

Eve Haque. *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*. Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2012. vii+309 pages. Paper: \$29.95. Cloth: \$65.00. ISBN: 978-1-4426-1016-3 (Paper). ISBN: 978-1-4426-4078-8 (Cloth).

There's been increasing public concern, positive and negative, about Canada's multiculturalism and bilingualism, domestically and overseas. Hence, in her book *Multiculturalism Within a Bilingual Framework: Language, Race, and Belonging in Canada*, Eve Haque, associate professor in the Department of Languages, Literatures, Linguistics, and Equity Studies at York University, explores in depth how Canada came to be multicultural and bilingual respectively. Studying the history of these two now well-known terms takes us back, however, only to the early 1960s, indicating that they are actually fairly new. Haque shows the two terms to be inextricably related, working together to form a contemporary national narrative of "multiculturalism within a bilingual framework" as formulated by Pierre Trudeau and written into Canada's *Official Languages Act* (1969) and the *Multiculturalism Policy* (1971). This formulation of Canada as a cultural "mosaic" distinguishes it from the American "melting pot" to the south (23).

Both multiculturalism and bilingualism are the products of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (the B and B Commission) from 1963 to 1971. Haque first illustrates the relations between language, race and nation-building for the purpose of framing the Commission's inquiry, which was said to be "a theatre of power" (73). Following this, the historical context of the B and B Commission is provided. The 1960s were a period of great social unrest and fundamental changes in attitudes, values, and social structures (51). The goal of the Commission was to create a sense of belonging through dealing with radical changes taking place in three main areas: immigration policy, the federal government's attempts to abolish the Indian Act, and the rise of Quebec's linguistic nationalism and independence movements (31). What follows is an important discussion of the Commission's preliminary hearings and analyzes its subsequent *Preliminary Report* (1965). The Commission's terms of reference—bilingualism, biculturalism and race—were widely criticized from several perspectives by Indigenous groups and other ethnic groups, termed collectively as the third force or third element (76). Concerns raised by these groups were, through bureaucratic management, regarded as fragmented, inconsistent and in conflict with each other and, therefore, discredited. So-called experts declared that Canada had only two founding races: English and French. It is clear that, in this period, an emphasis was placed on language and culture, eventually shifting towards language as the defining feature of nationhood and belonging (93). With the disagreement on terms of reference, Haque brings us to the Commission's public hearings and research that brought about its six-book final reports from 1967 to 1970. Out of the series of final reports, she elaborates on *Books I (The Official Language)* and *IV (The cultural Contribution of the Other Ethnic Groups)*, where the idea that language is the primary expression and chief vehicle of culture (160) gets reinforced.

Aiming at tracking the national narrative of nation-building to the present, Haque resorts to archival material to reveal the conflicts underlying the emergence of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. With ample quotations from the archival

records, this book achieves reliability, validity and vividness, as if the readers were in the historical hearing processes. Her analytical approach is derived from Foucault's genealogical method, which involves mistrust of the search for origins and essence, and the legislative method of state regulation, which is composed of the investigative phase, the persuasive phase, and the archival phase.

The central argument of this work is based on the idea that language serves the function of boundary marking in Canada. Through analysis of various historical documents, especially through Rudnyckij, the only linguist among the 10 commissioners, Haque leads us to the realization that language gradually came to be regarded as a fundamental cultural element for the founding races, while private and peripheral for other ethnic groups. Due to a lack of consensus over the Commission's terms of reference, the commissioners adopted a contradictory notion of culture in its final reports. Ethnic groups were relabeled "cultural groups", whose cultural preservation was relegated to the private sphere and was denied institutional support. Haque points out that this kind of double standard is embedded in similar arguments throughout the final reports. By stressing the Commission's sixteen recommendations that led to social categorization, she is able to argue that the contradictory approaches to languages and multiculturalism resulted in a hierarchicalization of languages and cultures in Canada that is essentially "racial ordering" (4).

This book challenges the Commission's authority by questioning the terms of reference, the backgrounds of the ten commissioners, and the "crisis" atmosphere of their appointment (91). By focusing on the singular problem of the national crisis between the two founding races, the Royal Commission was able to convince the Canadian public of a threat to the unity of its country and to legitimize the status of the founding races, while depriving other groups of an equivalent status. In short, the Commission's goal was to naturalize the status of the founding races and their languages so as to unite the country. The adoption of either official language by minority groups served to reinforce its status and enhance its speakers numerically, while ironically undermining these groups' claims of distinctiveness on a linguistic basis. By proposing Jacques Derrida's principle of unconditional hospitality to handle the Other (251), a philosophical flavor is added and the book proves helpful in suggesting revisions of laws of hospitality pertaining to immigration, citizenship, and refugees (251). Haque's project also supplies theoretical implications concerning language planning, language education and language policy in Canada, which might as well shed light on other countries with multitudes of immigrants.

Haque criticizes Canada's bilingualism and multiculturalism by focusing on the role and place of the Indigenous and ethnic (or cultural) groups, which were sidelined in the Royal Commission's reports and later in the Constitution on Charter of Rights and Freedom. Offering a little glimpse into Ethnic studies, the book will be of particular appeal to people interested in equality studies. The critique might have been strengthened, however, by counter discourses and a reimagining of who we are or might become (251) apart from the commission's selective reading and representation in its report. With Canada's ever changing demography, such issues have continued to pose challenges to the Canadian model, and will continue to do so in the future. On the whole, Haque

provides us with historical, cultural, ethnical, political and educational perspectives in the book.

In addition to those interested in Linguistics, Literature, Sociology, Anthropology, Canadian Studies, and Equality Studies, this book will prove informative for scholars interested in continental philosophy, in particular the ways in which philosophy speaks to specific social and political realities. Further, scholars and students of critical race theory, multiculturalism and public policy may also find Haque's book insightful.

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