal People fall into the trap of being unable to find their cultural identity and being unable to join the modern society thus turning to solutions such as alcohol" (Saskatchewan Ministry of Education, 1994, p. 424). In general, however, Canadian provinces have introduced significant changes to their curricula to Indigenize education and embrace reconciliation, justice, diversity, equity and inclusivity. To provide a few examples, contemporary Indigenous memoirs and literatures are a must in Manitoba curricula to reflect Indigenous Ways of Knowing. Further, Wotherspoon and Milne (2020) report that, as an outcome of the Truth and Reconciliation Calls to Action (TRC, 2015), various educational institutions embarked on developing and promoting policies and initiatives to empower Indigenous students. The authors provide an analysis of the various policy statements and educational initiatives aimed to implement the TRC Calls to Actions across provinces and territories. They found that provinces and territories vary widely in their implementation of programs for teacher training and for the integration of Indigenous content, ways of knowing, worldviews, and languages, each with a different focus. The authors refer to KAIROS Canada (2018) report card to state that provinces and territories also vary in their "progress in relation to the level of public commitment to and implementation of actions to advance reconciliation" with Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, and Northwest Territories ranking high regarding public commitment, Manitoba ranking excellent on implementation, while Quebec ranking low on both (p. 14).

The literature on decolonizing and Indigenizing education in Canada is vast. Further exploration of the insights of various Indigenous scholars on decolonizing and Indigenizing education and Canadian institutions is beyond the scope of this paper, but is crucial to shed light on how to negotiate the merits of cosmopolitanism for Canada's educational, social and political policies for all Canadians. In addition, and in-depth understanding of the life experiences of Indigenous Peoples from a cosmopolitan lens is needed, which is beyond the scope of this article.

Turn towards "radical anti-racist politics"

Recently, the Canadian society, its federal and provincial governments and educational institutions have been putting notable efforts to combat racism in all its forms against all marginalized groups including Indigenous Peoples and promote initiatives that could be placed under the banner of Equity, Diversity and Inclusion (EDI). Here I suggest that the acronym should be expanded to Justice, Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Decolonizing (JEDID), a language that is better aligned with moral and cultural cosmopolitanism. The 'D' for decolonization was suggested by Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences' Advisory Committee on Equity, Diversity, Inclusion and Decolonization (2021) to emphasize justice and fairness and to point out that "the language, processes, and practice of decolonization are often presented in opposition to EDI" (p. 11). One caveat to be noted. I am cognizant that EDI could turn into "an empty signifier" as Dei (2021) cautions us.

To name a few initiatives and strategies in addition to the TRC Calls for Action, in 2019 the federal government established a strategy entitled investment *Building a Foundation for Change: Canada's Anti-Racism Strategy 2019-2022* with 45-million investment to tackle racism in Canada at the macro, meso and micro levels of society as stated in its three principles: "Demonstrating Federal Leadership", "Empowering Communities," and "Building Awareness & Changing Attitudes" (Canadian Heritage, 2019, pp. 3-5). Interestingly, under the section entitled "Multiculturalism," this document states that budget 2018 allocated funding "for the Multiculturalism Program and to support cross-country consultations *on a new national anti-racism approach*" (p. 34, emphasis mine). It was remarkable that the term 'engagement' was used instead of tolerance as in the following statements: "Going forward, we will continue to engage racialized communities, religious minority communities and Indigenous Peoples" (p. 10) and "through our engagement with communities" (p. 17). The term 'tolerance' was not used once in this document. Drawing on critics of 'the myth of tolerance,' Mackey (2002) rightly argues, "tolerance actually reproduces dominance (of those with the power to tolerate) because asking for 'tolerance' always applies the possibility of intolerance" (p. 16)

In addition, approximately 50 Canadian Universities and colleges became signatories of the *Scarborough Charter on Anti-Black Racism and Black Inclusion in Canadian higher Education (Scarborough Charter): Principles, Actions, and Accountabilities* (2020). Signatories of this Charter are "committed to moving from rhetoric to meaningful and concrete actions to tackle the realities of anti-Black racism experienced by staff, faculty and students" (Roach, 2021, November 19). The Charter highlights 4 principles: Black Flourishing, Inclusive Excellence, Mutuality, and Accountability (Roach). I strongly argue that it is far-fetched to claim that multiculturalism has paved the way for the Scarborough Charter and its implications in educational institutions. Again, it was the brutal killing of George Floyd caught on camera and widely viewed regionally, nationally and internationally, that raised a wide public awareness about racism against Black Peoples and the importance of teaching Critical Race Theory (CRT), in addition to the relentless efforts by numerous anti-racism scholars and artists to dismantle the entrenched racist mentality permeating our social, educational, economic, political, cultural and educational relationships.

Further, the Canadian government sought to amend the Criminal Code and the Canadian Human Rights Act in 2021 to protect individuals and groups from discriminatory practices (See Bill-36). In February 2022, the Canadian government introduced Bill C-229, referred to as *Banning Symbols of Hate Act*, to amend Section 319 of the Criminal Code banning "promotion of hatred or violence" against various Canadian groups through visual representations (House of Commons of Canada, 2022, February 3).

These positive initiatives and voices of prominent scholars, advocates and artists, among others, radical in their approach to deal with racism, discrimination, oppression and prejudices, as well as the successes of multiculturalism in Canada enrich a fertile ground to seed for a cosmopolitan orientation for Canada's growing diversity and to bridge the gap that multiculturalism failed to fill towards social and global justice, human rights, decolonization, equity, diversity and inclusivity.

Cosmopolitanism for Canada's growing diversity

In this section, due to a limited space, I use a broad brush to present key vital distinctions between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism to underpin the need to shift our perspectives towards more just, diverse, inclusive and decolonized world (JEDID). Multiculturalism emphasizes separateness between the host country and ethnic groups with clear separation between majority and minority groups (Delanty, 2009). Delanty states that ethnic groups are rigidly confined within the collective boundaries of their culture that should presumably belong to the private realm rather than the shared public space. Pluralism places the emphasis on strict group identities and affiliations usually to one particular community with a shared history, privileges and clearly demarcated boundaries against other communities (Hollinger, 1995/2000, pp. 85-86). While multiculturalism emphasizes "tolerance and respect for collective identity" (Vertovic, 2007, p. 1027), an identity that is presumably unchosen, homogenous, exclusive and fixed (Sen, 2006), cosmopolitanism gives prominence to "the diversity of humankind" (Hollinger, p. 84) beyond ethnicity (Delanty, 2009, Vertovic, 2007) with allegiance and moral obligations to the global community of human beings unrestricted by the boundaries of the nation-state (Nussbaum, 1996/2002). In other words, while multiculturalism has defined diversity in terms of various homogenous ethnic groups each confined to its cultural values of diversity, cosmopolitanism seeks to expand the boundaries of ethnic groups, taking into consideration that these boundaries are not fixed, but are in continuous shifting to intersect with other forms of diversity that are different from the mainstream cultures (Delanty, 2009). Cosmopolitanism protects the right of 'exit' from collective identity when this collective identity does not anymore suit the individual's distinctive identity (Hansen, 2010). These forms of diversity include regional diversity, polynational diversity, diversity of moral values, worldviews, lifestyles, generational diversity, and diversity of "gender and related ways of life," among others (Delanty, 2009, p. 143).

It is important to note here that cosmopolitanism does not deny particularistic solidarities (Nussbaum, 2008, Fleras, 2019) but calls for a critical stance towards them (Lu 2000) as well a critical stance towards our local and global interactions and relationships with otherness in order to transform them towards more equitable and just ones (Hawkins, 2018). As Hollinger (2002) puts it,

"cosmopolitans are specialists in the creation of the new, while cautious about destroying the old; pluralists are specialists in the conservation of the old while cautious about creating the new" (pp. 231-212). Similarly, Hansen (2010) states that cosmopolitanism is about "reflective openness to the new and reflective loyalty to the known" (p. 164).

According to Nussbaum (1996/2002) cosmopolitan citizenship transgresses patriotism and advocates allegiance "to the worldwide community of human beings" (p. 4). A cosmopolitan-oriented person does not have to disown local commitments and affiliations; these commitments and identifications are part of our identity and a source of richness. However, Nussbaum argues, we should extend our concern to include all human beings and we should give these concerns attention in education. Nussbaum criticizes national education as it promotes prejudices and irrationality by teaching students that their values and their ways of life are neutral. She advocates for an education that fosters the fulfilment of human rights and invites a global dialogue to solve global problems such as pollution and moral obligation to all human beings. Obviously, a cosmopolitan orientation is presented here not as, neutral framework; rather, it is a critical framework that accounts to the "analysis of systems of power, privilege, and oppression" (Stornaiuolo & Nichols, 2019, p. 1) locally, nationally and globally.

Vertovic's (2007) notion of 'super-diversity' is further vital to our understanding of the complexity of diversity and the distinction between multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism. Superdiversity "is distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables [that impact people's lives] among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade" (p. 1024); these variables include, linguistic traits, nationality, ethnicity, religions, access to employment, legal status, educational backgrounds, varied experiences, constraints, and transnational relationships of migrants. Vertovec further asserts, multiculturalism is not a reliable approach to inclusion as it often fails to address the complex individual needs of migrants, even when a migrants share the same ethnicity or nationality as it does not account to intra-group differences. The author observes, we live in a transnational world characterized by advanced communication technologies tremendously impacting transnational engagement across the planet and reenforcing the complexity of diversity issues, affiliations and identifications surrounding the migrants' journeys. Policies to address the superdiversity of contemporary global societies are better enacted when the "interaction of multiple axes of differentiation" are given profound analysis and consideration, Vertovic argues (p. 1049).

Further, "multiculturalism has been focused on post-colonial migration" and a Eurocentric education in a world that is globalized and superdiverse (Ghosh, 2021b, p. 14). Ghosh points out to the lack of understanding that social and global inequalities are a product of imperialism, slavery and colonialism (p. 15). The author contends that it is time multiculturalism evolved to address, from a cosmopolitan perspective, the complexity of global interconnection and global problems facing humanity. In addition, as a response to Nusbaum's conception of cosmopolitan education that focuses on promoting global ethics and harmonious cross-cultural encounters, and encouraging students to learn about other cultures and their histories, Papastephanou (2002) calls for attention to teach past histories of cross-cultural encounters, not only synchronically, but also diachronically: "It is history that nourishes many of our misconceptions, expectations, feelings and opinions about others" she emphasizes (p. 78). If students learn only liberal values without learning about past cultural-encounters/entanglements and the multiplicity of their interpretations, they will be prone to repeat the atrocities of the past in their future. Papastephanou advocates for a cosmopolitan education that is cautious about the teaching of past cultural encounters. The history of the past should be taught to produce "a just settlement of past differences, discrepancies and disputes"; Otherwise, the past will turn into a "vampire past" (p. 84). I argue that Papastephanou's enlightening insights on the teaching of history are crucial to make tangible progress in reconciliation, particularly with Indigenous Peoples in Canada. The revision of the Canadian history as well as social studies curricula across provinces with a cosmopolitan lens is essential in a country that prides itself internationally on its management of diversity (see Sfeir, 2016).

Conclusion

To sum up, I have emphasised that it is time Canada made history again by shifting from multiculturalism to adopt a cosmopolitan approach in its social, educational, political, economic and cultural policies locally and nationally and then to expand this cosmopolitan approach internationally. I have discussed where multiculturalism succeeded and where it fell behind in cultivating harmonious intercultural relationships among the various minority and majority Canadian groups. However, I did not present cosmopolitanism as the enemy of multiculturalism nor placed them in dichotomous relationship. As Ghosh (2021a, April 30, 0:25:56) states, "they are complementary" and cosmopolitanism has the potential to build on the successes of multiculturalism (Fleras, 2019). Further, as Adams (2007) refuted the notion of utopianism of multiculturalism, I similarly refute the notion of utopianism of cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism appeals to an allegiance to humanity in addressing the challenges of diversity, cultural differences and cross-cultural encounters (past, present and future ones) in a globalized world, that has its features encompassed in particular countries due to various forces of transnationalism, globalization and migration processes. It is a worthwhile pathway for the sake of our humanity, human rights, peace, and harmony. Therefore, I urge the Canadian Council of Ministers of Education as well as the federal government and provincial ministries of education to put this question on their agenda for consideration as a new framework for Canada's educational, social, economic and political policies to address inter-cultural and interdependent relationships in an increasingly diverse world. It is time to open up this discussion among our scholars, policymakers, curriculum designers, the various diverse communities to negotiate the merits of cosmopolitanism for Canada's growing diversity in an interdependent globalized world.

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Professor Ghada Sfeir's research interests focus on Cosmopolitanism, Multiculturalism, Adult Education, Social Studies, International Education, Global Citizenship Education, and Justice, Equity, Diversity, Inclusion, and Decolonization (JEDID). At Concordia University, Montreal, she taught all graduate and undergraduate courses from the social justice perspective. Using the cosmopolitan lens which entails "equal moral worth" of every individual across all categories of difference, Dr. Sfeir advocates for the implementation of the fundamentals of JEDID in academia, corporate institutions, and various government branches at all levels to identify and remove systemic barriers facing minoritized and racialized groups. She has recently co-edited this special issue of *The International Journal of Talent Development and Creativity* to promote cosmopolitan pathways for Canada's growing diversity from coast to coast to coast and beyond. Her advocacy is not limited to her publications and teaching from a social justice perspective but also includes initiatives to advance public understanding of the principles of justice, diversity, equity, inclusion, and decolonization. Dr. Sfeir organizes and moderates educational webinars on social issues impacting all facets of our society at the micro, meso, and macro levels to transform mindsets and practices for the betterment of the world around us. Visit her website at https://www.ghadasfeir.com.