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What is the Meaning of the Integration of the Cultural Dimension into Schools, According to the Official Discourse of the Province of Quebec?
Quelle signification le discours officiel de la Province de Québec accorde-t-il à l'intégration de la dimension culturelle à l'école ?

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Article abstract

Since 1992, Quebec's Ministry of Education[1] and Ministry of Culture and Communications have been creating programs designed to integrate a cultural dimension into schools – a process requiring partnerships between teachers and professionals in the cultural domain. This domain comprises the objects and practices pertaining to the realm of arts and aesthetics and the values which are associated with them, namely expressivity, subjectivity, emotions, sensitivity, singularity, imagination, creativity and feelings (Kerlan, 2004). What does this integration mean, according to Quebec's official discourse? To answer this question, we relied on sociology of justification theory (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991; Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, 2002) and used discourse and content analysis to examine Quebec's official discourse. Our results suggest that this discourse relies on many definitions of culture and justice. This plurality blurs the meaning of the integration of the cultural dimension and requires that teachers delineate it by themselves.

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WHAT IS THE MEANING OF THE INTEGRATION OF THE CULTURAL DIMENSION INTO SCHOOLS, ACCORDING TO THE OFFICIAL DISCOURSE OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC?

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ABSTRACT. Since 1992, Quebec's Ministry of Education[1] and Ministry of Culture and Communications have been creating programs designed to integrate a cultural dimension into schools – a process requiring partnerships between teachers and professionals in the cultural domain. This domain comprises the objects and practices pertaining to the realm of arts and aesthetics and the values which are associated with them, namely expressivity, subjectivity, emotions, sensitivity, singularity, imagination, creativity and feelings (Kerlan, 2004). What does this integration mean, according to Quebec's official discourse? To answer this question, we relied on sociology of justification theory (Boltanski & Thévenot, 1991; Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, 2002) and used discourse and content analysis to examine Quebec's official discourse. Our results suggest that this discourse relies on many definitions of culture and justice. This plurality blurs the meaning of the integration of the cultural dimension and requires that teachers delineate it by themselves.

QUELLE SIGNIFICATION LE DISCOURS OFFICIEL DE LA PROVINCE DE QUÉBEC ACCORDE-T-IL À L'INTÉGRATION DE LA DIMENSION CULTURELLE À L'ÉCOLE ?

RÉSUMÉ. Depuis 1992, les ministères de l'Éducation et de la Culture et des Communications du Québec créent des programmes visant à intégrer la dimension culturelle à l'école, un processus qui repose sur des partenariats entre des enseignants et des professionnels de la dimension culturelle. Cette dernière est constituée des objets et des pratiques qui relèvent du domaine des arts, de l'esthétique et des valeurs qui leur sont associées, soit l'expressivité, la subjectivité, les émotions, la sensibilité, la singularité, l'imagination, la créativité et les sentiments (Kerlan, 2004). Que peut signifier cette intégration, selon le discours officiel de la province de Québec? Afin de répondre à cette question, nous nous sommes appuyés sur le cadre théorique de la sociologie de la justification (Boltanski et Thévenot, 1991; Boltanski et Chiapello, 1999, 2002) et avons recouru à des analyses de discours et de contenu pour examiner le discours officiel québécois. Nos résultats suggèrent que ce discours repose sur des définitions plurielles de la culture et de la justice. Cette pluralité embrouille la signification de l'intégration de la dimension culturelle à l'école et requiert que les enseignants définissent celle-ci par eux-mêmes.

According to philosophers and sociologists such as Ferry (1991), Freitag (2002), Kaufmann (2001), Kerlan (2004), Maffesoli (1988), Taylor (1989, 1992), and Vattimo (1987), the cultural dimension[2] of Occidental societies, which was considered by Modernity as belonging to cultural institutions like museums, theatres, and libraries, and to artists and writers, has in Postmodernity diffused itself into others spheres of existence. For example, artists now organize workshops for prisoners, hospitalized patients, and the homeless (Burnham & Durland, 1998), business invests in the arts (Kieffer & Benattar, 2003), and the interest for art-therapy is growing worldwide (Kieffer & Benattar, 2003). Thus, the cultural dimension of society is spreading in the medical, economic, and social domains of human life, whereas it was traditionally associated with the area of art and aesthetics.

This diffusion of the cultural dimension also has had an impact on the educational sphere: at least nineteen countries[3] "have the same agenda for the arts, creativity and cultural education" (Sharp & Le Metais, 2000, p. 2) and have undertaken reforms to increase their presence in all school subjects, instead of circumscribing it to art classes. These countries consider that the cultural dimension is an educative asset, as it contributes to the development of students' creativity, their cultural identity, and their inter-cultural understanding (Sharp & Le Metais, 2000), and to the democratization of access to culture (Maestracci, 2006). To integrate the cultural dimension in the curriculum, governments adopt policies which facilitate partnerships between professionals in the cultural domain (artists, writers, cultural organizations) and schools (Maestracci, 2006). Quebec shares this agenda: in its 1992 cultural policy, the government states that the presence of the cultural dimension in the curriculum must be increased through, among other means, contact with cultural objects and their creators. The MEQ[4] and the MCC[5] agreed to collaborate in integrating this dimension and implemented several programs aimed at funding partnerships between professionals in the cultural domain and teachers. These partnerships are considered to be major contributions to the development of students' creativity, critical judgement, aesthetic appreciation, and self-esteem, so that they will become adults more inclined to participate in the cultural vitality of their society (MCC & MEQ, 2004a). These aims echo those of other countries, as the programs are designed to develop pupils' creativity and cultural participation through encounters with professionals in the cultural domain.

The justifications the MELS and MCC bring forth to convince teachers and artists to take part in these programs remain to be examined. How does the official discourse of Quebec justify the integration of the cultural dimension into schools? Why is there a need to increase pupils' creativity and cultural understanding? What are the factors (economic, social, and political) that lead Quebec and, more broadly, countries across the world, to integrate the cultural

dimension into schools? These questions underline a more general one: what is the meaning of the integration of the cultural dimension into schools?

To answer these questions, one may look at the research carried out during the last fifteen years on the policies and programs promoting partnerships between schools and professionals in the cultural domain (such as the work of Bamford, 2006; Bumgarner, 1994; Richard, 2006; Sharp & Le Metais, 2000; Valentin, 2006). However, few analyses have been made on this specific topic. The ones we found are evaluative (like Bamford, 2006; Bumgarner, 1994) rather than descriptive or interpretative. Also, most of them do not carefully examine the contextual elements which lead to integration of the cultural dimension in curricula. Moreover, as Maestracci (2006) states, analyses of the integration of the cultural dimension leave many questions unanswered. Thus, a clarification of the significance of the integration of the cultural dimension is needed, as well as a study of the processes of educational change related to it, of "the nature of change; the forces that lead to new educational initiatives in general education and art education and their relationships" (Wilson, 1994, p. 16), since they are part of the topics associated with the teaching of culture "which have not been subjected to careful investigation" (p. 15). We will examine the case of Quebec's official discourse, as it may provide a better understanding of the concept of the integration of the cultural dimension and on the changes it involves, and it may enable us to identify the contextual elements which bring several countries to share the same agenda for the cultural dimension. With this examination, we wish to encourage reflection by teachers and artists interested in this integration and to have them ponder the implications of the official discourse: are they fostering the development of students' cultural awareness or promoting cultural reproduction? The analysis of the contextual elements which influence Quebec's official discourse will contribute to this inquiry. We start by describing our theoretical framework and the methodology we used to analyze the official discourse. We then offer our results and interpretation.

Before introducing our theoretical framework, we have to specify that by "official discourse" we mean discourse that has the power to define pedagogy or to transform its organization, its methods and its content, and which is by nature pluralist (Reboul, 1984). Circumscribing the signification of such a discourse is difficult, because by giving way to every social discourse, it blurs the meaning of the concepts it uses (Reboul). Hence, we need a theoretical framework that will help us circumscribe and clarify plural meanings. This framework is the sociology of justification.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF JUSTIFICATION

In the process of examining official discourse, we have come to rely on Boltanski and Thevenot's sociology of justification, which aims at identifying

the principles of common good employed by actors when they argue publicly that they have acted on behalf of justice. To identify these principles, Boltanski and Thevenot (1991) compared the justifications individuals express in litigious situations with classical political philosophies, whose object is to design a legitimate order based on a principle of justice. By going back and forth between the justifications formulated by actors and the classical political philosophies, Boltanski and Thevenot identified six models they call *Cités*. Each *Cité* is based on a principle that composes common good. These models help to clarify the justifications that official discourse offers to actors because, as Reboul (1984) says, "If we think of the cultural importance of education in modern societies, we see that political powers aim at nothing less than to establish civilization" (pp. 48-49; our translation). Thus, official discourse bases itself on principles of common good to convince actors to integrate the cultural dimension into schools. To determine which principles it uses, we will analyze it through the lens of the sociology of justification or, in other words, the *Cités* models defined by Boltanski and Thevenot. These models are:[6]

• The Inspirational *Cité*: In this *Cité*, the principle of common good can be seen as the possibility, for anyone, to reach "a state of grace (or else to an inspired artist). This quality appears after a period of ascetic preparation and is expressed mostly through manifestations of inspiration (sainthood, creativity, an artistic sense, authenticity, etc.)" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 8).[7] In education, this *Cité* implies letting students follow their intuition, be creative and open to inspiration, and encourages them to listen to their emotions.

• The Domestic *Cité*: In this *Cité*, "people rely on their hierarchical position in a chain of personal interdependencies .... The political ties that unite people ... are thought of as a generalisation of generational ties that combine tradition and proximity" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 8). In education, this *Cité* means that emphasis is set on students' initiation into their cultural inheritance, on rooting them within their family, their community, or their country.

• The *Cité* of Renown: This *Cité* is based on the exposure to the greatest number of people in order to acquire celebrity (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991). Thus, education should help students expose themselves or their productions to the largest crowd and enable them to become famous.

• The Civic *Cité*: This *Cité* requires one to be "the representative of the group, the one who expresses its collective will" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 8). In education, this implies increasing students' consciousness of citizenship and their critical judgment, and having them learn the fundamental values of living together as a society.

• The Market *Cité*: In this *Cité*, the person has to make "a fortune for him- or herself by offering highly coveted goods in a competitive marketplace – and [to] kno[w] when to seize the right opportunities" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002,

p. 8). Here, education ought to help students learn how to grow wealthy and provide them with the tools to become highly competitive and aware of their particular strengths.

• The Industrial *Cité*: This *Cité* "is based on efficiency and determines a scale of professional abilities" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 8). According to this *Cité*, education has to help students develop specific competencies, especially in the scientific domain, and to allow them to contribute to their society's progress.

After identifying these models, Boltanski and Chiapello (1999, 2002) examined the mutations of the capitalist system during the last forty years. For Boltanski and Chiapello (2002), "capitalistic accumulation requires commitment from many people, although few have any real chances of making a substantial profit.... The quality of the commitment that one can expect depends not only on economic stimuli, but also on the possibility that the collective advantages that derive from capitalism will be able to be enhanced" (p. 2). Hence, to convince people to commit themselves to accumulation, capitalism produces a discourse which relies on principles of common good. Boltanski and Chiapello (2002) label this discourse the "spirit of capitalism," which they define as "the ideology that justifies people's commitment to capitalism and which renders this commitment attractive" (p. 2). The protest movements of May 1968[8] caused this ideology to undergo major transformations throughout the 1970s and up to the mid-1990s. To describe these changes, Boltanski and Chiapello (1999, 2002) analyzed management texts in the 1960s and in the 1990s in the light of the six *Cités* models. This study led Boltanski and Chiapello (2002) to see that "the six justificatory regimes identified by Boltanski and Thevenot (1991) cannot fully describe all the types of justification that can be found in the 1990s texts that we have studied. We think that a new and increasingly influential justificatory logic has cropped up" (p. 9). Boltanski and Chiapello (1999, 2002) have named this new justification the Project-oriented *Cité*:

• The Project-oriented *Cité*: In this *Cité*, the individual "must be adaptable and flexible. He or she is polyvalent, able to move from one activity, or the use of one tool, to another.... He or she manages his/her team by listening to others with tolerance and by respecting their differences. He or she redistributes between them the connections he or she has secured when exploring networks" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 10). In education, such a *Cité* requires teachers to help students establish connections with various sources of information and people, to enhance their adaptability and their open-mindedness.

The Project-oriented *Cité* can be considered as part of the emerging spirit of capitalism, as it relies on the principle of common good to justify capitalistic accumulation. However, the two do not walk hand in hand, because the Project-oriented *Cité* "is intended to legitimise the connectionist world [as-

sociated with the new spirit of capitalism] and restrict its practices in such a way as to substantiate the affirmation of a justificatory constraint that acts on behalf of the common good" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 13). Thus, the Project-oriented *Cité* is a means to bring justice to the connectionist world that characterizes contemporary capitalism, as it limits the despair and the nihilism capitalism inspires to those it oppresses and those who have to maintain it (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, 2002).

Although the sociology of justification has been primarily designed to study the arguments individuals formulate in litigious situations, the *Cités* models offer a pertinent means to clarify the various justifications produced by official discourses in order to convince teachers and artists to integrate the cultural dimension in schools. Also, even though this framework was designed by French authors, it is broadly useful, because "it is appropriate, not for all societies, but for all of those influenced by modern political philosophy" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 94; our translation). Moreover, the framework provides pathways to a deeper understanding of the contextual elements that encourage a cultural dimension in curricula. Thus, the sociology of justification can enable us to understand, through the examination of the justifications brought forth by one official discourse partaking in an international educative trend, the meaning contemporary societies influenced by modern political philosophy give to the integration of the cultural dimension. To explain how we can achieve this understanding, we need to describe the methodology we used.

CONTENT AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The corpus of texts we examined is composed of the official publications related to the integration of the cultural dimension in schools: the Arpin (1991), Bisaillon (1996), Corbo (1994), Inchauspe (1997) and CSE[9] (1994) reports and a memo issued by the MCC (1995); cultural and educational policy statements (Government of Quebec, 1992, 1997a); the laws 180 and 142 (Government of Quebec, 1997b, 2005); the agreements between the MEQ and the MCC (MCC, 1997, 2000); the programs engendered by these agreements (MCC & MEQ, 2000, 2002, 2004a, 2004b); the *Quebec Education Program*, from first to eighth grade (MEQ 2001a, 2004); and the *Teacher Training Program* (2001b). These nineteen documents were submitted to content (Bardin, 1986; L'Écuyer, 1990) and discourse analyses (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, 2000). Both methods are relevant to examine the meaning of a specific discourse, particularly in relation to the external factors that contribute to shape it. Discourse analysis assumes that discourse is a social practice. This "implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and situation(s), institution(s) and social structure(s) which frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them,

but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned" (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak, & Vetter, p. 26). Analyzing a discourse viewed as a social practice involves taking into account both the intratextual aspects (or content) which compose it and the extratextual (or contextual) elements which influence it. How can we define these various elements and connect them? To do this, we followed the steps of content analysis identified by L'Ecuyer.

We started by scanning each text in our corpus to identify the parts which concerned the integration of the cultural dimension. Then, we extracted from each document units of signification.[10] We categorized these units using pre-established and unchangeable categories. These categories are Boltanski's (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991; Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, 2002) *Cités* models, because they help us clarify the principles of common good on which Quebec official discourse is based. In all, 2327 units of signification were identified and classified according to the different models. Once the classification was completed, we counted the number of units in every category and described their content. We gave special attention to the conceptions of culture and education, and to the goals and roles of the teacher and students in the integration of the cultural dimension.

Following this process, we identified the contextual elements which influenced the official discourse. We inferred them from our units of signification and the definition of the *Cités* models provided by Boltanski and Thevenot (1991) and Boltanski and Chiapello (1999, 2002), which we linked to contextual aspects relative to the situation of the cultural dimension in contemporary societies. For example, the constitution of the Project-oriented *Cité* is, as Boltanski and Chiapello write, entangled with the emergence of a new spirit of capitalism. The Civic *Cité*, "which cannot display itself out of a state, finds its most accomplished form in the Republic and in democracy which secure the representation of citizens" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 239; our translation); thus, it can be associated with governmental interventions intended to democratize access to culture. Our procedure established a common ground on which content and discourse analysis meet, since the former is characterized by enabling one to reach psychological, sociological, political, and historical meaning through a classified content (Bardin, 1986). Once all contextual elements were associated to a particular *Cité*, we were able to determine their impact on Quebec's official discourse by examining the number of units of signification related to each category.

Both principles of justification and contextual elements having been identified, we were able to interpret the meaning of the integration of the cultural dimension, according to the official discourse of Quebec.

JUSTIFICATIONS OF THE OFFICIAL DISCOURSE

TABLE 1. Total of units of signification for each *Cité*

Project-oriented *Cité*	719 units (30.9%)
Civic *Cité*	676 units (29.1%)
Domestic *Cité*	318 units (13.7%)
Industrial *Cité*	314 units (13.5%)
Inspirational *Cité*	164 units (7%)
Cité of Renown	110 units (4.7%)
Market *Cité*	26 units (1.1%)

Our data analysis indicates that the most important *Cité* is the Project-oriented one, in which culture is conceived of as "a network of potential connections. When it comes to establishing bonds, everything is of equal worth" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 171; our translation). This conception of culture appears to be promoted by Quebec's official discourse, for which "the world is characterized by growing interdependence.... Learning too must be integrated; students must recognize that these elements are connected" (MEQ, 2004, pp. 10-11). In the Project-oriented *Cité*, education can be defined as a means "to connect oneself to others, to make contact" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 168; our translation). According to official discourse, schools must adopt a new perspective, "one of collaboration and partnership with multiple sources and channels of knowledge production and diffusion" (CSE, 1994, p. 10; our translation). Moreover, since the Project-oriented *Cité* needs people who are "adaptable and flexible, ... polyvalent, able to move from one activity, or the use of one tool, to another" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 10), the integration of the cultural dimension has to form students who can "make connections between the present and the past so as to better understand present reality" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 13), and who have "develop[ed] new ways of adapting to society" (MEQ, 2001a, p. 2). In the Project-oriented *Cité*, one acts rightfully when "he or she manages his/her team by listening to others with tolerance and by respecting their differences. He or she redistributes between them the connections he or she has secured when exploring networks" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 2002, p. 10). Then, teachers who engage in the integration of the cultural dimension have "to listen to their students in order to find points of entry from which to build bridges to the program's cultural content" (MEQ, 2001b, p. 60) and students who take part in this integration "share their cultural discoveries with classes in other cycles, other schools or other countries in activities based on themes using cultural references" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 23). When the official discourse relies on justifications associated with the Project-oriented *Cité*, it suggests that the integration in the cultural dimension plays a major role in helping students become flexible and adaptable, able and willing to communicate their findings to others. It is through the meeting with

professionals of the cultural domain that pupils may connect themselves to a culture thought of as a network of information, as these professionals "offer to young people different and varied experiences by introducing to them cultural accomplishments" (MCC, 2000, p. 2; our translation). The nature of these cultural accomplishments does not matter. In culture defined as a network, distinctions between local and international culture or higher and popular culture are not important, as long as a given cultural object leads students to develop their activity, "in other words never to run out of projects, of ideas, to always have something in sight, in preparation, with other people whose will to do something brings them to meet" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 166; our translation). In this sense, meeting professionals in the cultural domain can generate among pupils "great interdisciplinary or multilevel projects led jointly by teachers of several classes (for example: a Medieval thematic for the whole year), etc." (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 12; our translation).

The *Cité* that has the next most frequent representation is the Civic *Cité*. Culture is made of elements that stabilize a group's collective conscience and muster people to subordinate their will to it, letting the good of society take precedence (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991). This conception seems to be shared by Quebec's official discourse: "Students live in a cultural context that gives priority to a vision of human beings, social precepts and values shared by citizens as a group" (MEQ, 2004, p. 478). This *Cité* appears to be intertwined with education that relies on "the principle of equality ... [which] emphasizes the impersonal forms of knowledge transmission and evaluation ... and a teaching grounded in universal values" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 378; our translation). Thus, when education is based on the Civic *Cité*, it is understood as "the privileged manner to democratize culture and grant access to it" (MCC, 1997, p. 1; our translation). The integration of the cultural dimension in schools can attune students to the fact that people share common interests and have them adhere to a group and learn to represent it (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991): "Cultural activities also strengthen social bonds by giving students shared references" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 22; our translation). Teachers contribute to this reinforcement by "transform[ing] the classroom into a cultural base open to a range of different viewpoints within a common space. Teachers work with their students to build a 'classroom culture,' common reference points, an identity, values, means and communication methods that are shared and valued by all students" (MEQ, 2001b, p. 61). Through the integration of the cultural dimension and "by playing an active role within their group, students become participants in their own culture and prepare to become responsible citizens" (MEQ, 2004, p. 478). Therefore, when the integration of the cultural dimension is based on the Civic *Cité*, it initiates students to a culture of shared values, since it gives them, through the encounter with artists and works of art, "knowledge of common references, [through which] they improve their social ties" (Inchauspe, 1997, p. 51). It is through this process that pupils can

become democratic citizens aware of their responsibilities towards society and critical about what might fragment their collectivity.

The third most evoked *Cité* is the Domestic one. Here, culture comprises the inheritance bequeathed to the young, the traditions and the hierarchies they must respect (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991). Quebec's official discourse echoes this definition when it conceives culture as the "product of the work done by previous generations" (Inchauspe, 1997, p. 25) which "is rooted in the memory of a society" (MCC, 1995, p. 5; our translation). Education, according to this *Cité*, "insists on the continuity between the education children receive in their family and their education in school" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 378; our translation). Schools maintain this continuity by "fostering a feeling of belonging to the community" (MEQ, 2001a, p. 3) and by "transmit[ting] the heritage of shared knowledge" (MEQ, 2001a, p. 3). The integration of the cultural dimension, according to this *Cité*, ought to "allow students to become aware of being part of a community" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 3). To achieve this, "teachers must act as inheritors – in other words, they must understand and translate fundamental benchmarks, concepts, postulates and methods" (MEQ, 2001b, p. 58). Students have "to discover certain aspects of [their] cultural heritage" (MEQ, 2004, p. 478). Hence, when it is founded on the Domestic *Cité*, the integration of the cultural dimension centres on the initiation of students to culture viewed as an inheritance and its goal is to root them in their community through an introduction "to the cultural richness of the literary heritage of Quebec and the rest of the French-speaking world" (Inchauspe, 1997, p. 128).

The *Cité* in fourth position is the Industrial one, which relies on "human beings' efficiency, their performance, their productivity, their capacity to assure an adequate functioning, to answer usefully to needs" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 254; our translation). In such a *Cité*, culture is a competency, "a set of behaviours based on the effective mobilization and use of a range of resources" (MEQ, 2001a, p. 4). Education must develop these competencies, which are understood as forms of expertise, or as professional qualifications (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991). This kind of education "enable[s] students to solve problems that correspond to their ability and provide[s] them with the appropriate preparation to continue their education" (MEQ, 2001a, p. 4). Since this *Cité* requires operational and functional individuals (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991), the integration of the cultural dimension must form students who have "develop[ed] the skills and attitudes necessary for them to understand and master their environment" (Bisaillon, 1996, p. 19; our translation). To ensure that pupils learn, through the integration of the cultural dimension, to contribute efficiently to their society's progress, the teacher ought to "assess the potential contribution of cultural references to the development of subject-specific ... competencies" (MCC & MEQ, 2004, p. 14). Hence, in this *Cité*,

the integration of the cultural dimension is understood as the development of a culture conceived as a competency through the acquisition of the skills required to solve problems and to master one's environment. This is done, for example, through the "contact with professional composers or musicians" (MEQ, 2004, p. 420) or the familiarization with "careers related to music" (MEQ, 2004, p. 420).

In fifth position comes the Inspirational *Cité*, in which culture is a burst of inspiration, a state which "manifests itself through emotions and passions and which is felt as consuming, exalting, fascinating, disquieting" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 201; our translation). Culture is then defined as a source of "transcendency, creativity… which… inspires passion for learning" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 201; our translation). Education relies on the Inspirational *Cité* when it refers "to creative imagination" (Arpin, 1991, p. 151; our translation) and to "the initiation to aesthetical sensibility and creativity" (CSE, 1994, p. 36; our translation). The integration of the cultural dimension can contribute to such an education by enabling pupils to "transcend the ordinariness of everyday life" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 12) or by "stimulat[ing] their imagination" (MCC & MEQ, 2004, p. 14). Teachers may support their students in the exploration of their emotions by "show[ing] and communicat[ing] an attitude of curiosity, passion and desire for learning toward manifestations of culture" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 21). Pupils can then "imagine the history of an object or a character in a work of art" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 28). Thus, the integration of the cultural dimension, when it is based on the Inspirational *Cité*, can be seen as the exploration, by students, of their imagination, the discovery of their passions and the expression of their creativity, through the encounter with "an artist or a writer [who] shares his or her experience by carrying out an activity of creation with the students" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 12; our translation).

The sixth *Cité* in our classification is the *Cité* of Renown, in which public exposure is what matters (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991). Thus, culture is a synonym for fame and reputation. Such a conception is mentioned by Quebec's official discourse when it says that the contemporary cultural context is characterized by "the diffusion network: places and media" (Arpin, 1991, p. 38; our translation). Integration of the cultural dimension can contribute to students' reputation in their school or in their community by leading to "expositions of students' works" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 12; our translation). Through these activities, pupils can "be heard by their peers and even by the collectivity" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 12; our translation). However, this *Cité* does not seem to be consistent with the integration of the cultural dimension, for only 4.7% of the units of signification extracted from the official texts are related to it.

The Market *Cité*, which comes last, "is situated in a space without limits nor distance, where the circulation of goods and people is boundless. Businessmen have great perspectives, keep an eye on the world-wide market and manage international affairs" (Boltanski & Thevenot, 1991, p. 245; our translation). Then, culture is characterized by "the quick internationalization of exchanges and the progressive globalization of the markets" (government of Quebec, 1992, p. 6; our translation). According to the Market *Cité*, education must initiate students into the "economical modes of exchange" (CSE, 1994, p. 36; our translation) and "contribute to maintain the Province of Quebec among the leading groups in the most developed societies" (Corbo, 1994, p. 11; our translation). The integration of the cultural dimension favours this when it helps students learn "the best way to use their strengths and tes[t] their limits" (MEQ, 2004, p. 6). Thus, this integration could mean, when it is founded on the Market *Cité,* to educate students to become consumers who know how to get the objects of their desires. However, like the *Cité* of Renown, the Market *Cité* does not seem to be compatible with the integration of the cultural dimension, for only 1.1% of units of signification extracted from the Quebec official discourse were linked to it.

Our analysis of the justifications given by the official discourse suggests that the integration of the cultural dimension aims to have students connect themselves to various information and people and become adaptable and flexible. What are the contextual factors which cause the official discourse to rely mainly on the Project-oriented *Cité*?

CONTEXTUAL ELEMENTS

Since the constitution of the Project-oriented *Cité* is intertwined with the emergence of the new spirit of capitalism, and since this *Cité* has the most frequent representation (30.9%), Quebec's official discourse seems to be influenced by the mutations of the capitalist system. These changes "which have affected the cultural production system lead artists and intellectuals... to develop an intense connecting activity with a wide variety of people and institutions, to explore networks, to establish partnerships" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 398; our translation). These transformations may have an impact on Quebec's official discourse, for it creates programs "designed to encourage teachers, together with artists, writers and professional cultural organizations, to implement cultural activities" (MCC & MEQ, 2004a, p. 4). Also, the mutations of capitalism have induced it to incorporate "goods that had, until the last thirty years, been outside the market world (this was precisely why they were considered authentic): capitalism has penetrated domains (tourism, cultural activities, ... leisure, etc.) that had remained relatively outside the great circulation of saleable products" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 534; our translation). What does it mean that Quebec's official discourse suggests that school councils "set up mechanisms intended to develop the young genera-

tion's interest in frequenting cultural places or in the autonomous practice of a cultural activity" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 16; our translation)? Is it an incentive to bring pupils to consume products capitalism has incorporated? Moreover, in the context of the emergence of the new spirit of capitalism, ideas of quality change and "give a great importance... to qualities which we could consider more 'private', more clearly related to the person's 'character', such as open-mindedness, self-control, accessibility, good mood or calmness" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 324; our translation). This seems to influence the educative aims that Quebec's official discourse pursues through the integration of the cultural dimension, as this dimension contributes to the development of students' "capacity to properly use the means at their disposal, including everything that students have learned at school as well as their experiences, skills, attitudes and interests" (MEQ, 2004, p. 7). Thus, the presence of justifications founded on the Project-Oriented *Cité* leads us to wonder if, through the integration of the cultural dimension, the official discourse wishes to create workers and consumers needed by contemporary capitalism. Indeed, the official discourse, when it tries to convince artists and teachers to partake in the integration of the cultural dimension in schools, promotes the cultural goods capitalism has incorporated, invites professionals of the cultural domain and teachers to develop a connecting activity, and aims at developing students' private qualities, such as their attitudes, as well as enhancing their knowledge of school subjects.

However, the presence of justifications associated with the Project-oriented *Cité* ought not to be merely viewed as the echo of arguments produced by the new spirit of capitalism. Considering that *Cités* models are founded on principles of common good, the Project-oriented *Cité* can be seen as a means of limiting the connectionist world established by the new spirit of capitalism. It does so by "giving to everyone who does not benefit from the same resources the possibility to succeed" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 488; our translation), through resources which help people tie new bonds (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999). Quebec's official discourse seems to seek to give every student this possibility when it mentions that schools "must likewise prevent exclusion, which jeopardizes the future of too many young people" (MEQ, 2001a, p. 3). Also, when the official discourse encourages schools to have students "meet people from the school's community for activities dealing with subjects that will enrich their culture" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 23), it offers pupils opportunities to link themselves to new individuals and to take part in the network of culture. If the official discourse appears to be promoting capitalism's values through the integration of the cultural dimension, it also seems to try, by referring to the Project-oriented *Cité*, to have justice prevail in this system by enabling students to connect to an array of persons and knowledge sources. In the specific situation of the integration of the cultural dimension, this is done by favouring the encounter between cultural professionals and pupils, which helps

the latter to develop their open-mindedness, their adaptability to various contexts and persons. Indeed, if linking oneself to others and information sources in order to become flexible is the way to succeed in the connectionist world characterizing contemporary capitalism, then the Quebec official discourse offers, through the integration of the cultural dimension, every child a chance to develop this activity. Moreover, since many countries promote encounters between pupils and cultural professionals, the tension we can detect through the presence of the Project-oriented *Cité* between the promotion of capitalistic values and justice in a connectionist world characterizes not only the Quebec official discourse, but also other educational systems across the world.

Justifications associated with the Civic *Cité*, which comes in second position, suggest a change in governmental interventions in the cultural domain. This transformation, which characterizes several occidental countries, implies that political action targets less the cultural offer (creators and industries), and more the cultural demand (the public), in order to increase its participation and to democratize the access to the cultural world (Bellavance, 2000). Schools play a fundamental role in this democratization process: "If there is no shortcut to cultural works, direct contact must be prepared by an education which integrates the artistic process, the desire and the pleasure it sets at work" (Caune, 1999, p. 275; our translation). Quebec's official discourse seems to agree with this idea: "the access to the world of arts and culture supposes a familiarization with the cultural works and universe; every cultural democratization objective hence turns inevitably to schools, which must play a fundamental role in opening the door to cultural values" (government of Quebec, 1992, p. 11; our translation). Therefore, references to the Civic *Cité* may be explained by the change in governmental interventions in the cultural domain, in order to grant all citizens access to culture through schools: "art teaching constitutes a minimal basis in the cultural formation provided by schools. In fact, this formation must also include experimentation, aesthetic and critical experiences, exploration of creativity, direct contacts with cultural objects and those who create them" (government of Quebec, 1992, p. 100; our translation). The official discourse in Quebec thus echoes other countries' educational aims as, through the integration of the cultural dimension, it seeks to democratize access to culture.

The presence of the Domestic *Cité* in third place can be viewed as the result of a tension inherent to small societies confronted with globalization: "on one hand, the desire to engage in globalization to share its prosperity promises; on the other hand, the need to preserve their culture, the foundation of their identity and of their specificity, to transmit it to coming generations" (Saint-Pierre, 2002, p. 157; our translation). This will to maintain an equilibrium between economic participation and cultural preservation seems to manifest itself in Quebec's official discourse when it issues "a cultural policy which sh[all] formalize the government's will to affirm the cultural identity of the

Province of Quebec in regard to other national cultures and to support the enterprises, the organisms and the artists which excel in their domain and want to inscribe themselves in the great international currents" (government of Quebec, 1992, p. 7; our translation). It also affects educational policies and curricula: "the anonymity, complexity and uncertainty wrought by globalization herald in an ironic search for meaning and certainty in more locally defined identities.... The main educational response to this social crisis has been to resurrect old cultural certainties... through centralized control of curriculum" (Hargreaves, 1994, p. 54). This response can be detected in some statements of the official discourse, such as "schools must first of all consider the general culture. Individual students' sense of their place in the universe... is based on representations, values and symbols stemming from their immediate surroundings" (MEQ, 2004, p. 7). Then, the official discourse relies on justifications related to the Domestic *Cité* to maintain a balance between the shaping of a strong national identity and the will to play an active part in globalization. In this sense, it shares the preoccupations of other small societies and tries to protect its cultural inheritance through the integration of the cultural dimension, by having pupils discover cultural professionals in their community.

The importance given to arguments associated with the Industrial *Cité* suggests that the official discourse acknowledges transformations in the nature of production and attempts consequently to form a new kind of workmanship: "Every product from sneakers to software is constantly being upgraded, and everything from mutual funds to potato chips now comes in an ever-proliferating variety of types – because the Creative Economy is largely based on selling novelty, variety and customization" (Florida, 2002, pp. 147-148). This economy requires "producing new forms or designs that are readily transferable and widely useful...; or composing music that can be performed again and again. People at the core of the Creative Class engage in this kind of work regularly; it is what they are paid to do" (Florida, 2002, p. 69). The emergence of a demand for creative workers seems to have an impact on Quebec's official discourse as it mentions that "in today's and tomorrow's world, where creativity and aptitudes at innovating are key elements to success, it is certain that students will be stimulated in this sense, both by the contact with artists and by cultural outings" (MCC & MEQ, 2002, p. 6; our translation). Thus, the use of justifications related to the Industrial *Cité* implies that Quebec's official discourse is influenced by the growing industrial demand for a qualified, efficient, as well as creative workmanship which can contribute to society's progress and productivity. This is also the case with other countries who, by wishing to develop pupils' creativity through the integration of the cultural dimension, acknowledge the role played by creative people in the contemporary economy (Sharp & Le Metais, 2000). In this sense, Quebec's official discourse is swayed by the mutations of the international economy.

The presence of the Inspirational *Cité* in fifth position indicates that the official discourse recognizes the diffusion of a cultural dimension constituted of the objects and practices belonging to the realm of art and aesthetics in other spheres of existence and its influence on the very conception of the human being. Indeed, through justifications associated with the Inspirational *Cité*, Quebec's official discourse seems to take into account "the idea which grows in the late eighteenth century that each individual is different and original, and that this originality determines how he or she ought to live" (Taylor, 1989, p. 375). Three main ideas proceed from this conception of human beings: subjects have an inner space which can be expressed through art; they have a creative imagination which enables them to fashion themselves; and the artist "offers epiphanies where something of a great moral or spiritual significance becomes manifest.... The artist is an exceptional being, open to a rare vision; the poet is a person of exceptional sensibility" (Taylor, 1989, p. 423). Quebec's official discourse, when it relies on the Inspirational *Cité*, seems to echo this definition of artists: "Artists seek to inscribe themselves in human history and art history through a quest for the absolute, expressing unconventional values or new ideas through their handling of their material" (MCC & MEQ, 2004b, p. 35). Hence, the official discourse acknowledges, like several other countries influenced by the diffusion of the cultural dimension in other spheres of existence, that the integration of the cultural dimension must help students develop their creativity and their aesthetic sensibility through encounters with artists.

Two contextual elements which have an impact on the Quebec official discourse can be linked to the *Cité* of Renown, which comes sixth in our classification. First, the Government of Quebec seeks to increase the visibility of culture in the school system, for studies on individuals' cultural practices suggest that instruction and cultural participation are strongly correlated (Donnat, 1998; Garon, 2004). Thus, if the official discourse gives birth to programs enabling "students to attend shows offered by professional distributors of scenic arts" (MCC & MEQ, 2000, p. 4; our translation), it may be to incite people, at a tender age, to pick up the habit of contributing to the renown of the cultural production of the Province of Quebec. Indeed, encounters with artists and visits to museums means that students discover the works of art, creators and cultural practices of their society. This can lead them to keep on participating in what composes the cultural dimension of society when they reach adulthood, as it is suggested by research on individuals' cultural practices. Second, by relying on justifications associated with the *Cité* of Renown, the official discourse recognizes the fundamentally public vocation of artwork (Bernier, 2002), which implies that local cultural production must be publicized and that media exert a major influence on this diffusion. Consequently, the official discourse states that "the government thinks that it is essential that the cultural policy takes into account the modern context where culture evolutes,

notably... the major role played by media in Quebec's life" (Government of Quebec, 1992, pp. 15-16; our translation). By having students meet artists and by granting that media play a role in the renown of the cultural dimension, the official discourse acknowledges that public exposure is part of the integration of the cultural dimension. This part, however, remains modest, for only 4.7% of the units of signification we extracted from the official discourse are associated with the *Cité* of Renown.

Finally, by relying on a few arguments associated with the Market *Cité*, the official discourse appears to be reckoning globalization's influence on local cultural products, as it engenders "a strong penetration of foreign cultural products, the insensibility of the American market to foreign works of art and cultural products, the organization of a European market which, for the moment, associates Quebec's products with the rest of the American production" (Government of Quebec, 1992, p. 7; our translation). How can Quebec's cultural production survive if no one buys it? Thus, the presence of the Market *Cité*, associated with globalization and its effects, suggests that the official discourse seeks to promote the consummation of local cultural goods. This objective seems not to be a priority for the official discourse, as the Market *Cité* is last in our classification.

Mutations of the new spirit of capitalism, a will to democratize access to culture, tension between globalization and local culture, growing demand for creative workers, diffusion of the cultural dimension and its influence, role of the media regarding culture, globalization of economies: all these factors seem to have more or less contributed to fashioning the justifications brought forth by Quebec's official discourse to convince artists and teachers to integrate the cultural dimension in schools. Moreover, these contextual elements seem to affect not only Quebec, but also other countries which seek to integrate the cultural dimension in their curriculum, as the contextual elements we inferred from Quebec's official discourse concern most contemporary societies. What is the meaning of this integration, in light of our analysis? What is its impact on teaching practices and on the culture teachers integrate in their classroom? These are the questions which will guide our interpretation.

INTERPRETATION

What light does the sociology of justification shed on the meaning of Quebec's official discourse on the integration of the cultural dimension? First, the fact that all *Cité* models are present in the Quebec official discourse echoes Reboul's (1984) analysis, when he states that the official discourse never speaks in its own name, it is a spokesman. Thus, it is "syncretistic, not to say 'ecumenical'. It borrows its themes or its terms from all other discourses.... The strength of the official discourse is that it is the only one to be truly pluralist in a democratic system. Whereas all others tend to be Manichean, it takes

into account all these others to eliminate their partiality and their excesses" (pp. 46-48; our translation). However, if we follow Reboul's reflection to its conclusion, we must also subscribe to the idea that "if the official discourse gives way to all opinions, it is not to go beyond them, but to neutralize them.... The syncretistic aspect of the official discourse is thus dissimulating.... Having neutralized all opinions, the political power considers itself imparted with the ability to decree the aims of education, its methods and its content" (pp. 48-49; our translation). For Quebec's official discourse, education would thus be based on the network model, as 30.9% of the units of signification extracted from the official discourse relate to the Project-oriented *Cité*. Also, if the official discourse is dissimulating, then it would try, by relying on justifications founded on the Project-oriented *Cité*, to hide the influence of the new spirit of capitalism on the educative aims it pursues through the integration of the cultural dimension. Thus, to follow the official discourse and to integrate this dimension would mean to transmit capitalistic values to younger generations and to educate the workmanship this system requires to function properly, namely workers who are adaptable, flexible, open-minded and tolerant towards cultural differences.

Can we acquiesce in this interpretation, which suggests that partnerships between teachers and cultural professionals favour adhesion to the new spirit of capitalism? Even though the Project-oriented *Cité* has the most frequent representation, and its emergence is closely related to the constitution of the new spirit of capitalism, as Boltanski and Chiapello's (1999; 2002) analysis suggests, this must be refined, for three reasons. First, the official discourse is a state discourse, which implies that it is "always relatively autonomous in regard to capitalism" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 580; our translation). Hence, Quebec's official discourse cannot be entirely assimilated to the new spirit of capitalism: it has some autonomy, notwithstanding the fact that its justifications echo those produced by this spirit. The educative aims pursued by a given government cannot be understood in the sole light of the mutations of the economic system, as our examination of the contextual factors which influence the official discourse suggests. Moreover, the presence of justifications related to the Civic *Cité* in second position indicates that, through the integration of the cultural dimension, the official discourse plays its role in a democratic society, namely to grant citizens equal access to the cultural domain and to initiate them to a common public culture. Second, the spirit of capitalism is not limited to a competitive principle which generates inequities and despair among those who follow it: it comprises a moral dimension; in other words, it offers to people the possibility of having recourse to justice (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999). It is hence a discourse characterized by a permanent tension between the stimulation of the desire of accumulation and its limitation by moral norms corresponding to principles of common good (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999). Quebec's official discourse, even if it were the

echo of the spirit of capitalism, would thus remain inscribed in a horizon of common good, as this spirit is characterized by a tension between justice and limitless accumulation. This is suggested by the fact that the official discourse promotes means which enable students to connect themselves to people and information and to help those who lack connections to establish new bonds with professionals in the cultural domain. Third, actors never totally follow the spirit of capitalism: "people never cease... to continue to exist outside their work and under other relations than as workers, so that they are always able to base themselves on this existence... to maintain a critical distance" (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999, p. 581; our translation). Thus, even if the official discourse limited itself to a promotion of capitalist values, teachers and artists would still be able to distance themselves from it and to criticize it. Hence, the integration of the cultural dimension would not lead to an indoctrination of the younger generation to the new spirit of capitalism. Given that the integration of the cultural dimension cannot only be seen as the result of the mutations of the capitalist system, what it its meaning?

The results we obtained by means of content analysis indicate that the integration of the cultural dimension takes several meanings, as all *Cité* models are represented to some extent. Also, since the most important *Cité* is the Project-oriented one, the integration of the cultural dimension assumes that students will connect themselves to culture, considered as an always-expanding network of people and information sources. In such a conception, what matters is activity, defined as going from one project to another. The definition of culture underlying the integration of the cultural dimension is thus more descriptive than normative, as all objects, practices, and actors may enter the classroom, to the extent that they allow students to discover new information and new people and to involve themselves in projects. The official discourse in Quebec seems to share other countries' blurred representation of culture when considering the integration of the cultural dimension. This requires teachers and artists concerned with the integration of the cultural dimension to ponder its signification and to define culture by themselves, as the official discourse does not provide them with an articulate meaning.

Our two levels of analysis (discourse and content) thus lead us to conclude that the integration of the cultural dimension poses a great challenge to teachers and professionals in the cultural domain who wish to involves themselves in it. Indeed, when we try to circumvent the meaning of this integration through the analysis of the content of the official discourse, we find that it conveys a plurality of significations and that the justifications most frequently used by official texts, namely the ones related to the Project-oriented *Cité*, imply that every cultural practice or object is worthy to be integrated in the classroom given that it nourishes students' activity. Thus, it appears that the official discourse lets teachers decide which objects or practices ought to be integrated in their classroom in order to contribute to students' cultural initiation. Moreover, when

we examine, through discourse analysis, the contextual factors which influence Quebec's official discourse we end by suggesting that actors always remain autonomous with regard to dominating social discourses. To what extent are artists and teachers autonomous in regard to the official discourse, and are they aware of the contextual factors which fashion it? Do they engage themselves in developing students' cultural awareness – in other words, in enabling pupils to distance themselves from dominating social discourses so as to criticize them? How can the integration of the cultural dimension contribute to this, according to them? To answer these questions, we need to go beyond the analysis of the official discourse and question, using semi-structured interviews, teachers and artists who take part in the integration of the cultural dimension. This would help us to identify the meaning teachers and artists give to culture and the impact the official discourse has on their practices.

Our analysis has shown that Quebec's official discourse, by promoting the integration of the cultural dimension in schools, reckons the impact of multiple factors on the cultural dimension of society and tries to adapt the cultural initiation provided by the school system in consequence. In this sense, the factor which seems to exert the greatest influence is the mutations of capitalism, as the official discourse relies on justifications similar to those of the new spirit of capitalism. By doing so, the government of Quebec recognizes, like other countries, the key role the integration of the cultural dimension plays "in contributing to economic competitiveness. Countries facing cultural pressures as a result of globalisation are accepting that cultural education is important to preserve diversity and promote inter-cultural understanding. The arts are seen as providing a significant contribution to creativity and cultural development" (Sharp & Le Metais, 2000, p. ii). Indeed, in the context of globalisation and of the emergence of a culture conceived as a network, the integration of the cultural dimension can contribute to the development of students' flexibility, open-mindedness, and ability to adapt to different people and contexts by having them meet new people, especially artists, and discover new sources of information, such as cultural institutions.

Moreover, our analysis indicates that the official discourse blurs the very meaning of the integration of the cultural dimension by relying on a wide array of definitions. It thus grants teachers "the ability to reflect upon their practice within a complex context, ... to make their choices out of their own situations" (Green, 1995, p. 12), that is, to choose what ought to be integrated in their classroom to initiate students to culture. However, as there appears to be a tension at the core of this integration between capitalist accumulation and justice, a tightening of the definition of the integration of the cultural dimension provided by the official discourse might be needed. The importance given to justifications similar to those of the new spirit of capitalism can have "young people find themselves described as 'human resources' rather than

as persons who are centers of choice and evaluation... to be moulded in the service of technology and the market" (Green, 1995, p. 124).

To promote a cultural initiation which fosters emancipation rather than reproduction, the official discourse should base itself on a definition of the integration of the cultural dimension closer to the objects and practices which belong to the realm of arts and aesthetics since, as Green (1995) writes, "Painting, literature, theatre, film – all can open doors and move persons to transform" (p. 150) and help them acquire a sense of agency. By organizing a meeting with cultural professionals and works of art, teachers allow their students to get acquainted with, as Taylor (1989, 1992) suggests, models of self-definition and of the power to shape oneself, instead of being shaped by economic or political discourses.

Conclusion

As our analysis of the official discourse of the Province of Quebec shows, the sociology of justification is an adequate theoretical framework to understand the mutations of the relations between culture and schools in the last twenty years and to identify the contextual elements which influence these changes through the justifications employed by official discourses. Given the pluralist character of the official discourse, it is up to each teacher to delineate his or her own representation of the integration of the cultural dimension, in order to help his or her students become flexible and adaptable citizens, able to succeed in the contemporary workplace as well as to distance themselves from it, so as to criticize it and to preserve common good.

NOTES

1. The Ministry of Education of the Province of Quebec became, in 2005, the Ministry of Education, Leisure and Sport (MELS)

2. In this conception of culture, artists and writers are seen as models of self-definition (Taylor, 1989, 1992) and their creations are considered as the fruit of their idiosyncrasy rather than as the reflection of a world outside of the human being (Ferry, 1991).

3. These countries are Australia, Canada, England, France, Germany, Hong Kong, Hungary, Italia, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, Japan, Republic of Korea, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Singapore, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States (Sharp & Le Metais, 2000).

4. Ministry of Education of the Province of Quebec.

5. Ministry of Culture and of Communications of the Province of Quebec.

6. Although the *Cités* models have not been applied to education, we will infer what each of them can mean when they are associated with this specific domain. This inference will be brief, for we will develop the meaning of the *Cités* as they are associated with education when we will present our results.

7. The *Cités* models have been most fully elaborated by Boltanski and Thevenot (1991), but we use quotations from a conference paper given by Boltanski and Chiapello (2002) to describe them, because these authors synthesized the definition of each *Cité*.

8. A major period of protest in France against the production system which was characterized by demonstrations by students, young intellectuals, and workers. These groups blamed the production system for disenchantment, lack of authenticity, a world of standardization and technocracy, misery in daily life, the loss of autonomy, the absence of creativity, and the various forms of oppression in the modern world, thus echoing the hippie movement in the United States (Boltanski & Chiapello, 1999).

9. Superior Council of Education.

10. Units of signification can be sentences, a few words, or a paragraph, as their length is determined by the fact that they are meaningful by themselves (L'Ecuyer, 1990). This significance is established in relation to the research question, the theoretical framework, and syntactic logic.

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