Rethinking Integration:

Towards a sociology of cosmopolitanism: Theory & practice in Francophone Calgary

YVONNE HÉBERT,

FACULTY OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

yhebert@ucalgary.ca

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ABSTRACT

Abstract: Given the global scope of migration, this paper explores the re-emerging concept of cosmopolitanism for its theoretical possibilities with respect to the process of integrating in to a new location, a new society. From a literature review, nine possible positioning are tentatively identified and explored, starting from global variability, global interconnectedness and global intercommunication. Conceptualising cosmopolitan subjectivities rests upon complex understanding that all humans are of equal moral standing, with responsibilities to all peoples of the world and with commitments to express these through political action in the context of institutions with a global reach aligned towards equality, respect and recognition. The resulting theorisation provides support for a cosmopolitan approach for greater understanding of the multiplicities of integration, thus signalling the need for a renewal of this policy.

Key words: cosmopolitanism, sociology, integration, identity, citizenship, francophone
INRODUCTION

Notions of integration have been largely circumscribed by national and regional boundaries, with migrants developing complex intergroup relations and cross-cultural contact over time and place (Loewen & Friesen, 2009). Understandings of integration, however, vary widely (Li, 2002). As evidenced in statistical analyses, public media, populist discourse and academic research, these include expectations of immigrants, selected or not, (a) to match the social and economic performance of native-born ‘average’ Canadians; (b) to take up cultural and normative standards of Canadian society; and over time (c) to resemble Canadians in terms of behaviour and psychological profiles, with the “persistence of cultural diversity or ethnicity interpreted as resistance to assimilation” (Li, 2002: 49-50). In other words, integration is defined in comparison to standards based on those born in Canada. Since this subordinates immigrant groups to native-born Canadians, this underlying perspective favours the socially dominant groups at the expense of subordinate immigrants, with the dominant group holding negative stereotypes of the Other (Sidanius and Pratto, 1999; Nagayama Hall, 2010). This allows racist considerations of non-white immigrants as being ‘too many’, to be arriving faster than can be absorbed and to be inscribed in an adaptive process exacerbated by differences in language, culture, tradition, and values (Li, 2002). Even allowing for multiculturalism and integration as dialogic processes among many, what these views reveal is that assimilative understandings of ‘integration’ persist and have become painfully apparent, surprisingly so, in a country proud of its multicultural policies and laws. What these assimilative views miss, however, is that the native-born population today is the result of previous processes of adaptation contributing to a continuously evolving sense of Canadianness.

Today, with instant global communication and remarkable ease of travel, those who have experienced migration and or mobility as well as the youth generation have multiple attachments and extensive knowledge of the world, grounded in lived and virtual experiences. This must be taken into consideration in wondering what it means to be integrated in Canadian society, especially since this society is, according to its policies and laws, officially bilingual and multicultural. From such contradictions flows the need for rethinking integration as a far more complex process, necessitating new methodological conceptualisations to build a frame of reference beyond the nation to analyse new social conflicts, adaptations, dynamics and structures (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009; Beck, 2006, 2002a, b).

The sense of being part of something bigger than one’s country is pervasive among young people today who insist that they are part of a greater world, that they are global citizens, moving well beyond the confines of local ethnos, local community, local schools and religious institutions. Young people participate eagerly in a world well beyond national borders (Hoerder et al, 2005). Second generation adolescents, of immigrant parents, in schools in Toronto, Winnipeg and Calgary engage in three forms of mobility: mobility of mind, body and boundary, all forms responding to globalisation (Hébert, Wilkinson, Ali, 2008). In Europe, national and
transnational identities are particularly significant in geographical youth mobility whereas family and peer networks are salient in mediating migratory movements; moreover, regional and national economic performance as well as national and European policies impact upon youth mobility patterns (Cairns, 2010). While students in Canadian schools learn to accept and respect one another, due in part to multicultural policies as enacted in curriculum and schools (Hébert & Lee, 2006), individual human rights are not sufficient to guarantee against denigration in everyday life that groups may suffer, nor are these sufficient to thwart the vulnerabilities of people in social relationships in which they live their lives (van Hooft, 2010, 2009; Honneth, 2007, 1995).

The realities of contemporary life reveal the complexities of living within diversity as a normal part of co-existence, with multiple attachments and belongings. These continuing realities, shared by migrants and minorities, require new analyses and theories to support cosmopolitan connections between peoples in a highly interactive and intense globalising world, so as to start from global variability, global interconnectedness and global intercommunication (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009) in order to cultivate better understandings of changing political, sociological and psychological attributes of societal change. Thus, is situated the relevance of cosmopolitan subjectivities, its possible positionings and practices.

While it is not the purpose of this paper to present data analyses, it is nonetheless noteworthy that two data sets, collected in Calgary, served as the bases of previous analyses with respect to a cosmopolitan sociology. One set consists of narratives elicited from graduates of Francophone high schools in minority contexts enrolled in an English language university and the other, an ensemble of interviews with adults, about half of whom are recent arrivals from either side of the Sahara in Africa, participating in a study of French language immigration with respect to la Francophonie in Calgary (Hébert & Wanner, 2010). These French speaking youth and adults in the Canadian West are moving beyond the confines of their assignation as migrants and as national minority, so as to redefine themselves and to broaden horizons for situating themselves with ease and comfort in globalised contexts. This reconstruction of self is sensitive to two major identity tendencies - the resurgence of linguistic rights and global migration - and their contribution to a complex, diasporic formation of an international Francophonie.

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1 Mobilités étudiantes et construction identitaire, a SSHRC-funded study, with Annie Pilote (U Laval) as principal investigator and Marc Molgat, Stéphanie Garneau (U Ottawa) and Yvonne Hébert (U Calgary) as co-researchers.
Shifting identifications among this national minority are not new. In previous eras, as Francophones migrated internally from Québec and l’Acadie (the Maritimes) to other parts of Canada, there was in each instance a process of localisation, resulting in cultural and technical adaptations as well as shifts of identifications while maintaining a sense of belonging to a larger collectivity (Frenette, 2004). The displacement of peoples provokes profound questionings and redefinitions of self and of belongings, especially for subjected peoples, thus producing vigorous cultures of opposition and resistance to a dominant power (Bauman, 2006). In Canada, this is observable in the discourse of resistance emanating from Québec towards the federal government and in the discourses of victimhood from minority language groups across the country (Bernard, 1998; Castonguay, 1997, 2002a, 2002b). However, increasing sophistication, especially with the winning of school governance, is emerging to reposition French-speaking peoples within complex processes of localisation and globalisation (Behiels, 2004) as well as horizontal forms of governance in which the state is a partner (Cardinal, 2006), requiring a move towards greater citizen engagement (Denis, 2008, 2006; Hébert & Wanner, 2010).

To examine such complexities, this paper addresses the question, **what does it mean to be cosmopolitan?** Based on a literature review, the next section on cosmopolitanism as complexity, kindness and subjectivities explores and theorises this concept, based on prior examination and analysis, seeking both conceptual and methodological understandings. Subsequently, a set of nine cosmopolitan subjectivities are developed and theorised, followed by a critical reflection on the scope and significance of the emergence of cosmopolitan subjectivities in new populations, their future, and their relevance for the understanding of integration.

**Cosmopolitanism as Complexity, Kindness and Connection**

In its many forms and its resurgence in times of crisis in China as in Europe, cosmopolitanism provides much leavening for thought and consideration for possible theories and orientations to the world (Xiao, 2010). Common to all cosmopolitan views is the notion that all human beings belong to a single community, reflecting a positive moral ideal of a universal community. In other words, all humans are of equally moral standing and this community should be cultivated. The various forms of cosmopolitanism envision this ethical standard and global community in different ways, with some focusing on political institutions and others on shared moral, ethical and or cultural expressions. The term, cosmopolitanism, is used widely used in various disciplines, especially global ethics, political science, international relations, political philosophy, sociology, cultural studies and history. Although the literature is abundant, its review will necessarily be relatively brief in the confines of this paper.

As a global **ethical** theory of the nature of human well-being, of the good life well-lived, cosmopolitanism is an ensemble of moral perspectives that overcome normative divisions between one’s own people and those of others (Brown, 2009). In a country of diversity, this involves the development “of habits of coexistence: conversation in its older meaning, of living
together, association” (Appiah, 2006, p. xix). For him, this means to accept difference, understand it for what it is, without feeling the need to change it for something familiar to ourselves, thus arguing against some expectations of integration in Canadian contexts. This view of cosmopolitanism as the need for kindness to strangers and as a moral commitment to our global neighbours requires that all states respect the rights of their citizens and meets their needs. If states fail to do so, then it becomes our collective obligation and an equally fundamental cosmopolitan commitment for which we do our fair share (Appiah, 2006).

As a global political theory of a world-wide community, cosmopolitanism focuses on the demos and is concerned with legal frameworks and institutional structures adapted to globalisation, in a search for a form of world governance (van Hooft, 2009). For political scholars and educators, this involves consideration of the dynamic process of international human rights crossing over into domestic law, for example, assuring the human rights of legal and illegal aliens, a step towards the integration of strangers into the full status of national citizenship (Kymlicka, 2009). From this perspective, a cosmopolitan stance would then require involvement in both local and global civil society as well as a critique of justice, power structures and of the ideological constructions of truth and belief.

As a cultural theory of global community, cosmopolitanism emphasises the ethnos, that is, cultural diversity and intercultural dialogue, so as to bring cultural pluralism under the same umbrella (Pollock, Bhabha, Breckenridge & Chakrabarty, 2000). Cultural studies of cosmopolitanism also examine processes of adaptation and awareness of rapidly changing global realities (Hannerz, 1990) as well as the means for building global community by bonding people together with shared fate, memories, solidarity and belonging (Benhabib, 2006), thus blending in sociological perspectives. From this perspective, globalization as a social and cultural process brings a new landscape of complexity, a deeper experience of difference in which the other is returned to a space within the self (De Lisssovoy, 2010). Ethical concerns within contemporary societies must then include a basic respect for cultural differences (Kymlicka, 2001), as an essential ethical principle of the human community. A basic recognition of the transnational networks of migrants exposes an essential kindredness of persons and populations to each other, to ecological catastrophes and dwindling biodiversity as well as the means for a genuine opening to the other. Furthermore, a global ethical and decolonial politics and knowledge ought to be centered outside Western traditions while reaching out to communicate with and include them (De Lisssovoy, 2010).

As sociological theory, cosmopolitanism focuses on the dialectic between individual agency and social structure, addressing problems such as identity and mobility (Holton, 2009). An analysis of the affinities between the stranger in sociological thought and the cosmopolitan subject is illustrative (Marotta, 2010). Sociological and historical perspectives explore and question notions of community, mobility, identity and co-existence as moral projects in interconnecting local and global contexts, opening up to greater feelings of togetherness and mutual bonds within radically new coordinates and relationships to place and time (Back, 2009;

In explaining the meanings of cosmopolitanism, Waldron (1992) goes beyond a universal positioning as well as the philosophical debates, moving towards community complexities to find a sense of direction for the individual. He writes that the cosmopolitan is not without culture, but draws on the traces and residues of several cultural systems, of several ethical systems – that this is key to cosmopolitanism. For him, it is this ability to situate oneself outside a particular community without letting it script or write one’s life, be it a faith, tradition, religious, or cultural community, and to draw selectively on discursive meaning from a variety of sources. Further to this, Vertovec and Cohen (2002, p. 4) insist that cosmopolitanism offers a way of managing cultural and political multiplicities, simultaneously suggesting that this concept:

(a) Transcends the seemingly exhausted model of the nation-state;
(b) Is capable of mediating actions and ideals oriented towards both the universal and the particular, towards the global and the local;
(c) Is culturally anti-essentialist; and
(d) Is capable of representing a diverse complexity of repertoires of allegiance, identity and interest.

This positioning allows for several indicators of a cosmopolitan identity positioning. Thus, cosmopolitanism becomes, not a society, but a set of interactive relations between de-nationalisation and re-nationalisation, between de-ethnicisation and re-ethnicisation, between de-localisation and re-localisation in society and policies (Vertovec & Cohen, 2002, p. 81).

It is from this perspective, then, that Beck’s proposals draw our interest. For him, the concept of cosmopolitanism describes a relational process that permits parallel analyses of the connections between societal changes and cosmopolitan movements as well as resistances and blockings. Located within simultaneous localization and globalization, a cosmopolitan sociology would necessarily involve three steps: (a) a critique of methodological nationalism as limitative of research and analysis; (b) analyses of various transnational fractions, such as the precarious nature of work, contextualised simultaneously in glocal spaces, situations and times; and (c) a methodological cosmopolitanism that makes use of transnational constellations instead of the nation state, so as to open up to the fundamental transformations of the current era (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2009), be it termed postmodernity, late modernity or the second modernity.

Starting from global variability, global interconnectedness and global intercommunication, a sociological approach means conceptualising and analysing ideas and
Hébert, Rethinking Integration as Cosmopolitan Subjectivities, paper for a conference on Economic and Social Integration of Migrants and Immigrants: A Comparative Approach, U Saskatchewan, 30-31 August 2010.

data as a multiplicity of global phenomena that appear as sets of intertwined transnational constellations. Thus, in consideration of its interdisciplinary nature, conceptualizing cosmopolitan subjectivities rests upon complex understandings of all humans as being of equal moral standing, with responsibilities extended to all the peoples of the world, and commitments to express these through political action in the context of institutions with a global reach aligned towards equality, respect and recognition (Dower, 2003; van Hooft, 2010; Honneth, 2007, 1995).

**Methodology: Practices, Positionings, Projects and Participants**

An analytic regard over the theoretical framework of the preceding section permits the development of a set of cosmopolitan practices and positionings:

- Openness towards an Other;
- Relational attachment to a locality, be it a place of origin or another;
- Recognition of the smallness of one’s milieu;
- Migratory experiences, be these international, national or regional;
- Capacity to integrate oneself in a milieu;
- Establishment and maintenance of mutual relationships, interconnecting with other similar persons;
- Awareness of living between two entities or in multiplicity, in a larger world, with the possibility of relational subtleties and positionings;
- A moral obligation towards the Other, especially towards the less fortunate;
- Critical regards on the major contemporary questions, ex., economic and ecological crises, and hyper-consumption.

**Analysis: Application of the Set of Cosmopolitan Practices and Positions**

Nine practices and positions of dimensions of cosmopolitanism today are proposed with some theoretical elaboration for each positioning. While support for these subjectivities is provided by prior analyses of qualitative data from two research projects examining mobility and migration of Francophones in a minority situation in Calgary (Hébert, 2010, a, b), it is not claimed here that all participants hold all possible subject positionings proposed.

*Openness towards an Other*
The movement of peoples is understood as (a) a process of transcultural creativity and renewal within (b) a process of integration to what already exists as well as anxieties of new arrivals tending towards life in English rather than in French. Barriers experienced are typically linked to the lack of mastery of the English language, to the non-recognition of credentials acquired in other countries and to adaptation to living in a new milieu. In terms of cosmopolitan subjectivities, the integrative process is multi-faceted and engages multi-perspectives, some delightful yet some very difficult, as people of many sources find ways to live together, to be gainfully employed, to obtain recognition of their credentials and to learn English while maintaining French.

Relational attachment to a locality, be it a place of origin or another
Cosmopolitan subjectivities involve very gradual processes of developing positive associations with markers of localisation, such as learning the stories of the places and learning the locations and processes of community life according to time of arrival and to community development. Integrative processes continue, from one generation to another, from one wave to another, for yesterday’s immigrants are today’s citizens. In doing so, the participants reveal the very gradual localisation processes, of getting to know and attaching to local institutions, events, places and social networks, in a process of developing positive associations with such markers of localisations.

Recognition of the smallness of one’s milieu
In terms of Canadian bilingualism, the smallness may refer to the limited scope of the national linguistic policy and its practices in cities and regions other than Québec. Smallness may be external to community organisations and involving the lack of Francophone politicians, the perceived unfavourable position of the provincial legislature and its authorities towards the Francophonie; various difficulties accessing health services in French; and the general lack of provincial services in French, a national minority language in Alberta. Internal perceptions were noted especially with respect to the shortcomings of the Francophone leadership; a greater preoccupation with the economy than with linguistic policy; youth’s diminished interest in policy; and a general absence of French language services.

Yet at the same time, there were gradual systemic improvements with the creation of a Francophone system of education, the possibility of having a legal case heard in French and a gradual recognition of the Calgary Francophonie. Thus, migrants and minorities alike persist, especially with respect to the restoration of French language services, the wish for a political change and various strategies of resistance.
In terms of multiculturalism, similar difficulties exist in trying to maintain a culture outside its original territories, thus leading to a blending of the original and new cultures, just as there is blending of original languages and official languages. Thus, the recognition of the limits of one’s milieu inspires migrants and minorities to search for broader horizons, new ideas and ways of becoming, thus opening themselves up to other practices and positionings for greater breadth and meaning of their lives.

**Migratory experiences, be these international, national or regional**

Reasons motivating migration and mobility include employment, family reasons, workplace, low level of municipal taxes and the economic surge. Among the familial reasons are family unification, distancing family including in-laws, and the children’s schooling. While these reasons are common to many individuals and groups, what is to be noted here includes the complexities of decision-making and of motivation, facilitated and influenced by global intercommunications, global interconnectedness and global variability.

**Capacity to integrate oneself in a milieu**

The sentiment of adapting to a local system and demonstrating respect for local values so as to experience integration represents a capacity, a power to share and to get along with the local population, permitting personal development and expansion within social, cultural and professional spheres. Accepting first of all to adapt oneself so as to integrate requires an acceptance and aptitude to understand different cultures and values, to feel good in strange environments by joining in, being able to function, to find oneself there, adopting habits, ways of living and locations of this environment and in so doing, to find one’s place. Thus, cosmopolitan subjectivities involve learning how to live comfortably with multiple attachments, how to be effective in their local integrations, and in doing so, to effectively demonstrate that cosmopolitans are well grounded in glocal environments.

**Establishment and maintenance of mutual relationships, interconnecting with other similar persons**

A balance between establishing and maintaining mutual relationships, interconnecting with others like oneself is noticeable with respect to the linkages with local linguistic, cultural and civic communities. Equally important are sentiments of belonging to one’s origins and to new Canadian attachments which can be present in several types of phenomena: (1) love and knowledge of one’s origins; (2) openness, adaptation and independence with respect to a panoply of belongings; (3) public valuing of the good image and values of one’s country or
region of origin; (4) resistance to negative images and discourses; (5) the will to retain cultural and linguistic elements, to take the best to weave a transcultural identification in a transparent process of creativity; and (6) possibilities to be better understood. Finally, all of this is articulated through the appreciation and interaction with cultural markers, be they material, spiritual, alimentary, symbolic, concrete or imaginary.

**Awareness of living between two entities or in multiplicity, in a larger world, with possibilities of relational subtleties and positionings**

Noting the challenges and advantages of living in two official languages, developing a relational and positional agility is part of living in multiplicity, in a larger world. Migrants and minorities note the distinctiveness of each world with respect to the two official languages in Canada, creating two worlds that co-inhabit, without knowing each other well, experiencing difficulties in balancing official and original languages, whose usages are sensitive to topic, situation, interlocutor and intention. At the same time, integration is perceived as a positive benefit of societal diversity and as favourable to intercommunity relations. *International* positionings allude to an opening to the exterior, with languages uniting peoples and countries in the world.

To come from a Francophone country means belonging to the world-wide Francophonie, a contemporary version of what were once the French and Belgian empires, permitting the articulation of a sense of belonging to a larger world. Thus, in terms of an awareness of living in duality and multiplicity in a larger world, cosmopolitan subjectivities are lived in interactive relations involving de-ethnicisation and re-ethnicisation, de-localisation and re-localisation, as well as de-colonisation in society and in the politics of daily life.

**Moral Obligation towards the Other, especially the less fortunate**

Although there may not be an overt expression of a sense of moral obligation to a generalized Other, many migrants uphold obligations to family members left behind in countries of origin who depend on remittances from more fortunate family members. Assuring the security of financial transfers was of utmost importance as well as the provision of help to new arrivals and from other perspectives, helping the host society to better understand countries of origins.

Regardless of the explicitness of the colonial past, of diasporic positionings and of post-colonial and de-colonial movements, there is an awareness of repositioning of self within the Francophonie in a minority situation as a full-fledged citizen, as a bilingual citizen, meritorious of the valuing of linguistic, cultural and socio-educational rights, with a strong awareness of the need to better understand one another in order to live well together.

**Critical Regards on Major Contemporary Questions**
Current examples of such questions may include the economic and ecological crises as well as hyper-consumption in a world-wide market era. Particularly sensitive to contemporary issues, migrants and minorities see and feel the influence of a socio-economic class system as well as links with the Other met in various venues. Here, the cosmopolitan subjectivities provide evidence of sensitivities and positionings on global issues lived locally, thus transcending the model of the nation-state, and capable of mediating actions and ideals towards the universal and the particular, towards the global and the local.

**CRITIQUE AND CONCLUSION**

The concept of cosmopolitanism and especially of its subjectivities seems productive for transversal analyses of migrants and minorities experiences in a particular city that is at the same time, a minority milieu with respect to French and a migratory movement whatever its provenance, be it internal or external to Canada (Hébert, 2010). Well situated in the literature, a set of nine positionings served previously an organic analysis, given the quality and relevance of the data under consideration, which is now being subjected to a critical reflection.

Let us first note the *interactivity* between the nine positionings proposed for the analysis. Relational and positional subtleties merge well with an awareness of living in duality and multiplicity. A feeling of belonging to a larger world serves to better represent and analyze the experiences and views of the participants. Moreover, the appreciation and interactions of cultural markers, be these material, spiritual, alimentary, symbolic, concrete or imaginary, are part of the establishment and maintenance of mutual relationships, of interconnections with similar persons. It should be noted however that the set of positionings are permeable and that the data could possibly have been characterised differently. This represents the fluidity of the data and processes of categorisation. Finally, this is a working analysis of the concept and data sets, subject to amelioration as need be.

A second point of reflection on the concept itself notes its *fluidity* and *variability*. Obviously, the travels of students and youth are not the same as the migration of people from many countries, from city to city, especially with negative experiences bringing people to migrate in the hope of a better life elsewhere. Philosophers, political scientists and sociologists among many other scholars have considered the concept of cosmopolitanism according to their disciplinary lens and educated views. Given this
diversity of opinion, it is probably wise to consider the analysis herein as exploratory, even uncertain like much in life.

A third point of reflection notes the concept’s productivity, as the results of the analysis clearly demonstrate with its voyages towards the Stranger, its experiences with the Other, the fact of living as minority and as migrant, is provocative and allows for a profound reconsideration of theoretical frameworks. It is possible to recognize here, that a more refined comprehension of what might be termed ‘the art of living in multiplicity’ is permissible for two types of participants, those who reside in a minority context and those who migrate to new contexts. Moreover, it allows new perspectives on the recognition of (1) the importance of a socialisation to place, be it scholarly or communal or parental; (2) the necessity of a critical cosmopolitanism towards traditions and customs, one’s own and those of others, raising the possibility of the relative nature of choices for a subsequent life. Given the actual context of an economic recession situated within the excesses of the capitalist financial system, it is important to consider the world-wide uncertainty, highly interdependent states and the necessity of collaborative horizontal governance at all levels. From this globalized perspective, it is important to weave new universal motifs with local worries and issues, finely etched as detailed human experiences, needs and hopes.

With this refinement, a fourth reflection concerns the viability of the concept, ‘integration’, which is bounded by the nation-state in current thought, research analysis, policy and folk talk. However what this analysis has shown, however preliminary, is that cosmopolitan subjectivities are closer to the realities of migrants and minorities’ lives than the imaginary average Canadian who drives policy decisions and hence current thinking, research analysis and folk talk about integration. Moreover, the distinctions between ‘anglophone’ and ‘francophone’ are irréalistes, given the linguistic, socio-foundational, cultural multiplicity of the participants, as well as new understandings of transnational constellations which rests upon and are repositioned as the ‘saviour’ in the current flow of possibilities. The application of this concept, however variable, is not limited to intercultural activity but is truly a valuable social approach to citizenship.

Given its interdisciplinary nature, conceptualising cosmopolitan subjectivities rests upon complex understandings of equal moral standings and of civic and political commitments to all humans of the world. It goes well beyond the boundaries and bondages of the nation-state, thus providing superior sophisticated understandings of the era’s key question: How shall we live together? Thus, the current limited understanding of ‘integration’ as a one-way national and provincial responsibility is unlocked and has itself the potential to unlock major issues.
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