What Does it Mean to be a Montrealer? Multiculturalism, Cosmopolitanism and Exclusion Identity from the Perspective of Montreal's Ethnocultural and Linguistic Minorities

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Abstract

This thesis explores the meaning of the Montreal identity from the perspective of Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities. Generally speaking, it is commonplace for authors in the academic literature on Montreal to describe the city and its identity in terms of its multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities. While this forms part of what it means to be a Montrealer, this is not the only significance that this project accounts for. In examining the opinion sections of the Montreal Gazette from the period of September 4th, 2012 to the period of April 7th, 2014 −a period that coincides with the Parti québécois' eighteen months in power under the leadership of Pauline Marois− this thesis reveals that the meaning of the Montreal identity is tied to both the aforementioned multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities, as well as a sentiment of exclusion rooted in an ethnic interpretation of the Québec nation. Accordingly, this research also shows how these aspects of Montrealness contribute to the building of a Montreal identity that is meant to be distinct and even opposed to Québec identity.

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General Introduction

Founded in 1642, the city of Montreal is not only the world's third largest francophone city after Paris and Kinshasa, but it is also "one of [its] very few genuinely bilingual major cities."[1] In the Canadian context, Montreal is the only major metropolitan centre that functions "[predominantly] in a language other than English", that is to say, in French.[2] It is also the city in Canada where knowledge of both official languages is at its highest[3] – this of course being owed to the historical rootedness of its two most influential linguistic communities, the English and the French. On an economic level, Montreal was once considered the country's "preeminent industrial metropolis", holding roughly 70 percent of Canada's wealth by the turn of the twentieth century.[4] Having gradually lost this prestigious status (mainly to the city of Toronto) from the mid-twentieth century onwards,[5] Montreal nowadays is regarded as Québec's *métropole*, serving as "the provider of business, communications and public services for the rest of [the province]."[6] At one time a world class city, Montreal's shift to a regional metropolis in the province of Québec has left many of its inhabitants with a sense of nostalgia for a once prosperous and prestigious past.

On a political level, the city of Montreal is constantly at the nexus of debates regarding language and identity, which in Québec often go hand-in-hand. According to Daniel A. Bell, the city "has been the centre of conflicts over language" ever since Jacques Cartier discovered it in 1535– that is to say, even before it was even known as Montreal.[7] Indeed, the controversial position held by

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[1] Annick Germain and Damaris Rose, *Montréal: The Quest for a Metropolis,* London: John Wiley & Sons Ltd, 2000, 9-10.
[2] Patricia Lamarre, "Catching 'Montreal on the Move' and Challenging the Discourse of Unilingualism in Québec", *Anthropologica,* 55:1 (2013): 42.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Marc V. Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, 3.
[5] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal,* 21.
[6] Germain and Rose, *The Quest for a Metropolis,* 2.
[7] Daniel A. Bell, "The City of Language(s), " in *The Spirit of Cities,* ed. Daniel A. Bell and Avner de-Shalit, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011, 56.

the city with regards to these aforementioned issues is largely a function of its unique demographic and cultural dynamics in the province of Québec. Montreal is not only home to a disproportionate number of anglophones, allophones and immigrant populations, but also represents the region in the province where bilingualism and hybrid and pluralistic identities are most prevalent.[8] Consequently, many Québec nationalists have come to view Montreal as the place in Québec where the French language and culture are most threatened.[9]

Beyond the Greater Montreal area, Québec is roughly 95 percent francophone.[10] This has led some to declare that there exists "two Québecs in one: a cosmopolitan centre and a group of homogeneous regions making up the rest of the province."[11] In addition to this "two-Québecs-in-one" thesis, the cultural and linguistic uniformity of Québec beyond Montreal's borders has also meant that the French language and culture have been relatively secure in those regions.[12] Due to this stability, the rest of Québec has been accorded less attention with regards to issues of language and identity. Instead, nationalists crosshairs have been consistently set on the city of Montreal, with the aim of giving it "an exclusively francophone character (*un visage linguistique francophone*) that stands at the heart of the Québécois concern for promoting its distinct culture."[13] In particular, this fixation on the city with regards to language and identity stems from a belief that it is through Montreal, not Québec, that the future of the French language and culture in North America will be determined.[14]

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[8] Germain and Rose, *The Quest for a Metropolis,* 241, 252-253.
[9] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal,* 3.
[10] Germain and Rose, *The Quest for a Metropolis,* 10.
[11] Annick Germain, "The Montreal School: Urban Social Mix in a Reflexive City," *Anthropologica,* 55:1 (2013): 32
[12] Germain and Rose, *The Quest for a Metropolis,* 10.
[13] Brian Walker, "Plural Cultures, Contested Territories: A Critique of Kymlicka," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 30:2 (1997): 226.
[14] Bell, "The City of Language(s)," 62.

Given the importance of Montreal's place in the nationalist project, one would expect to see greater consideration being given to the growing sense of Montrealness that Jocelyn Létourneau argues is currently developing in the city.[15] However, aside from its presence in novels and poetry, the idea of a Montreal identity is seldom discussed in the academic literature on Québec society. The infrequency of its appearance is all the more conspicuous when we take into account that certain understandings of its identity (namely, that which this thesis intends on exploring) are potentially in tension with recent nationalists aims of promoting a common public culture oriented around the French language and Québec culture.[16] As we shall see in chapter 1, there is a tendency for ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area to understand their sense of Montrealness as distinct from the larger Québécois identity. As such, it is possible that the aforementioned nationalist goals will be met with resistance by those who define themselves as Montrealers in this way. Similarly, there is also the possibility that this understanding of the Montreal identity will be difficult to reconcile with the more contemporary aspects of the nationalist project. Moreover, as Létourneau points out in "Postnationalisme? Rouvrir la question du Québec", resistance may also be expressed by those concerned with the protection of the already fragile and vulnerable Québécois culture. As he suggests, those preoccupied with ensuring the continuation of the French fact in Québec may be opposed to the growing sense of Montrealness occurring in the city, as it may come to represent a threat to *la culture québécoise*.[17] In light of these considerations, studying the Montreal identity as understood by ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area proves to be a fruitful and relevant venture that not only allow us to approach

[15] Jocelyn Létourneau, "Postnationalisme? Rouvrir la question du Québec," in *Le Québec entre son passé et ses passages*, Montréal: Fides, 2010, 218.
[16] Micheline Labelle, "The 'Language of Race,' Identity Options, and 'Belonging' in the Québec context," in *Social Inequalities in Comparative Perspectives,* ed. Fiona Devine and Mary C. Waters, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, 43.
[17] Létourneau, "Postnationalisme?," 221.

current questions and debates about Québec society in a new light, but which may also open up new ones as well.

As for the particular focus of this research, my thesis aims to answer the following question: What is the meaning of the Montreal identity as understood by Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities? My hypothesis states that the Montreal identity has a two-fold meaning: (1) it is intimately tied to a sentiment of exclusion, that is to say, minorities have come to understand their sense of Montrealness in response to what they perceive as an exclusive form of Québec nationalism that restricts the notion of Québécois to francophones of French-Canadian descent; (2) it entails sharing in and taking pride in the city's multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities which contributes to the building of an alternative (and more inclusive) identity that is distinct from and even opposed to Québec identity. This hypothesis is tested by examining the opinion sections of the Montreal Gazette from September 4th, 2012 to April 7th, 2014, a period that coincides with the eighteen-months in which the Parti québécois held governmental power under the leadership of Pauline Marois. As will be explained in more detail in chapter 1, I interpret the meaning of the Montreal identity using a theoretical framework that conceives of identity as being constituted by a dialectical relationship between our relations with others and the stories we construct to give those relations meaning.

In regards to the unfolding of the research, it proceeds as follows. Chapter 1 explores the academic literature on the Montreal identity, which focuses primarily on the city's ethnocultural diversity. I proceed by examining an aspect of this identity that I believe is seldom discussed in a substantial manner, namely, Montreal's distinctness from the rest of Québec. From this examination, I foray into a formulation and presentation of my project's research question and hypothesis. This is then followed by an in-depth discussion of the above-mentioned theoretical framework. Subsequent

to this, I move into a detailed presentation of my methodology. Here, I will discuss the motivation behind the aforementioned period of study, as well as my choice of materials (i.e., the opinion section of the Montreal Gazette). This is followed by an in-depth analysis of my methodological approach, Gadamerian hermeneutics. More specifically, I will explain how Hans-Georg Gadamer's philosophy of interpretation will guide my reading of the Gazette's opinion pages.

Chapter 2 is devoted entirely to the topic of Québécois nationalism and the manner in which it has grown more inclusive over the past five decades. Given that the meaning of the Montreal identity is intimately bound with the relationship that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities have with the rest of the province and the Québec identity, an in-depth analysis of the development of nationalism in Québec is required in order to better understand the significance of this relationship. That said, the chapter begins with an examination of Québec nationalism's roots in an ethnically-defined French-Canadian nationalism. From here, I move into a discussion of how societal changes in Québec during the 1950s influenced a new generation of nationalists to question the central tenants of French-Canadian nationalism. Naturally, this brings us to a discussion of the Quiet Revolution and the profound effects it had on Québec society during the 1960s–particularly the move from a French-Canadian identity to a Québécois identity. Following this, I explore the manner in which the boundaries of the Québec nation progressively expanded during the 1970s and 1980s, as well as the various developments in Québec and Canadian society that led to that expansion. Subsequently, I examine the rise in popularity of civic nationalism during the 1990s and the shift towards the idea of Québec citizenship in the post-1995 period and early 2000s. The chapter continues with a presentation of various obstacles and debates that have occurred more recently in public and academic discourse. With respect to the latter, I discuss the rise of neoconservative nationalism and its issue with modernity and civic conceptions of the nation. Finally, the chapter

concludes by re-emphasizing the progressive development towards an inclusive concept of the Québec nation, even in the face of the obstacles discussed in the sections prior.

Chapter 3 presents the results of my empirical research. It begins by re-stating my methodological approach and the period of study. I then discuss very general quantitative data regarding the total amount of opinion pieces read and the location from which they were written. This is then followed by a discussion about how the Greater Montreal area is defined, as I only examine the opinions of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in this area. Subsequently, I explain how each opinion piece is to be read and categorized. More specifically, I explain how each work is submitted to a series of three meta-questions that allow me to identify which pieces are relevant for analysis and interpretation. I proceed this discussion by analyzing the responses to the first meta-question: how do ethnocultural and linguistic minorities interpret Québec nationalism? The responses demonstrate that minorities generally view the Québec nation as being ethnically defined, that is to say, as incorporating exclusively francophones of French-Canadian descent. Subsequently, I examine the responses to the second meta-question: do members of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities feel excluded from Québec society? Here it is be shown that the minorities do in fact feel excluded from Québec society. Following this, I present the results of the third meta-question: what significance does the city of Montreal have for members of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities? Generally speaking, the responses demonstrate that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities have a strong affinity towards the city of Montreal that appears to come at the expense of an attachment to the rest of Québec. Finally, I conclude the chapter by analyzing the answers to each meta-question in conjunction with my theoretical framework so as to confirm the above-mentioned hypothesis, i.e., that the meaning of the Montreal identity is: (1) tied to a sentiment of exclusion and

(2) entails sharing in the city's multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities which contribute to the building of an alternative identity that is opposed to Québec identity.

Chapter 1 − Conceptions of Montrealness and Research Foundations

Introduction

It would be appropriate to describe the present chapter as logistical, as it lays much of the groundwork for the research to follow. It begins with a review of the academic literature on the Montreal identity which, generally speaking, focuses on the city's multicultural character, its ability to find unity in diversity, the phenomena of hybridity and cultural mixing, and the ease with which its inhabitants are able to converse in multiple languages. Subsequent to this review, I examine an aspect of this identity that is often alluded to, but seldom substantiated: Montreal's distinctness from the rest of Québec. In exploring the few articles and texts that consider this overlooked facet of the Montreal identity, I arrive at a discussion of exclusion as it relates to ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area. More specifically, I show that it is not uncommon for these minority groups to feel excluded from Québec society, and to therefore not identify as Québécois. In taking this sentiment into consideration − along with the literature review on the Montreal identity − I then formulate my thesis' central research question and hypothesis. This formulation is followed by a discussion of my theoretical framework, which I will use to analyze the results of my empirical research. Finally, the chapter is concluded with a presentation of my methodology, where I outline the materials I will use to test my hypothesis (the opinion section of the Montreal Gazette), the period of study (September 4th, 2012 to April 7th, 2014), and lastly, my methodological approach (Gadamerian hermeneutics).

1.1 The Montreal Identity as Cosmopolitan and Multicultural

Multicultural, multilingual, ethnically diverse, and cosmopolitan, these are among the terms authors most frequently use when describing the city of Montreal. For instance, it is not uncommon for readers to come across statements similar to Pierre Anctil's characterization of the city as "la région métropolitaine [...] la plus diversifiée culturellement et la plus polyglotte du continent" or Daniel A. Bell's description of Québec's metropolitan centre as a "multicultural whole greater than the sum of its parts."[18] For other authors, these attributes have even come to define what it means to be a Montrealer. This is precisely the significance Sherry Simon ascribes to the contemporary Montrealer in *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City,* a book whose subject matter deals entirely with the shifting meanings and relations of the city's culture and identity. Simon devotes much attention to works of translation and literature, arguing that they hold the capacity to reveal and influence the changes that occur in a city or culture's self-understanding.[19] In examining the texts of Montreal's literary circles, Simon shows how the meaning of the contemporary Montreal subject has grown out of its traditional two-solitude image of the 1960s and 1970s – that is, when the city's cultural and political identity reflected the division and tensions between its two historic communities, the English and the French – and into a multicultural and cosmopolitan self-understanding.[20]

Not only was such a shift towards cultural plurality more and more visible as of the 1980s, but as is pointed about by Simon and Jean-Louis Roy, it also became a common theme for a number of the city's novelists, journalists and poets such as Gabrielle Roy, Emile Ollivier and Régine

[18] Pierre Anctil, "Double majorité et multiplicité et ethnoculturelle à Montréal," *Recherches sociographiques* 25:3 (1984): 441; Bell, "The City of Language(s)," 73.
[19] Sherry Simon, *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City,* Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006, 11.
[20] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 6-9, 164.

Robin.[21] These writers were increasingly drawn towards Montreal's growing cultural diversity, so much so that they viewed it as constituting the "primary locus of identification" for the city's inhabitants.[22] While these literary authors converged with respect to what they believed constituted Montreal's distinctive traits, they did not all agree on the future implications of the city's multiplicity. For some of them, Montreal's polyglot character became a source of anxiety. They feared that its heterogeneity and excessive cosmopolitanism might initiate chaos, disorder and miscommunication.[23] For others, however, this diversity was not to be feared, but celebrated as a distinguishing characteristic of the city and a feature to take pride in. Indeed, cosmopolitanism and difference came to be seen as a source of unity for its inhabitants, where one's sense of belonging could be determined by his or her participation in a "city composed of various communities."[24]

Although diversity is an attribute common to most global cities, there are a few ways in which Montreal distinguishes itself from other cities characterized by cultural plurality. Firstly, Montreal's multiplicity results in neither conflict and violence, nor a partitioning of its politico-territorial space.[25] Instead, Montrealers celebrate the city's diversity;[26] their attachment to the city is rooted in the fact that it is a place where you "can meet all of humanity," and "where populations [can] mingle on the street and yet lead culturally separate lives."[27] Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic diversity is neither diluted nor annihilated by the threat of monolingualism.[28] The fact that Montreal is home to two dominant linguistic groups often in competition with one another has allowed for the city's ethnocultural groups to retain their cultural

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[21] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 164-165; Jean-Louis Roy, *Montréal: ville nouvelle, ville plurielle,* Montréal: HMH, 2005, 54-56.
[22] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 168,180.
[23] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 16, 166-167
[24] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 176.
[25] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 19-21.
[26] Jean-Louis Roy, *Montréal: ville nouvelle*, *ville plurielle*, 208; Martha Radice, *Feeling Comfortable? The Urban Experience of Anglophone Montrealers,* Québec : Presses de l'Université Laval, 2000, 96-97, 104-105.
[27] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 22, 175.
[28] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 19.

particularities,[29] a phenomenon that for both Claire McNicoll and Jean-Louis Roy is at the root of Montreal's multicultural character and identity.[30] As Roy explains, it is the presence of various cultures from around the globe that nourishes the city's creative tensions, shapes its specificity and constitutes its unique identity.[31]

In addition to shaping its specificity, the city's multiplicity is also the driving force behind one the most distinctive features of the Montreal identity: its paradoxical character.[32] For Simon, the Montreal identity is considered to be paradoxical because it emerges out of conditions that are potentially destabilizing, claiming that the forces that bring Montrealers together are "the very [same] forces that can tear it apart."[33] Simply put, Montrealers are united and proud of the fact that they belong to a city inhabited and shaped by a multitude of ethnocultural communities. They are able to find harmony and live comfortably in their heterogeneity even though this heterogeneity brings about dynamics which could break that unity down.[34]

Also emerging out of this ethnocultural diversity are two additional distinguishing characteristics of the city's identity: cultural hybridity and mixed identities. According to Simon, though Montreal's landscape is spatially divided along linguistic and cultural lines, it nonetheless contains several "contact zones" in which its diverse populations are able to interact and communicate with one another.[35] Occurring in this interaction are the exchange and transfer of cultural references, languages and meanings which bring about new forms of citizenship and cultural

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[29] Anctil, "Double majorité et multiplicité et ethnoculturelle à Montréal," 449-450.
[30] Claire McNicoll, *Montreal: une société multiculturelle,* Paris: Belin, 1993, 284; Roy, *Montréal: ville nouvelle, ville plurielle,* 32-33.
[31] Roy, *Montréal: ville nouvelle,* ville plurielle, 33.
[32] It is important to note that Simon is not as explicit about the city's paradoxical character as this paragraph suggests. Her argument regarding this attribute is much more subtle. However, it is clear that this trait applies to the Montreal identity based on her exegesis of various poets and writers. For more on this aspect of the Montreal identity see *Translating Montreal*, 165-173.
[33] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 169.
[34] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 167-168; Roy, *Montréal: ville nouvelle, ville plurielle*, 18, 51.
[35] Examples of such contact zones include Mount Royal and the Mile End district. For more on this see Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 8.

mixing that do not necessarily entail the complete dissolution of one's originating culture.[36] One example of this mixing that authors continuously refer to is the intrusion or use of the "Other's" language in one's own texts and conversations, a phenomenon that Patricia Lamarre *et al.* and Sherry Simon refer to as "code-switching".[37] For instance, it is not uncommon for francophone poets and writers to use English words in a work written primarily in French, nor is it unusual for individuals on the street to begin a conversation in one language and finish it in another.[38] For Lamarre *et al*. as well as Germain and Rose, the phenomenon of code-switching is a natural occurrence in a city home to various languages and ethnocultural communities and is one of the primary outcomes of cultural hybridity.[39]

Echoing this phenomenon of hybridity and cultural mixing is Jocelyn Létourneau, who unlike Simon, arrives at this aspect of the Montreal identity by comparing the city's character to the rest of Québec.[40] What distinguishes Montreal from the rest of the province, according to Létourneau, is the intensity of its intercultural dynamics and passages of identities, which for him, are a direct product of the cohabitation and constant interaction between Montreal's anglophone, allophone and francophone populations that have occurred over the years.[41] As he explains, these passages can best be characterized by the phenomenon of inter-referentiality, which he describes as a process whereby communities share, exchange, transfer and appropriate each other's cultural experiences without the

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[36] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 89.
[37] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 8-10, 13-14; Patricia Lamarre *et al*., "Multilingual Montreal: Listening in on the Language Practices of Young Montrealers," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34:3 (2002): 53-54.
[38] Simon, *Translating Montreal,* 10, 122, 130; Martha Radice, "Thematic Section Montréalology: An Introduction," *Anthropologica* 55:1(2013): 18.
[39] Lamarre *et al*., "Multilingual Montreal," 53-54; Germain and Rose, *The Quest for a Metropolis,* 247.
[40] Like Létourneau, Brian Walker also makes mention of the production of mixed identities being a defining feature of the city's culture. However, he does not substantiate the meaning of this hybridity in the way Létourneau does. Walker merely explains that the coexistence between diverse populations has resulted in "mixed cultures rich with tensions." For more on Walker's understanding of this aspect of the Montreal identity and culture, see Walker, "Plural Cultures, Contested Territories," 226.
[41] Létourneau, "Postnationalisme?," 217.

regression or dilution of their culture's own originality.[42] For Létourneau, it is this mixing of cultures, languages and references that contributes to the growing sense of Montrealness (*la montréalité*) currently developing in the city,[43] a term that he uses to characterize the growing distinctness of Montreal's identity *vis-à-vis* the rest of Québec.[44]

Létourneau also echoes Simon with respect to the paradoxical character of Montreal's identity, although he is slightly more nuanced in his understanding of it. As was shown above, for Simon, the Montreal identity can be described as paradoxical because it somehow finds a peaceful equilibrium in potentially destabilizing conditions. For Létourneau, on the other hand, the paradoxical character of Montreal's identity is not just a matter of finding unity in diversity, but is explained by the fact that there is no inherent contradiction in affirming one's belonging to *la culture montréalaise* while at the same time affirming oneself as Italian, Irish, Jewish, French-Canadian, Québécois *etc*.[45] Instead, the convergence towards and the structuring of a sense of Montrealness (*montréalité*) emerges out of the affirmation of one's cultural particularity.[46] Thus, for Létourneau, the identity of Montreal is not homogenizing, but one that is achieved through "referential diversity (*diversité référentielle*)".[47]

One feature of the Montreal identity often alluded to but seldom substantiated in the academic literature is its distinctness from the larger Québécois identity. For instance, it is an aspect of the city's identity that is not at all discussed in the works of Sherry Simon and Jean-Louis Roy. When authors do broach the subject of Montreal's distinctness, they not only barely scratch the surface in interpretating its significance, but they also tend to overlook the various ways in which

[42] Létourneau, "Postnationalisme?," 218.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Jocelyn Létourneau, "Reposer la question du Québec," *Policy Option* (2003): 45-46.
[45] Létourneau, "Postnationalisme?," 218.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Létourneau, "Postnationalisme?," 220

this distinctness could be understood. For example, Létourneau explains that Montreal is distinct from the rest of Québec only because the cultural processes at work on the island are much different from those occurring beyond the city's borders, which in turn, gives the city a cultural flair altogether different from and absent in the rest of the province.[48] Pierre Anctil and Brian Walker envision the identity of Montreal in relation to Québec in a manner similar to Létourneau, arguing that it is the cohabitation of allophones, anglophones and francophones that gives Montreal a vibrant personality not present in the rest of Québec − the latter being more or less homogenously francophone according to Walker.[49] However, in my view, when authors understand the distinction between the Montreal identity and the Québec identity in this manner, they reduce the distinction between Montreal and Québec as a distinction in character as opposed to one in meaning. What is neglected in Walker's account and what is altogether unclear in the works of Létourneau and Anctil is whether or not being distinct from Québec constitutes part of what it *means* to be a Montrealer. Put differently, we may ask whether or not, in addition to its multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities, the meaning of this subjectivity may also involve a distancing or disassociation from the Québec identity. This is precisely what Micheline Labelle and Daniel Salée allude to in their article "Immigrant and Minority Representations of Citizenship in Québec".

In 1996 and 1997, Labelle and Salée conducted a series of interviews with community activists from diverse ethnic and racialized minorities in Montreal.[50] Included among the study's various aims was to determine whether or not these individuals would more readily identify themselves as Québécois or Canadian. When reviewing the results regarding this particular question,

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[48] Létourneau, "Postnationalisme?," 217.
[49] Anctil, "Double majorité et multiplicité et ethnoculturelle à Montréal," 453; Walker, "Plural Cultures, Contested Territories," 226-227.
[50] Micheline Labelle and Daniel Salée, "Immigrant and Minority Representations of Citizenship in Québec," in *Citizenship Today: Global Perspectives and Practices*, ed. Thomas Alexander Aleinikoff and Douglas B. Klusmeyer, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution, 2001, 312.

Labelle and Salée noted that some of their participants preferred not to side with either of these two options, choosing to refer to themselves as Montrealers instead.[51] In the authors' view, what these responses pointed out was "the emergence of a new political identity associated with Montreal's cosmopolitanism and constitutive heterogeneity."[52] What is interesting to note in the context of our discussion is not the uncovering of a new political subjectivity *per se*, but the way in which this subjectivity takes its shape, that is, the way it is understood by those who identify themselves as Montrealers. It is not so much that the participants choose to identify themselves with this identity-marker in a way opposed to or contrasted with the Canadian identity, but rather that they do so as a way to distance themselves from the Québécois identity. As one respondent explains, defining oneself as a Montrealer is a way "to demarcate [oneself] from the rest of the province," believing that Montreal "has a distinct character *vis-à-vis* the rest of Québec."[53] Furthermore, Labelle and Salée expand upon the meaning of this new identity by emphasizing that it is to be understood as contrasting with what they describe as the "narrow provincialism associated with the sovereigntist vote and the rest of Québec outside of Montreal."[54] Thus, what is suggested in these passages is that for some of the city's inhabitants, an important part of this identity's meaning consists in its distinction from the identity of the rest of Québec.[55]

This aspect of the Montreal identity alluded to in Labelle and Salée's study overlaps closely with comments made by Barbara Kay, former board member and contributor to the magazine *Cité libre* and current columnist for the *National Post*. In April of 2013, Kay made the following remarks

[51] Labelle and Salée, "Immigrant and Minority Representations of Citizenship in Québec," 297.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55] A similar conception of the Montreal identity is suggested in passing by Martha Radice in a field study with Anglophone Montrealers. Radice points out that on an identification level, her interviewees had almost no affiliation with the rest of the province and speculates that their sense of Montrealness was partly rooted in their non-identification with the rest of Québec. For more on this see Radice, *Feeling Comfortable?,* 91-92.

on the very popular *Radio-Canada* TV show *Tout le Monde en Parle*: "I [do] not identify myself as a '*québécoise*,' but as a Canadian and a '*montréalaise*' [... and] that Montreal [is] a distinct society within Québec just as Québec [is] a distinct, bilingual society within Canada."[56] What is significant about these comments is not the idea of whether Montreal constitutes a distinct society, but the way in which Kay contrasts her understanding of the Montreal identity with the Québécois identity. Similar to the responses in Labelle and Salée's study, what Kay suggests here is a conception of the Montreal identity in which being distinct from the rest of Québec constitutes an important part of its meaning. In other words, it points towards an understanding of the Montreal subject that defines itself at the expense of the Québec identity.

1.2 Montreal and Exclusion

The aforementioned remarks made by Kay regarding her non-identification with the rest of Québec can offer a clue to help better understand the meaning of the Montreal identity, as it is a sentiment frequently echoed in the academic literature on Québec identity. For example, it is quite apparent in the statement provided by an anglophone Montrealer quoted in Létourneau's "Langue et identité aujourd'hui au Québec" who claims: "I'm not French, so I'm not quite a true Québécois."[57] This sentiment is also evident in some of the remarks made by community leaders of Montreal minority groups interviewed by Labelle and Salée: "I used to [identify as] *Québécois*, but I wouldn't say that now because I've gotten the message that the Québécois do not perceive me as Québécois."[58] What is peculiar about both of these statements, as well as others similar to them, is that they often

[56] Barbra Kay provides an account of this appearance in a 2013 National Post column "Touting my 'charming' English accent on Québec's French-language TV," *National Post,* September 4, 2013, http://fullcomment.nationalpost.com/2013/04/10/barbara-kay-touting-my-charming-english-accent-on-Québecs-french-language-tv/, accessed September 18, 2013.
[57] Jocelyn Létourneau, "Langue et identité au Québec aujourd'hui. Enjeux, défis, possibilités," *Globe : Revue internationale d'études québécoises* 5:2 (2002): 101.
[58] Labelle and Salée, "Immigrant and Minority Representations of Citizenship in Québec," 295.

make reference to a narrow conception of the Québec subject as being one of the primary reasons for not identifying as a Quebecker. In doing so, they suggest that a sentiment of exclusion is at the root of their non-identification with Québec society.

Equally interesting, this sentiment of exclusion appears to be an experience commonly felt amongst ethnocultural and language minorities living in Montreal – a phenomenon likely related to the fact that an overwhelming majority of Québec's immigrant and anglophone minority populations are concentrated in the Montreal region.[59] For instance, when investigating how Montreal's young minorities believe they are perceived by the larger Québécois majority, Moghaddam *et al.* found that the common response among these youths was that "they are perceived by [French Quebeckers] as outsiders, and as 'belonging' less than they themselves believe they belong in Québec."[60] Similarly, Sylvie Fortin's interviews with French migrants living in Montreal also indicated a general feeling of unwantedness, a sentiment which is again rooted in a belief that Quebeckers of non-French Canadian descent can never be "true" Quebeckers.[61]

In Daniel Salée's view, this sentiment of exclusion experienced by the province's linguistic and ethnocultural minorities is "hardly surprising", more so, when one considers that minorities in Québec are often invited to *partake in* the Québécois nation, but are not invited to be a *part of* it.[62] Although Salée does not elaborate on what he means by this claim, his message is quite clear: despite the more recent efforts of Québec sovereigntists to construct a more inclusive conception of Québec society, there remains a sense in which full participation in that society is reserved for

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[59] Germain and Rose, *The Quest for a Metropolis,* 236; Leigh Oakes and Jane Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity in Québec*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 134.
[60] Fathali M. Moghaddam *et al*,. "The Warped Looking Glass: How Minorities Perceive Themselves, Believe They are Perceived, and are Actually Perceived by Majority Group Members in Québec, Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 26:2 (1994): *117.*
[61] Sylvie Fortin, "Citoyennetés et appartenances en situation de migration," *Les Cahiers du Gres,* 2:1 (2001): 76-77.
[62] Daniel Salée, "Québec Sovereignty and the Challenges of Linguistic and Ethnocultural Minorities: Identity, Difference and Politics of Ressentiment," in *Contemporary Québec: Selected Readings,* ed. Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011, 475.

francophone Quebeckers of French-Canadian descent. What makes matters worse, for Salée, is that the provincial government has done little to dispel the view that Québec minorities "figure only incidentally in the image sovereigntists have of Québec."[63] In fact, he contends that certain aspects of governmental discourse continue to reflect an ethnically-driven conception of Québec nationalism geared specifically towards "the political emancipation and socioeconomic promotion" of Quebeckers of French-Canadian heritage.[64] In such circumstances, Salée believes that it is entirely legitimate for anglophones and allophones not only to hesitate in identifying with a Québec identity, but also to feel as though they are "strangers in their own house."[65]

Indeed, this minority experience of exclusion suggested by Salée can be traced back to the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. It was a moment in Québec's history that brought about significant changes in all matters of public life, most notably with the creation of a bureaucratic and secularized state that took control over matters of social policy previously held by the Catholic Church.[66] It also saw the emergence of a new and more assertive territorial-based nationalism that no longer viewed the francophone community of Québec as a French-Canadian minority seeking to establish equal rights alongside the English, but as a Québécois cultural and linguistic majority.[67] Ultimately, the rise of this "neo-nationalism" would result in significant changes in majority-minority relations in Québec, beginning with the challenging of the English language in Montreal, as well as the anglophone community's economic and political power.[68]

Prior to the 1960s, Québec anglophones were a secure and autonomous minority who enjoyed a significant set of political privileges as a result of their dominance of the Québec and

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[63] Salée, "Identity, Difference and Politics of Ressentiment," 474.
[64] Salée, "Identity, Difference and Politics of Ressentiment," 474-475.
[65] Salée, "Identity, Difference and Politics of Ressentiment," 475.
[66] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal* , 46-47.
[67] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal*, 48.
[68] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal*, 43-44.

Canadian economy.[69] For almost two centuries after the conquest of New France, this economic power allowed English Montrealers not only to ignore both the French-speaking majority and provincial government, but it also allowed them to lead an English only existence in Québec.[70] As Levine explains, despite the fact that Montreal had been home to a significant francophone majority since the 1860s, Montreal anglophones "could work exclusively in English, live in generally homogeneous English-speaking neighborhoods [...] and enjoy a full range of English language social services and health care facilities."[71] In essence, English-speaking Montrealers lived comfortably as a minority since they could go about their daily lives without "ever imagining that [they] lived in a place where the majority of the population was francophone."[72]

With growing disappointment over their socioeconomic and political inferiority, a new francophone middle-class in the 1960s would begin to challenge the status of the English language in Montreal as well as the economic and political power enjoyed by the English-speaking minority.[73] Ultimately, the Quiet Revolution would see the political mobilization of the francophone majority, now defined as Québécois, who gradually "prised" away control of the state from the anglophone minority.[74] This "reconquest" of Montreal from the anglophone community was a significant moment in Québec history as it "began to make real the minority status of a minority population."[75] In other words, with the loss of their political privileges, English-speaking Quebeckers would for the first time *feel like* a cultural minority as they began to experience anxiety and insecurity over the future status of their community.[76]

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[69] Garth Stevenson, "English Speaking Québec: A Political History," in *Québec: State and Society*, third edition, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004, 331-332.
[70] Stevenson, "English Speaking Québec," 332.
[71] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal,* 16
[72] Radice, *Feeling Comfortable?,* 32.
[73] Labelle, "The 'Language of Race'," 42.
[74] Radice, *Feeling Comfortable?,* 32.
[75] *Ibid.*
[76] Stevenson, "English Speaking Québec," 336.

As the 1960s progressed, this English-speaking community no longer saw itself as linked to the larger Canadian anglophone majority, but as a minority in need of protection.[77] With the rise of a new Québécois-based nationalism during the 1960s and a government whose policies during the 1970s openly encouraged the expansion of the French-speaking majority, anglophones began to fear being swallowed up by what they viewed as an ethnically-defined Québécois nation, one that would "exclude all those whose ancestry was not French."[78] In short, it is in this context of political and social change−namely, with the emergence of an assertive neo-nationalism during the 1960s that viewed the francophone community as a Québécois cultural and linguistic majority − that the minority experience of exclusion in Québec can be said to have emerged.

Although the preceding comments provide a contextual understanding of the changes that occurred in Québec's majority-minority relations, it is important to note that the primary focus of this work is not to construct a history or a genealogy of the Montreal identity. Rather, this thesis seeks to better understand the meaning of a particular conception of the Montreal subject, one that defines itself in terms of its multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities *as well as* in contradistinction to what is perceived as an exclusive form of Québécois identity. As we saw in section 1.1, it is commonplace for authors to understand the Montreal identity with respect to the former qualities, and while it is certainly the case that this forms *part of* what it means to be a Montrealer, this is not the *only* significance that I seek to account for. Instead, I will study a conception of Montreal subjectivity that is seldom discussed in the academic literature on Montreal, namely, one that incorporates *both* a multicultural understanding and a dissociation from the rest of the province underpinned by a sentiment of exclusion. Accordingly, this entails that I am only examining the

[77] Garth Stevenson, *Community Besieged: The Anglophone Minority and the Politics of Québec,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999, 87.
[78] Reed Scowen, *A Different Vision: The English in Québec in the 1990s*, Don Mills: Maxwell MacMillan, 1991, 5; Stevenson, *Community Besieged*, 85, 87.

Montreal identity with respect to how certain members of Québec's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities understand its meaning, specifically those residing in the Greater Montreal area, as it is generally members of these minorities who identify as Montrealers in this manner. Simply put, this project aims at interpreting *their* understanding of the Montreal identity.

1.3 Research Question

In light of the preceding analysis and clarifications, this thesis aims to answer the following research question: *What is the meaning of the Montreal identity as understood by Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities?* In doing so, I hope to gain a better understanding of the way in which linguistic and ethnocultural minorities in the Montreal region have come to define their sense of Montrealness, particularly at the expense of the Québec identity. Moreover, I hope that answering this question will also provide us with greater insight into the way minorities perceive their relationship with the rest of Québec as well as their place within Québec society.

1.4 Hypothesis

Taking into account Sherry Simon and Jean-Louis Roy's understanding of the Montreal subject, as well as the conclusions reached in Moghaddam *et al* and Sylvie Fortin's empirical work regarding the inability of minorities to be fully recognized as "true" Quebeckers, I hypothesize that *from the perspective of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities, the meaning of Montreal identity is twofold: (1) it is intimately tied to a sentiment of exclusion, that is to say, minorities have come to understand their Montreal identity in response to what they perceive as an exclusive form of Québec nationalism, one which restricts the notion of Québécois to francophones of French-Canadian descent; (2) it entails sharing in and taking pride in the city's multicultural and cosmopolitan*

sensibilities which contribute to the building of an alternative (and more inclusive) identity that is distinct from and even opposed to Québec identity. Due to the multifacetedness of this hypothesis, it is perhaps useful to highlight and elaborate upon its key elements. The first significant component regards the groups of individuals that this thesis studies: ethnocultural and linguistic minorities. As has been suggested throughout the previous three sections, it is members of these minorities that not only feel excluded from the Québec nation, but that tend to define their sense of Montrealness in opposition to the Québec identity. It is primarily for this reason that this research aims to examine the meaning of the Montreal identity from their perspective. A second important aspect of this hypothesis involves Québec nationalism. Despite the fact that conceptions of Québec nationalism and the Québec subject have grown more inclusive and civic in nature since the Quiet Revolution,[79] there still remains a strong tendency for ethnocultural and linguistic minorities to interpret Québec nationalism as being ethnically-driven. This interpretation is of significance because it is intimately related to another key element of our hypothesis, the sentiment of exclusion. Along with the celebration of Montreal's pluralistic and multicultural character, this sentiment of exclusion−that is to say, a feeling of being left out of the Québec nation − forms a foundational component in the building of a sense of Montrealness that defines itself at the expense of the Québec identity. As such, it constitutes a vital aspect in our research and analysis moving forward.

It is also important to note that identifying oneself as a Montrealer is not something exclusively accessible to members of Québec's linguistic and ethnocultural minorities. Francophone Quebeckers of French-Canadian descent may also self-identify as Montrealers, but it is likely that they understand their belonging in a different way. As Charles Taylor's notion of "deep diversity", as well as James Booth's notion of "multiple remembrances" suggest, there exists multiple ways of

[79] The move from an ethnic-based nationalism towards a more civic-based conception of the nation will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2.

belonging to a particular cultural community or nation, and therefore, any given community can take on different meanings for different members.[80] Accordingly, though the Montreal identity may have a particular meaning for members of Québec's linguistic and ethnocultural minorities, this does not preclude there being other aspects of this subjectivity they can share with francophones of French-Canadian descent.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Like Charles Taylor, Iris Young and James Tully I view identity as being constituted dialogically, that is, through our relations with others. Those espousing such a conception of subjecthood often pit themselves against monological or atomistic accounts of identity. According to Iris Young, atomists conceive of the individual as being "ontologically prior to the social," and as a result, view the self as "autonomous, unified, free, and self-made, standing apart from history and affiliations, choosing its life plan entirely for itself."[81] In other words, atomist accounts understand identity as emerging out of the independently willed choices of individuals, or as Taylor puts it, as being inwardly generated.[82] However, as Taylor explains quite bluntly in "The Politics of Recognition", there is "no such thing as inward generation."[83] In his view, the idea that identities are chosen autonomously by individuals is a misconception that fails "to take into account a crucial feature of the human condition," namely, that it has a fundamentally dialogical character.[84] According to Taylor, our ability to understand ourselves and assert our identities is contingent upon

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[80] Charles Taylor, "Shared and Divergent Values," in *Reconciling the Solitudes,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993, 182-183; James W. Booth, *Communities of Memory: On Witness, Identity, and Justice,* Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2006, 34-35.
[81] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, (1990) 2011, 45.
[82] Ibid; Charles Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," in *Multiculturalism and The Politics of Recognition*, ed. Amy Gutman, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, 32.
[83] Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," 32.
[84] Ibid.

the acquisition of what he calls "language in the broad sense", which, for him, covers all forms of expression, including those beyond the spoken word, such as art, love and gestures.[85] For Taylor, what is peculiar about language is that it is necessarily dialogical, it is a capacity that can only be acquired in our relations with other persons.[86] As he points out, individuals do not and cannot acquire the language necessary for self-identification in a vacuum, they can only do so insofar as they interact with others in the world around them.[87] It is precisely this necessary condition of language, along with the way in which individuals acquire it, that prompt Taylor to affirm that "we define our identities always in dialogue with, [and] sometimes in struggle against [others]."[88]

Arguing that the self is "always contextualized in concrete relations with other persons", Iris Young also maintains that identity is a dialogical process.[89] This view stems from Young's conception of the individual as "always-already" having been constituted by his or her group affinities and social relations, an understanding of identity derived from Martin Heidegger's concept of thrownness.[90] Young refers to this concept not only to articulate the extent to which human subjectivity is from the start socially derived, but also to demonstrate the influence that others have on our self-understanding.[91] The fact that we are "thrown" into our social relations means that the way others perceive and act towards us shapes the way we come to understanding our individual identities. Ultimately, for Young, and contrary to the atomist stance against which she pits her understanding of subjectivity, "the self is the product of social processes, not their origin."[92]

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[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," 33.
[89] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 45.
[90] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 46.
[91] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 45-46.
[92] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 45.

Young believes that the identities of social groups are also developed relationally. In *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, she argues that a group's identity emerges out of its encounters and interactions with other collectivities. It is her contention that a social group's existence and identification necessarily requires the presence of at least one "other" from which it is differentiated.[93] As she explains, it is only when a group comes into contact with another and "experiences some differences in their way of life" that it begins to see and define itself as one group among others, which in turn makes it aware of its particularity. Until then, Young believes that a collectivity will only perceives itself as "the people".[94] Simply put, it is the interaction with "the other" that initiates the process of a group's self-understanding.

In addition to becoming aware of one's group status, interacting with other groups and cultures also helps structure the meaning of a group's identity, a feature of identity pointed out by James Tully. As he explains in *Strange Multiplicity*, cultures and group identities are not to be understood as rigid and essential, but rather, as fluid, overlapping and interactive.[95] One implication of the fluidity and interactive nature of culture and group identities is that their meanings are continuously shaped and reshaped as they interact with other cultural frameworks, perspectives and traditions over time.[96] One example of this process offered by Tully is that of the Québécois culture, whose meaning was forged "through centuries of interaction with the English language."[97] In other words, it was through its dealings with the English of Canada that the Québécois culture was able to acquire its form, distinctiveness and meaning.

However, the way in which we come to understand our individual and collective identities does not lie exclusively in our relations with others. According to Lessard, Johnson and Webber,

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[93] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 43.
[94] Ibid.
[95] James Tully, *Strange Multiplicity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995, 10-11.
[96] Tully, *Strange Multiplicity,* 11-12.
[97] Tully, *Strange Multiplicity,* 12.

stories, whether they manifest themselves in the form of myth, narrative or histories, also partake in the construction of individual and collective identity by attempting to organize life-events so as to give them meaning.[98] In other words, by arranging and sorting events into patterns of significance, stories become a vehicle through which we make sense of ourselves and the world around us.[99]

Involved in the work done by stories is the articulation and interpretation of the underlying assumptions, values and practices already at work in the lives of individuals and communities.[100] Under this articulation, communal narratives and myths select and disclose a set of experiences that individuals then identify with.[101] Those who identify as members of a particular ethnocultural or political community do so because they feel a certain attachment to the stories that help to arrange their everyday experiences, believing that the communal narratives accurately describe and reflect the values, assumptions and norms to which they adhere.[102] In other words, it can be said that "in choosing events, and describing who acted in those events, [stories] implicitly define the members of the society; they tell us who counts, who belongs." [103] Simply put, stories generate the conditions of belonging. In addition to this, stories also help foster the sense of commonality necessary for group unity by generating the feeling of shared experiences.[104] In doing so, stories allow the members of a collectivity to feel an affinity for one another, which in turn gives them a strong sense of solidarity.

The capacity of stories to create a sense of belonging implies that they also indirectly, and sometimes directly, tell us who does not belong to a particular community. In defining the members of a society, stories implicitly, and sometimes explicitly, define non-members; namely, those

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[98] Hester Lessard, Rebecca Johnson, and Jeremy Webber," in Stories, Communities, and Their Contested Meanings," in *Storied Communities : Narratives of Contact and Arrival in Constituting Political Community*, ed. Hester Lessard, Rebecca Johnson and Jeremy Webber, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011, 7.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 10.
[101] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 9-12.
[102] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 11-12.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 11.

individuals who do not immediately identify with the events, actors, values and practices described in communal narratives, myths or histories.[105] Thus, it can be said that in addition to generating the conditions of inclusion and unity, stories can also act as a vehicle of exclusion, which in turn, plays into the process of group differentiation. In other words, in defining members from non-members, stories also help distinguish one group from another, thereby, providing individuals with a clearly defined image of their community and an identity which is properly their own.

As for the origin of group defining stories, Gérard Bouchard believes they are the product of power relations since they tend to be initiated by "a social actor or a coalition of social actors who construct and promote [them]."[106] However, as Bouchard explains, the fact that myths are themselves constructed by and told from the perspective of certain human beings does not necessarily entail that they are "created through a top-down endeavor."[107] Although stories, myths and narratives are created and promoted by social actors, Bouchard is adamant that they must always make reference to as well as reflect real world experiences, misfortunes or traumas. Consequently, this means that stories cannot be "invented from scratch."[108] As Lessard, Johnson and Webber explain, the success of a narrative, that is, its ability to hold sway over a group, depends heavily on its ability to represent, reflect and capture the underlying assumptions, values and practices of that particular group.[109] Accordingly, a narrative will not take hold amongst various peoples if the events and experiences included in the story fail to describe their assumptions.[110] This is why stories, whether they take the form of narratives, myths or histories, must somewhat reflect reality.

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[105] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 13.
[106] Gérard Bouchard, "The Small Nation With a Big Dream," in *National Myths: Constructed Pasts, Contested Present*, ed. Gérard Bouchard, New York: Routledge, 2013, 5.
[107] Bouchard, "Small Nation," 6.
[108] Bouchard, "Small Nation," 5-6.
[109] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 9, 13.
[110] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 13.

It is important to note here that this conception of subjectivity as constituted through stories is not to be understood as a theory distinct from the dialogical account of identity, even though they have been artificially separated here for conceptual purposes. As Margaret Somers suggests, dialogue and stories are to be viewed as two interrelated components of subjecthood.[111] In her view, although identities are constituted through the stories we make of our lived experiences, these stories are always embedded in intersubjective relations that "exist in space and time." [112] What this signifies is that as our relations with others shift and alter over time, so do the narratives that give our lives and those relations meaning and value. Thus, the way in which we understand ourselves (both individually and collectively), as well as our place in the social world, is continuously constituted by a dialectical relationship between our relations with others and the stories we construct to give those relations meaning. It precisely this conception of subjectivity that acts as the lens through which this thesis will interpret the meaning of the Montreal identity.

1.6 Methodology

1.6.1 Choice of materials

Testing my hypothesis requires a material or a set of materials that will provide us with insight into the way in which Québec's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities 1) perceive the city of Montreal, 2) interpret Québécois nationalism and identity, and 3) articulate their sense of place with respect to Québec society. In order to gain such insight, this research will examine the comments and opinion sections of the Montreal Gazette, particularly its editorials, op-eds and letters to the editor. Founded initially as a French-language newspaper in 1778, later becoming bilingual in 1785 and

[111] Margaret R. Somers, "The Narrative Constitution of Identity: A Relational and Network Approach," *Theory and Society* 23:5 (1994): 622.
[112] Ibid.

eventually switching into English in 1822, the Gazette is one of Montreal's four daily newspapers (the only in English), with 89 percent of its audience residing in the Greater Montreal area.[113] Although more than 21 percent of its readership is French-speaking–with an additional 9 percent speaking a "home language" other than English or French – the Gazette's audience is composed primarily of anglophone Quebeckers, and therefore is commonly "perceived as the voice of Montreal's English-speaking community [and] even the defender of its minority-language rights."[114] In addition to its role in representing the interest of Québec's English minority, the *Gazette* also provides its readers with "a daily forum in which [they can talk] over their problems and [reassure] themselves about their possibilities in the future."[115] As such, it is likely that ethnocultural and linguistic groups who (a) have an affinity towards the city of Montreal and (b) experience feelings of exclusion in Québec will not only be inclined to gather around this institution, but will also be inclined to articulate that affinity and those feelings in the form of letters to the editor.

Although letters offer a window into the perspective of minorities, they are often short in nature and therefore are frequently underdeveloped. As such, they require supplementation, hence the additional examination of editorials and op-eds. In contrast to letters, op-eds and editorials are much more substantial in their content – which can be attributed to the fact they are allocated more space – and thus can provide an enriched account of the Montreal identity as understood by ethnocultural and linguistic minorities. Moreover, op-eds and editorials differ from letters in that they are largely written by public intellectuals, with frequent contributions made by the *Gazette's*

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[113] Montreal Gazette, "About us," montrealgazette.com, http://www.montrealgazette.com/about-montreal-gazette/aboutus.html, accessed April 30th, 2014; Mike Gasher and Sandra Gabriele, "Increasing circulation? A Comparative News-flow Study of the Montreal Gazette's Hard-Copy and On-line Editions," *Journalism Studies* 5:3 (2004): 313, 315.

[114] Montreal Gazette, "The Gazette's Print Readership." montrealgazette.com, http://www.montrealgazette.com/media-kit/newspaper/2013NADbankGazettereadershipbylanguage.pdf, accessed June 30th, 2014; Gasher and Gabriele, "Increasing Circulation?," 313, 318.

[115] Scowen, *A Different Vision*, 128.

columnists and editing team, as well as other members of the learned community, such as politicians and academics. Furthermore, despite their belonging to the elite, these contributors are often members of Québec's minority communities and, therefore, their opinions are often found overlapping with those of the general public expressed in the letters to the editor. Consequently, an analysis of the Montreal Gazette's editorials and op-eds in addition to the paper's letters proves to be an appropriate strategy if we wish to gain deeper insight into the way in which ethnocultural and linguistic minorities understand their sense of Montrealness.

One limitation in using the Gazette as a way to gain insight into the views of Québec minorities regards the issue of representation. Since the paper is an English-language institution, there is concern that the conclusions drawn from its analysis will only be representative of ethnocultural groups who have either come from states with English as an official language or who have a history of integrating into the anglophone community (e.g. Italians, Greeks and the Jewish community). Consequently, it can be argued that the views espoused in the letters, op-eds and editorials will not be reflecting the perspective of all Québec minorities, as we have not taken into account the voice of those who fall outside of the English-speaking community. While this limitation is a legitimate concern, it would be misguided to equate the fact that the paper is an English-language institution with the notion that the opinions expressed in it reflect exclusively those emanating from the anglophone community. It is perhaps important to recall here that roughly 30 percent of the Gazette's readership has a "home language" other than English.[116] As such, it is much more appropriate to view the paper as an English-speaking minority forum of expression that allows us to gather a sample of the ethnocultural and language minority experience in Québec, specifically from those living in the Greater Montreal Area.

[116] Montreal Gazette, "The Gazette's Print Readership," accessed June 30th, 2014

A second limitation in using the Gazette pertains to the way letters to the editor are collected. Unlike empirical studies carried out by academics, the manner in which opinions are gathered and subsequently published is neither systematic nor scientific. For instance, the newspaper does not advance a set of pre-determined questions to a delimited sample group in order to gain insight on a particular political or social issue. Instead, the Gazette considers for publication any "informed opinion" so long as those wishing to share their opinion provide their personal contact information when submitting their views.[117] In addition to this openness to receive any "informed opinion" is a process of selection, as the paper cannot feasibly print every letter submitted to the editor. As such, there is concern that what eventually does get published by the paper may reflect the editing team's bias, thus resulting in an overrepresentation or underrepresentation of certain opinions. Despite this limitation, it is important to note that even though this project takes into account quantitative aspects of such an analysis, it is ultimately the content of these pieces that will inform our understanding of the minority experience in Québec.

1.6.2 Period of Study

This thesis will examine and analyze the opinion sections of the Montreal Gazette from the Parti québécois' election victory on September 4th, 2012 to that of the Québec Liberal party on April 7th, 2014. The motivation behind this choice is twofold: 1) to identify a political context from which expressions of Montrealness and exclusion are most likely to emerge; 2) to choose a period in the province's history that is relatively close to the writing of this work (as it would make the implications of our findings more immediately politically relevant). In regards to the first motivation, preliminary archival research of the Montreal Gazette indicated that these expressions most

[117] Montreal Gazette, "Letters to the Editor," montrealgazette.com, http://www.montrealgazette.com/opinion/letters/letters-to-the-editor.html, accessed March 5th, 2014.

commonly occur during episodes of political controversy that directly affect minorities, which can be explained by the fact that divisive events generally cause minorities to reflect on their position and status within Québec society. Coupling this insight with the second motivation, the PQ's eighteen months in office emerges as a suitable time period in which to test my hypothesis, as their year and a half of governmental power ushered in a relatively controversial period in Québec history, particularly with respect to the provincial government's relationship with ethnocultural and linguistic minorities.

More specifically, it is a period that witnessed the proposal of two divisive bills: (1) Bill 14, an amendment to the Charter of the French Language seeking to promote "new provisions regarding the protection and bolstering of French" and "reinforce the learning of French among the various educational clienteles";[118] and (2) Bill 60, a charter affirming "the values of separation of religions and State and the religious neutrality and secular nature of the state" and establishing "guidelines to deal with accommodation requests, particularly in religious matters."[119] Indeed, both of these bills have been interpreted by many as an attempt by the PQ government to espouse a narrow conception of Québec nationalism, thus making the province's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities feel unwelcomed in Québec.[120] This interpretation of the PQ's motives as stemming from a narrowly conceived notion of the Québec subject makes this period particularly pertinent and interesting to examine.

As for its end, our timeframe closes with the Québec Liberal party's election victory on April 7th, 2014. This event serves as an appropriate moment with which to conclude this period of study,

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[118] Bill 14, *An Act to amend the Charter of the French language, the Charter of human rights and freedoms and other legislative provisions,* 1st session, 40th Legislature, Québec Official Publisher, 2012, 2.

[119] Bill 60, *Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests*, 1st session, 40th Legislature, Québec Official Publisher, 2013, 2.

[120] Celine Cooper, "The PQ suffers from a divisive hang-up with identity politics," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 26th, 2013, A15.

as it brought about the return of a more inclusive nationalist discourse. This is evidenced by Premier Philippe Couillard's comments immediately following his party's victory where he not only "vow[ed] to run an inclusive and 'stable' government that represents the interests of all Quebecers," but also declared that "we are all Quebecers. We should all focus on what brings us together. What unites us makes us stronger."[121]

1.6.3 Methodological Approach

With regards to the manner in which The Gazette opinion pieces will be read, my analysis will be guided by the hermeneutical approach advanced by Hans-Georg Gadamer in his magnum opus, *Truth and Method*. As a philosophy of interpretation, Gadamerian hermeneutics offers itself as an appropriate approach given that the attempt to understand the meaning of this material's content is an interpretive task. More importantly, hermeneutics is particularly pertinent for our purposes given its role in understanding difference/identity. As Dimitrios Karmis points out in citing Clifford Geertz, listening to others is a necessary condition to understanding difference, since it is through the act of listening that we come to comprehend what is being told to us.[122] As we shall see shortly, Gadamerian hermeneutics is particularly sensitive to this requirement, as the dialectical nature of understanding demands that we actively take into account what our interlocutor is saying in order to grasp what they are trying to convey.[123]

In *Truth and Method*, Gadamer is adamant that his hermeneutical philosophy not be construed as a methodology or a procedure "which the interpreter must of himself bring to bear on

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[121] Sonja Puzic, "Québec Liberals win Majority: 'Division is Over'," *CTV News*, April 7, 2014, http://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/Québec-liberals-win-majority-division-is-over-1.1764036 (Accessed October 21st, 2014).
[122] Dimitrios Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer? Deux contributions à une herméneutique de la différence," in *Ceci n'est pas une idée politique: Réflexions sur les approches à l'étude des idées politiques*, ed. Dalie Giroux and Dimitrios Karmis, Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 2013, 203.
[123] Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, New York: Continuum Publishing, 2004, 360-361.

the text."[124] However, following Karmis' view of Gadamer's hermeneutical approach, we can identify three main principles that can be said to characterize the hermeneutical experience, the first of which is that it is a dialogical endeavour.[125] According to Gadamer, whether we are trying to comprehend a text, an interlocutor or a work of art, the act of understanding is an event that is always carried out in a conversational manner, that is to say, through a process of question and answer.[126] For Gadamer, the act of questioning is a vital component in our quest for knowledge, as it is only by asking a question that an object can be "opened up" in such a way so as to offer an answer.[127] In addition to the act of questioning, the dialogical aspect of the hermeneutical experience also requires that we actively listen to what our interlocutor has to say. As Gadamer explains, to conduct a dialogue does not entail "arguing the other person down," nor is it about "talking at cross purposes."[128] Rather, engaging in a conversation requires that we "ensure that the other person is with us" and that both partners in the exchange be "conducted" and "oriented" by the subject matter in question.[129] What this entails is that the act of understanding is a bilateral process whereby the meaning reached in the conversation is produced in conjunction with our interlocutor. In other words, meaning is always what Gadamer describes as a "common meaning" that is "worked out between partners in a dialogue."[130]

A second principle of the hermeneutical experience identified by Karmis is that it is an inherently historical experience. For Gadamer, the act of understanding always takes place from within a particular historical situation from which the interpreter cannot escape or leave behind.[131] In

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[124] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 295.
[125] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 204, 212, 217-218.
[126] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 363-364.
[127] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 357.
[128] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 360-361
[129] Ibid.
[130] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 361.
[131] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 300-301.

other words, the hermeneutical conscience which seeks to understand its object of inquiry is itself always occurring against the backdrop of a certain tradition of thought to which it necessarily belongs.[132] This tradition plays an important role in the hermeneutical process as it not only shapes the *prejudices*[133] that allow us to spontaneously and provisionally grasp an event, text or artwork, but also determines "both what seems to us worth inquiring about and what will appear as an object of investigation."[134]

To better demonstrate what occurs during the process of understanding, Gadamer employs the concept of an "horizon" so as to give the aforementioned historical situatedness of the hermeneutical conscience visual coherence. For Gadamer, this horizon represents the limited field of vision that continuously accompanies the interpreter as he or she moves about and changes vantage points.[135] Though the interpreter is always situated within his or her proper horizon, the field of vision that the concept represents is not to be understood as static and unchanging, but malleable and expandable, allowing for the possibility of an enlarged range of sight as the interpreter encounters the horizons of another.[136] According to Gadamer, this broadening occurs via the process of a *fusion of horizons*, a concept that does not only serve as a visualization of the process of understanding, but that also describes the way in which the horizon of both the interpreter and that of which he or she seeks to understand is encompassed by one single horizon.[137]

The final principle of the hermeneutical experience identified by Karmis relates to what Gadamer perceives, in writings posterior to *Truth and Method*, as the limits of language. In his view,

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[132] Ibid.
[133] According to Gadamer, the term prejudice is not to be defined in terms of "the negative connotations familiar today" or as a "false judgement", but merely as "a judgement that is rendered before all the elements that determine a situation have been fully examined." Simply put, the concept of prejudice can be understood as a form of prejudgement. For more on the concept of prejudice see Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 273.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, 301-306.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.

the hermeneutical conscience can never fully grasp the meaning of a given text or conversation because language does not allow us to say everything we would like to.[138] Consequently, there will always exists aspects of the subject matter that remain unfamiliar and strange to us, and thus, beyond our grasp.[139] What this means is that interpretation can never have a definitive character.[140] Instead, the act of understanding is always an incomplete endeavour, a condition of hermeneutics that the interpreter must accept.[141]

From these principles we can immediately see two benefits of the hermeneutical enterprise come to the fore. First, it promotes a certain amount of reflexivity on the part of the interpreter: through understanding alterity we also come to understanding ourselves, namely, by making us aware of our historical situatedness.[142] Second, and somewhat related to the first benefit, hermeneutics allows us to put our prejudices in play, thus opening up the possibility for them to be revised and altered. This revision is of particular importance for Gadamer because it prevents us from falling into a conservative frame of mind whereby we are imprisoned within a particular tradition of thought which does not permit us to move past a particular set of preconceptions.[143]

Having outlined three principles of the hermeneutical experience, I will now discuss the ways in which they will guide my reading of the Gazette's opinion sections. We saw above that to engage in an interpretive experience requires that the interpreter enter into a dialogue with a text (in this case, letters, op-eds and editorials) by asking a question or a set of question for it to answer. Following this requirement, I will submit each opinion piece to a series of three "meta-questions" that correspond to the three themes that underpin this thesis: 1) Québec nationalism and identity; 2)

[138] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 212.
[139] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 213.
[140] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 214.
[141] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 213
[142] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 217.
[143] Karmis, "Skinner contre Gadamer?," 211.

the place of linguistic and ethnocultural minorities in Québec; 3) the city of Montreal and ideas of Montrealness.[144] Indeed, these questions will function as a type of filtering mechanism so as to help determine which opinion pieces are most relevant for analysis and interpretation. In addition to the act of question, the hermeneutical experience also stresses that that the responses elicited and the understanding reached in this discussion between interpreter and text is not produced unilaterally by the former, nor by the latter, but rather, is achieved by the dialogue between the two. In other words, the interpreter is not trying to impose meaning on the text, but is working it out in conjunction with it so as to produce a shared meaning. Moreover, the understanding that is ultimately reached is not to be seen as final. Instead, it is to be viewed simply as a different way of understanding the content of these opinion pieces. Consequently, there will always remain aspects of these texts that remain beyond our grasp, and thus, new ways to interpret the views espoused in the letters, op-eds and editorials. Finally, we saw that the question posed to the text emerges from the interpreter's historical situation, which in my case, is an anglophone Quebecker of immigrant descent who is at the very centre of the debates on language and identity in Québec by virtue of being a Québec citizen and a member of minority groups. This political situation and linguistic and ethnocultural identification is what shapes the way in which I examine the text and determine what I consider worth inquiring about. As such, this will structure the answers I will work out with the materials I am studying.

Conclusion

My aim in this chapter was to lay the foundations of my research by introducing the reader to the various conceptions of Montrealness contained in the academic literature. In particular, we saw how this literature focused largely on the ways in which the city's inhabitants are enamoured with

[144] The particular phrasing of each meta-question will be presented in Chapter 3, section 3.1, where I re-state my methodological approach and discuss the ways in which the opinion pieces are categorized and filtered. The questions are also readily available in Appendix A.

and united by Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic plurality, as well as the various outcomes of living in a city characterized by diversity: mixed identities, cultural hybridity and code-switching. We were also introduced to a facet of the city's identity that is often alluded to but seldom discussed in a substantial manner: its distinctness from the rest of Québec. In examining this infrequently explored dimension of the Montreal identity, I forayed into a discussion of exclusion as it relates to ethnocultural and linguistic minorities. More specifically, I showed a tendency for ethnocultural and linguistic minorities to feel excluded from the Québec nation, particularly those residing in the Greater Montreal area. Combining this sentiment with the previously discussed literature review on the Montreal identity, I was then able to formulate my thesis' central research question and hypothesis.

In the final two sections, I stepped back from this thesis' object of study in order to discuss the more logistical matters of the research, namely, my theoretical framework and methodology. With regards to the former, I presented a theory of subjecthood that views individual and collective identity as being constituted by a dialectical relationship between our relationships and encounters with others and the stories we construct to give them meaning. As for my methodology, this was introduced over the course of three sub-sections. The first sub-section dealt with the materials I aim to study: the Montreal Gazette's opinion pages; the second presented the period in the province's political history that I will be examining: the PQ's eighteen months in power; and the final sub-section discussed my methodological approach inspired by Gadamerian Hermeneutics. Having examined various conceptions of Montrealness, chapter 2 turns its attention towards the "other" against which the Montreal identity acquires its significance: Québec identity and nationalism.

Chapter 2 - The Development and Evolution of Québec Nationalism

Introduction

As discussed briefly in chapter 1, there has been an increased effort over the years to define the Québec nation in more inclusive terms so as to better integrate and reflect the province's growing ethnocultural diversity. It was also noted that in spite of these efforts, there remains a strong tendency for minorities to continue to interpret the Québec nation as being defined along ethnic lines. As a result, some have come to perceive themselves as being excluded from the Québec national community, believing that membership is restricted to the province's francophones, specifically those of French-Canadian descent.

My aim in this chapter is to take up the topic of Québec nationalism and to trace its historical development. More specifically, I intend to examine the movement from a narrow conception of the nation once rooted in the French-Canadian community to a more inclusive, civic and territorial-based Québécois nationalism that has progressively emerged in the wake of the Quiet Revolution. Part of my hypothesis states that the meaning of the Montreal identity is intimately bound with the relationship that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities have with the rest of the province and the Québec identity. As such, an in-depth analysis of the development of nationalism in Québec is required in order to better understand the significance of this relationship. In following this development, I hope to not only better situate and contextualize the discussion that will take place in chapter 3 regarding the way in which minorities interpret the Québec nation and identity, but also to underscore the extent to which their interpretation of the national community departs from the trajectory it has taken since the 1960s. Moreover, I hope to provide a fuller understanding of the type of exclusion experienced by Québec's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities, as well as the type of

nationalism against which their sense of Montrealness is constructed, namely, an ethnic nationalism that restricts the notion of Québécois to francophones of French-Canadian descent.

Before delving into the task at hand, however, I would like to say a few words regarding this chapter's use of the concepts of civic and ethnic nationalism. As Leigh Oakes and Jane Warren point out, despite the fact it remains a popular distinction, the civic-ethnic opposition has become the object of heavy criticism in recent years.[145] In particular, it has been described as being a "false dichotomy that has been largely superseded", as well as an outdated opposition that "no longer [serves as] an adequate starting point for understanding Québec nationalism."[146] According to Oakes and Warren, much of the criticisms directed towards the dichotomy are rooted in the idea that its application may lead to essentialist interpretations of nationalism, thereby obscuring the fact that most nations are colored by various elements of civic and ethnic nationalism.[147] As such, some have argued for the need to transcend or surpass the civic-ethnic opposition altogether so as to better describe the types of nationalism(s) at work in Québec.[148]

Despite these criticisms, I am in accordance with Oakes and Warren's position that the dichotomy between civic and ethnic nationalism remains a useful one. As they explain, "the fact that all nations exhibit varying degrees of ethnic and civic elements is not a reason to reject these notions."[149] For Oakes and Warren, it is not necessarily the dichotomy itself that is outdated, but the idea that any one nation can be described as being exclusively ethnic or exclusively civic.[150] In their view, the concepts of civic and ethnic nationalism still remain of value to the observer of nationalism, as they do not only help in describing "the different dimensions of a single nation", but

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[145] Leigh Oakes and Jane Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity in Québec*, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007, 14.
[146] Ibid.
[147] Ibid.
[148] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity, 14, 57.*
[149] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity, 14.*
[150] Ibid.

also "the different nationalisms or conceptions of a single nation that exist either at various points throughout history."[151] Moreover, they note that even those who wish to surpass the distinction altogether cannot help but make use of it when describing different forms of nationalism, suggesting that it still remains of importance.[152]

In addition to the above-mentioned points, I would also like to add that it would be difficult to track the changes that have occurred in the concept of nationalism in Québec without making some kind of reference to the notions of civic and ethnic nationalism. For instance, the concepts must be referred to in order to describe the so called "civic turn" of the 1990s, the cultural/ethnic nation of French Canada prior to the 1960s and the conceptions of the nation espoused by academics such as Claude Bariteau and Gérard Bouchard. As such, I believe that the dichotomy still remains a useful analytical tool provided that we heed the advice of Oakes and Warren and avoid falling into "essentialist interpretations" of the nation.

That said, the present chapter proceeds as follows. Section 2.1 discusses the roots of Québécois nationalism in the pan-Canadian nationalism of French-Canada and its concomitant ideology of *survivance.* In section 2.2, I explore how the central tenants of French-Canadian nationalism were challenged internally on two-fronts during the 1950s, first by a group of intellectuals working for *Le Devoir* and *L'Action National*e, and second, by a trio of historians belonging to the Montreal school of historical writing. Section 2.3 examines the Quiet Revolution and the emergence of a territorial-based Québécois identity that supplanted the French-Canadian one. In section 2.4, I discuss the attempts made during the 1970s and 1980s to expand the boundaries of the Québec national community so as to include anglophones and ethnocultural minorities. In particular, I examine various developments in public policies such as the idea of *culture de*

[151] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity, 14-15.*
[152] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity, 15.*

convergence, as well as Québec's model of integration known as interculturalism. Section 2.5 explores the rise in popularity of civic conceptions of the nation during the 1990s, while section 2.6 discusses the notion of Québec citizenship that was introduced in the post-1995 period and the early 2000s. In section 2.7, I examine some of the obstacles that have occurred in the movement towards a more inclusive Québec, specifically Jacques Parizeau's post-referendum remarks and the reasonable accommodation crisis in 2007. Lastly, section 2.8 looks at some of the ongoing debates occurring in intellectual and academic circles regarding the nation's definition. Here I examine Gérard Bouchard and Michel Seymour's attempts to promote a conception of the nation that balances both its civic and ethnic components, as well as the rise of neoconservative nationalism.

2.1 French-Canadian Nationalism

Prior to the 1960s, nationalism in Québec was synonymous with the pan-Canadian nationalism of French Canada, as its collective boundaries incorporated all Canadians of French descent.[153] Often described as traditionalist, conservative and clerical, French-Canadian nationalism was founded on three pillars, the first being the Roman Catholic Church and religion.[154] From the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth century, the Roman Catholic Church exercised great influence over the French-Canadian population, playing an essential role in guiding, directing and regulating the French-Canadian demographic in all matters of public and private life.[155] As a result, the community was pervaded by strong religious undertones. Most emblematic of this Catholic element was the

[153] Danielle Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée: Redefining the National Community in Québec," *Citizenship Studies* 6:4 (2002): 443.

[154] Daniel Latouche, "Québec in the Emerging North American Configuration," in *Contemporary Québec: Selected Readings,* ed. Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011, 705; Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics in Transition," in *Contemporary Québec: Selected Readings,* ed. Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011, 695.

[155] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 695; Francois-Pierre Gringras and Neil Nevitte, "The Evolution of Québec Nationalism," in *Québec State and Society*, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon, Toronto: Methuen Publications, 1984, 4.

sense of messianism that imbued the French-Canadian nation; French-Canadians often considered their community to have been given a providential mission by God requiring them to spread the Catholic faith and heritage across the North American continent.[156]

In addition to the place of Catholicism, French-Canadian nationalism was also defined in part by the French language, as well as the French-Canadian culture "rooted in an agrarian economy and lifestyle."[157] Respectively, these comprised the remaining two pillars on which this community rested and significantly narrowed its collective boundaries. In other words, to be a French-Canadian not only meant that you were Catholic, but that you were also an "inheritor of traditional French culture."[158] Further restricting the parameters of this collectivity was the role played by lineage. During the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, membership within the French-Canadian community was also determined in large part by a common ancestry,[159] as those who belonged to this nation often considered themselves to be the direct descendants of the French colonists that had settled in Canada during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[160] According to Danielle Juteau, what this emphasis on lineage meant was that "you were born a French-Canadian, you didn't become one."[161]

With respect to its character, French-Canadian nationalism was primarily defensive. For a large portion of their history, French-Canadians were not only politically and economically subordinate to English Canada, but as a result of the Conquest, the failures of the 1837-38 Rebellions and the subsequent recommendations of Lord Durham's report, they also faced measures that

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[156] Raymond Breton, "From ethnic to civic nationalism: English Canada and Québec," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11:1 (1988): 93; Gérard Bouchard, "The Small Nation With a Big Dream," in *National Myths: Constructed Pasts, Contested Present*, ed. Gérard Bouchard, New York: Routledge, 2013, 9; Marcel Martel, *French Canada: An Account of Its Creation and Break up, 1850-1967,* Ottawa: Canadian History Association, 1998, 4.
[157] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 695.
[158] Dimitrios Karmis, "Identites in Québec: between 'la souche' and atomization," *Cahiers du PÉQ* (1997) 14.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 443.
[161] Ibid.

encouraged assimilation into English culture.[162] Consequently, this community, under the leadership and guidance of the Catholic Church and conservative elites, pursued isolationist strategies so as to preserve the French culture and language.[163] More concretely, this entailed closing the French-Canadian community off from other collectivities in order to prevent cultural "contamination".[164] Additionally, it also entailed avoiding the modernization and urbanization processes occurring during the 19th century so as to preserve the community's religious customs and rural way of life.[165] Although these isolationist strategies helped the community stave off the threat of assimilation, they did not leave much room for French Canada to thrive or assert itself as a nation.[166] Instead, the defensive measures promoted by the Church and conservative elites ensured that the French-Canadian community remained stagnant in its development and passive in its ambitions, seeking merely to survive as a cultural community.[167] This passivity and striving for mere subsistence formed the basis of what is regarded as *la survivance*, an ideology that colored and directed the collective outlook of French Canada until the 1960s. Indeed, the defensive posture of French Canada (particularly its resistance to other cultural communities), coupled with the emphasis placed on lineage and culture, have led many to describe the nation as representing a form of ethnic nationalism.[168] This type of nationalism would remain the dominant form in Québec well into the

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[162] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 27; Gringras and Nevitte, "Evolution of Québec Nationalism," 4.

[163] Jocelyn Maclure, *Québec Identity: The Challenge of Pluralism*, Montreal and Kingston: MQUP, 2003, 25, 167; Bouchard, "Small Nation," 8.

[164] Marc V. Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, 33; Breton, "From ethnic to civic nationalism," 94.

[165] Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal*, 33; Latouche, "Emerging North American Configuration," 704; Bouchard, "Small Nation," 8.

[166] Maclure, *The Challenge of Pluralism*, 167.

[167] Gringras and Nevitte, "Evolution of Québec Nationalism," 4.

[168] Jean-François Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship, Civic Nationalism, and Nation Building in Québec: From Common Public Language to *Laïcité*," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 12:2 (2012): 242; Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 443; Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 27; Breton, "From ethnic to civic nationalism," 93.

1940s and 1950s that is until it was challenged internally by a new wave of young Québec intellectuals.

2.2 The Post-War Period and The Montreal School

The redefinition of the French-Canadian nation would occur on two fronts during the mid-twentieth century, first by a group of French Catholic intellectuals working at *Le Devoir* and *L'Action Nationale*, second, by a trio of historians belonging to the Montreal school of historical writing.[169] Aware of the changes occurring in Québec society in 1950s, the former felt the need to redefine and reorient the central tenants and values of traditional French-Canadian nationalism. In particular, they believed that the core tenants of the French-Canadian national community no longer reflected the social, political and economic realities facing Québec francophones in the postwar period.[170]

Although the province had undergone a wave of industrialization during the nineteenth century, it was not until the second and more pervasive wave in the decade and a half that followed World War II that French-Canadians living in rural Québec would feel its effects.[171] The most notable change experienced by the French-Canadian community of Québec was the demographic shift of its rural population. As Michael D. Behiels explains, the promise of a higher standard of living and greater economic success during the postwar period resulted in a significant portion of Québec's rural population abandoning their "ancestral soil" in favor of cities and urban centres.[172]

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[169] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.
[170] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 695.
[171] Michael D. Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism versus Neo-Nationalism, 1945-1960,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985, 8-9.
[172] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 38.

Consequently, by 1947, "an estimated [...] 60 to 80 percent of French-Canadians" lived in urban areas.[173]

In addition to this demographic shift, Québec's renewed industrialization also significantly impacted the socioeconomic status of a majority of French-Canadians, as the once rural community now comprised largely of working-class individuals.[174] In fact, the French-Canadian working-class population grew so considerably in the decade and a half following the Second World War that it came to constitute the province's largest socioeconomic group.[175] This transformation dealt a major blow to the rural tenants of traditional French-Canadian nationalism, as the community's "mythologized rural way of life" and agrarian image were slowly becoming an anachronism.[176]

The challenges posed by the new urban and industrial reality of Québec-born French-Canadians did not end with the collapse of the rural element of their identity. Renewed industrialization and urbanization in the province also significantly impacted another fundamental pillar of French-Canadian nationalism, the Catholic faith. Newly urbanized French-Canadians in the postwar period found that their catholic-based moral values were growing increasingly outdated.[177] The urbanization of French-Canadians now meant that they had to adapt to an environment in which secular values and activities reigned.[178] Consequently, "it did not take long for French-Canadians to discontinue their religious practices" in favor of a more secular way of life, thus making "the religious aspect of [French Canadian] nationalism [...] a thing of the past."[179]

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[173] Ibid.
[174] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 695-696; Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 39.
[175] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 38.
[176] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 9, 38-39, 41.
[177] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 42.
[178] ibid.
[179] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 42, 44.

Another significant consequence brought about by the collapse of the rural and Catholic tenants of this nationalism was the gradual denationalization of Québec-born French-Canadians.[180] The outdating of traditional nationalist discourses caused by the shifting-realities of Québec society in the postwar period made the national question less pervasive among the French-Canadian community.[181] Aware of the growing indifference of French-Canadians towards tradition and culture, as well as their growing secular and industrial realities, a group of young liberal-minded nationalists working at *Le Devoir* and *L'Action Nationale* felt it necessary to challenge and redefine the parameters of the French-Canadian nation.[182] Channeling their energies and frustrations, intellectuals such André Laurendeau, Gérard-Filion and Jean-Marc Léger would go on to introduce new concepts and practices in an attempt to modernize the conception of the nation.[183]

Questioning the relevance of traditional nationalist discourse and its ability to realistically reflect the new context of Québec-born French Canadians, Laurendeau and his colleagues at *Le Devoir* and *L'Action Nationale* contended that the nationalism of French Canada must not only abandon its conservative and antisocial outlook, but must also break its ties with the Catholic church and its religious values.[184] In its place, they argued that French-Canadian nationalism must adopt and embrace the tenants of personalism, secularism and social reform in order for the national question to become more meaningful.[185] Perhaps the most significant alteration to the nation's concept was the new-found importance that these individuals placed on the state. With Québec's growing secularity, the nationalists at *Le Devoir* turned towards the Québec government and its institutions "as the primary instrument in the survival and *épanouissement* of the French-Canadian nationality in

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[180] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 39-40.
[181] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 39.
[182] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 43-44, 47.
[183] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 47.
[184] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 43, 48.
[185] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696; Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 47-49.

Québec and Canada", a role previously held by the Catholic Church.[186] As we shall see shortly, this turn towards the state as the guardian of the interests of the French Canadian community in Québec would constitute an important shift with respect to the concept of nationhood in the province, as it would open an avenue for the construction of a territorial-based community.

Traditional French-Canadian nationalism was also challenged from a second front during the 1940s and 1950s, this time by a group of scholars belonging to the Montreal school of historical writing – most notably, Guy Frégault, Maurice Séguin and Michel Brunet.[187] Like their contemporaries at *Le Devoir*, this trio also broke with the nationalism's more conservative and Catholic elements, laying in its place the foundation of an ideology of affirmationism that provided "a major impetus for the Quiet Revolution of the early 1960s."[188] Their critique of traditional French-Canadian nationalism began with a reinterpretation of the history of French-Canadian society in light of the Conquest of 1760, arguing that it had never fully recovered from the setbacks of British colonization.[189] Viewing the event as a cataclysmic episode in the history of Québec, Frégault, Séguin and Brunet contended that the annexation of New France to the British Empire had "set in motion a long process of disorganization and destructuring" that impeded the French colony from "crossing the threshold of political, economic and cultural normality."[190] In other words, the authors of the Montreal School claimed that the Conquest had prevented the French-Canadian society of Québec "from evolving as a 'normal' North American society with its full range of social classes, including an industrial bourgeoisie."[191]

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[186] Behiels, *Prelude to Québec's Quiet Revolution,* 59.
[187] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.
[188] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 27
[189] Maclure, *The Challenge of Pluralism,* 23.
[190] Jocelyn Maclure, "Narratives and Counter-Narratives of Identity in Québec," in *Québec State and Society,* third edition. ed. by Alain-G. Gagnon, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004, 35.
[191] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.

In the eyes of the Montreal historians, the colonization of New France by the British had such a profound effect on the French-Canadian community that, in addition to interrupting its progress towards political and cultural normalcy, it also structured the subsequent fate of the French-Canadian nation and the development of its individuals.[192] For instance, the event is viewed by Brunet and his colleagues as giving rise to a host of compensatory myths that they believed only further held back the development of the French-Canadian community.[193] What is more, the annexation of New France to the British Empire is also interpreted as being responsible for what Jocelyn Maclure describes as the "long purgatory of *survivance*."[194] According to these scholars, since the colonization of New France entailed that political, economic and cultural emancipation of French-Canadians was "structurally fettered", French-Canadians were faced with all but one option if they were to ward off assimilation and persist as a community: cling tightly "to the practices and institutions inherited from the French Regime."[195] Thus, from the perspective of the Montreal historians – and contrary to what had been promoted by the Catholic Church – *la survivance* was not an act of divine intervention, but simply the only available strategy for a fragile community living in a precarious situation.[196]

Believing that the Conquest had ultimately condemned the French-Canadian community to a state of mediocre survival, the Montreal historians – particularly Brunet – recommended that French-

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[192] Serge Cantin, "Emerging From Survival Mode," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation, ed.* by Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 51; Maclure, *The Challenge of Pluralism*, 24.
[193] These myths (such as the messianic mission of French Canadians in North America, as well as the idea that French Canadians were not fit to hold a leadership role in the business sphere) were used to mask the economic inferiority of French Canadians as well as the abnormality of their community's development. For more details see Martel, *French Canada: Its Creation and Break up,* 20 and Garth Stevenson, "The Politics of Remembrance in Irish and Québec Nationalism," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37:4 (2004): 918.
[194] Maclure, *The Challenge of Pluralism,* 24.
[195] Maclure, *The Challenge of Pluralism,* 25.
[196] Martel, *French Canada: Its Creation and Break up,* 20.

Canadians abandon the "pipe-dream" of Canadian cultural-duality[197] and consolidate their efforts towards protecting French-Canadians in the only territory in which they constituted a majority, namely, Québec.[198] As a result, the Montreal school historians–like their contemporaries at *le Devoir* – called on the Québec state to replace the Church in protecting the economic, political and cultural interests of "the francophone majority within [Québec's] territorial borders."[199] More significantly, Frégault, Séguin and Brunet also began to promote the idea of independence, arguing that secession from Canada was necessary if the French-Canadian community in Québec was to become a "mature, secular, urban [and] industrial 'Québécois' society'."[200] According to Jocelyn Maclure, this appraisal and reinterpretation of French-Canadian historical situation has not only "laid the foundations of an affirmationism that has, ever since, been constantly renewed", but has also inspired an entire generation of Québécois nationalists who believe that rectifying this traumatic past requires that French-Canadians "[face] up to [their] status as a conquered, dominated people, and [embark] on a process of decolonization."[201] Even more importantly, the Montreal school is credited for giving rise to "an economic, political and cultural neo-nationalism that became a rallying point for the Québec intelligentsia" during the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s.[202]

2.3 The Quiet Revolution

The Quiet Revolution constituted a significant shift in the history of Québec as it not only brought about sweeping changes to the province's political, social and economic spheres, but also with respect to the definition of the nation. The event saw the emergence of an assertive neo-

[197] This notion refers to the idea that the Canadian nation is composed of two founding peoples: the English and French.
[198] Martel, *French Canada: Its Creation and Break up,* 19.
[199] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.
[200] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.
[201] Maclure, "Narratives and Counter-Narratives," 36; Maclure, *The Challenge of Pluralism,* 25.
[202] Cantin, "Emerging From Survival Mode," 51.

nationalism that adopted many of the reforms suggested by the nationalists of the previous decade.[203] More specifically, the Quiet Revolution witnessed the rise of a "new, secular, modernised and territorial-defined Québec nation" that shed the defensive and past-oriented character of *la survivance.*[204] It also brought about a "massive expansion of the role of the Québec government and state apparatus"[205] which now came to be seen as "critical instrument[s] in the realization of collective ambitions."[206] No longer wishing "to be considered as a minority in Canada, but rather as a majority in their own context", neo-nationalists in the 1960s also re-evaluated the term "Québécois" as a positive symbol of identity, effectively cementing the territorialisation of the nation's image.[207]

The territorialisation of the Québec identity brought about three notable consequences to the concept of nationhood in Québec and French-Canada. Firstly, it supplanted the latter's "pan-Canadian cultural − minoritarian − and religious-based identity" that had been resting on shaky grounds for over a decade prior to the Quiet Revolution.[208] Secondly, it "dealt a major blow to the concept of French Canada" in general by distinguishing between francophones living in Québec and those living in the rest of the country.[209] The latter now came to be known as *francophones hors Québec* and were not included in Québec's new national image. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, the territorialisation of the national community set in motion the process of "de-ethnicising" the Québécois nation, opening up the possibility for its boundaries to incorporate all those living in Québec.[210] Nevertheless, it is important to note that this de-ethnicisation was not

[203] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696, Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal*, 48.
[204] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696, Breton, "From Ethnic to Civic nationalism," 94; Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal*, 48.
[205] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.
[206] Breton, "From ethnic to civic nationalism," 94-95.
[207] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 27.
[208] Behiels and Hayday, "Québec Identity Politics," 696.
[209] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity, 27*
[210] Ibid.

immediately felt during the 1960s, since Québec's national community continued to coincide primarily with the province's French-Canadian population.[211] As Jacques Beauchemin observes, "the Québec political subject was [still] more or less explicitly the French Canadian majority [during the Quiet Revolution]." [212] Thus, despite opening an avenue for a more inclusive concept of the nation, the parameters of the Québécois community remained narrow as they were "clearly defined in ethno-national terms."[213] That being said, it would not take long for the boundaries of community to begin to widen, as the Québec nation would progressively acquire a more inclusive meaning beginning in the mid-1970s.[214]

2.4 The 1970s and 1980s: Expanding the Boundaries of the Québec Nation

Although the national community during the 1960s did not yet incorporate anglophones, immigrants and ethnocultural communities in its collective self-image, attempts were nonetheless made during the 1970s and 1980s to broaden the reach of the nation's boundaries so as to include the aforementioned minority groups in Québec society. These attempts were perhaps most evident in the sphere of public policy, which saw multiple efforts to de-ethnicise the nation through the gradual introduction of civic-based principles, as well as by acknowledging Québec's growing pluralism. One particular example of this effort can be seen with the Québec *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* in 1975 which, according to Oakes and Warren, formally recognized "the right of ethnic minorities to preserve and develop their culture and [which outlawed] discrimination on the grounds

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[211] Danielle Juteau, "The Challenge of the Pluralist Option," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation,* ed. Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 121; Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 443.
[212] Jacques Beauchemin, "Defense and Illustration of a Nation Torn," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation,* ed. Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 156.
[213] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 443.
[214] Simon Langlois, "Defining the Québec Nation: Ten Years of Debates and an Emerging Consensus," *Travelling Concepts: Negotiating Diversity in Canada and Europe,* VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2010, 110.

of language of ethnic background."[215] As they explain, the recognition of this right constituted a significant step in the movement towards a more inclusive Québec, particularly because it "introduced an important civic dimension to the representation of the Québec nation."[216]

With regards to the acknowledgement of Québec's growing pluralism, this effort can be seen in a 1978 White Paper introduced by the PQ government under the leadership of René Lévesque.[217] Entitled *La politique québécoise du développement culturel*, the 1978 White Paper claimed that Québec society must not only "find a source of vitality in its minorities", but that "existence of dynamic and active minority groups can only be an asset to Québec as a whole."[218] What is more, the document denounced any strategy seeking the assimilation of minority groups, claiming that it was not a "desirable objective."[219] Instead, it advocated for a policy that would integrate minority groups into "a French-speaking Québec totality."[220]

The White Paper on cultural development was also used in part to promote the PQ's policy of *culture de convergence*, of which the influential sociologist Fernand Dumont was the primary architect.[221] Overlapping considerably with his view of the notion found in a much later work entitled *Raisons communes*,[222] the policy of cultural convergence advocated for a form of "intercultural reconciliation" that regarded the French-speaking culture as a rally-point around which

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[215] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity, 27.*
[216] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 27.
[217] Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation: Report*, Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2008, 116.
[218] Gouvernement du Québec, *La politique québécoise du developpement culturel,* 1978, 63 as translated in Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 27-28.
[219] Ibid.
[220] Ibid.
[221] Leigh Oakes, "French: A Language for Everyone in Québec?," *Nations and Nationalism* 10:4 (2004): 544.
[222] William J. Buxton, "Fernand Dumont and the Vicissitudes of Cultural Policy in Québec," *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 12:2 (2006): 192: Langlois, "Defining the Québec Nation," 115.

the province's three main minority nations (Anglophone, Native and cultural) would meet.[223] Although it would be heavily criticized later on for coinciding too closely with the culture of the French-Canadian majority, the notion of cultural convergence remained a popular approach well into the 1980s,[224] occupying a central role in the early stages of the Québec model of integration known as interculturalism.[225]

As Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor point out, though the term interculturalism has not been used in official government documents until recently, its underlying principle can nonetheless be seen as originating from the aforementioned cultural policies of the 1970s.[226] In regards to the development of the model, three political issues are often cited as bringing about the advance of interculturalism. The first issue relates to the increasing concern expressed by nationalists over immigrant integration during the 1960s and 1970s.[227] In particular, they were uneasy with the rate at which immigrants were being Anglicized in Québec.[228] As Marie McAndew observes, immigrants during this time integrated almost exclusively into the anglophone community, which in turn, generated feelings of anxiety among French-Canadians over the linguistic future of Québec.[229] In particular, nationalists feared that the Anglicization of immigrants would not only turn Montreal into an English-speaking metropolis, but would also "reduce the political weight of Franco-Quebeckers in the Canadian federation."[230] As such, interculturalism was formed partly as an attempt to remedy these concerns.

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[223] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 28; Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future,* 116; Louise Fontaine, "Immigration and Cultural Policies: A Bone of Contention between the Province of Québec and the Canadian Federal Government," *International Migration Review* 29:4 (1995): 1044-1045.
[224] Langlois, "Defining the Québec Nation," 115.
[225] Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future,* 116.
[226] Bouchard & Taylor, *Building the Future,* 19, 116.
[227] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 227-228.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Marie McAndrew, "Québec Immigration, Integration and Intercultural Policy: A Critical Assessment," *Indian Journal of Federal Studies* 12:2 (2007): 2.
[230] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 228.

The second issue regards the 1980 referendum defeat in which 60 percent of Quebeckers voted "No". According to Danielle Juteau, more important than the defeat itself was the fact that the option of sovereignty-association was rejected by an overwhelming majority of the province's minorities.[231] More specifically, she argues that the referendum defeat made it apparent to nationalists that attaining sovereignty would require the support of non-French Canadians.[232] In other words, nationalists came to the realization that independence could not be achieved without "the formation of a community that coincided with territorial boundaries, and the development, across ethnic boundaries, of a common identity."[233] Consequently, the post-1980 referendum period witnessed efforts to "woo" anglophones and other ethnocultural minorities into the Québec nation.[234] In particular, this was to be done through policies that would recognize the province's growing ethnocultural diversity, their right to cultural protection and their contributions to Québec society.[235] Indeed, interculturalism was among these policies.

The third issue often seen as advancing the development of Québec interculturalism was the emergence of Canadian multiculturalism.[236] Rooted in individualist liberalism, Canadian multiculturalism originated from the anti-nationalist thought of the intellectuals who gathered around the journal C*ité libre* −particularly its co-founder Pierre Elliott Trudeau.[237] Trudeau's campaign against nationalism initially began as a critique of the authoritarian and conservative tendencies of the Duplessis government, eventually developing into an outright rejection of Québécois

[231] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 444.
[232] Ibid.
[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 228.
[237] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 36.

nationalism.[238] His opposition to Québec nationalism was symptomatic of his broader critique of the nation-state model which, in Trudeau's view, threatened the development of reason and civilization, as well as an openness towards universal values.[239] Firmly cemented in the classical liberal tradition, Trudeau channelled much of his political efforts towards the construction of a pan-Canadian national identity rooted in individual rights and liberal and civic values.[240] Indeed, Trudeau's anti-nationalist and individualistic logic would underpin most of the policies enacted during his tenure as Prime Minister of Canada, including Canada's multiculturalism policy.[241]

Introduced in 1971 and later enshrined in the 1988 *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*, Canada's multiculturalism policy espoused a civic form of nationalism that would help to promote Trudeau's vision of a pan-Canadian identity.[242] Refusing to privilege any particular group as constituting Canada's official culture, the policy acknowledged and celebrated the country's social, ethnic and racial diversity,[243] while emphasizing equality between its various cultural groups.[244] Canadian multiculturalism also advocated for a concomitant bilingual framework that instrumentalized the use of language by disassociating its link with culture.[245] Despite its intentions to unite Canadians, however, the multicultural model quickly became the target of heavy criticism. The attempt to place all groups on the same footing was interpreted as an implicit denial of the multinational character of

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[238] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 36; Dimitrios Karmis, "Pluralism and National Identity(ies) in Contemporary Québec: Conceptual Clarifications, Typology and Discourse Analysis," in *Québec State and Society*, third edition, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004, 83.
[239] Karmis, "Pluralism and National Identity(ies)," 83.
[240] Karmis, "Pluralism and National Identity(ies)," 82-83.
[241] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 37.
[242] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 38; Karmis, "Pluralism and National Identity(ies)," 83-84.
[243] Cory Blad and Philippe Couton, "The Rise of an Intercultural Nation: Immigration, Diversity and Nationhood in Québec," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 35:4 (2009): 658.
[244] Ines Molinaro, "Context and Integration: The Allophone Communities in Québec," in *Contemporary Québec: Selected Readings* ed. Michael D. Behiels and Matthew Hayday, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011, 457.
[245] Molinaro, "Context and Integration," 458.

Canada.[246] In Québec specifically, the juxtaposition of cultures in a bilingual framework was seen as a symbolic refusal to recognize the distinctness of Québec society.[247] Dissatisfied with the implications of Canada's multicultural approach, Québec formulated and promoted an alternative model of ethnocultural integration, one that focused its efforts on fostering an intercultural dialogue between the province's ethnocultural minorities and the francophone majority.[248] This model of integration −which is now regarded as an early form of interculturalism− would find its first articulation in a 1981 action plan entitled *Autant de façons d'être Québécois*.[249]

Looking to distinguish its model from Canadian multiculturalism, the 1981 action plan continued to endorse the notion of cultural convergence as its approach to ethnocultural integration.[250] In other words, like the 1978 White Paper, the 1981 document also regarded the French-Canadian culture as a rallying-point around which all other cultures would gravitate in the hopes that the province's "cultural communities" would integrate (as opposed to assimilate) into Québec society.[251] In addition to integration, the action plan's other objectives included raising awareness among the francophone majority of the "contributions" of the province's minorities and ensuring the maintenance and development of their cultural specificity.[252] In short, these objectives reflected the Québec government's efforts to find an equilibrium between the recognition of

[246] Karmis, "Pluralism and National Identity(ies)," 85.
[247] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 228; Alain-G Gagnon, Plaidoyer pour l'interculturalisme, *Possible* 24:4 (2000): 24.
[248] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 28.
[249] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 228; Alain-G Gagnon and Raffaele Iacovino, "Interculturalism: Expanding the Boundaries of Citizenship" in *Québec State and Society*, third edition, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon, Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004, 374-375.
[250] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 228; Blad and Couton, "Rise of an Intercultural Nation," 660.
[251] Gladys L. Symons, "The State and Ethnic Diversity: Structural and Discursive change in Québec's Ministère de l'Immigration," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34.3 (2002): 33.
[252] Fontaine, "Immigration and Cultural Policies," 1045.

Québec's growing cultural diversity and the protection of the culture and language of the francophone majority.[253]

Although *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* explicitly affirmed the pluralistic nature of Québec society,[254] many authors contend that the Québec nation still remained narrow in its definition during the 1980s.[255] As Juteau explains, despite its intentions to integrate minorities, the action plan ultimately divided Quebeckers by making a distinction between "members of the Québec nation" and "members of the province's cultural communities" − the former referring to the francophone majority of French-Canadian descent, the latter to ethnocultural minorities.[256] In her view, the distinction suggested that Québec's cultural communities were not yet regarded as members of the national community.[257] Thus, instead of expounding a pluralistic conception of the nation, Juteau argues that the state endorsed and promoted a pluralistic conception of the territory.[258] In other words, Québec merely acknowledged the cultural diversity of its population, but did not yet incorporate it into the nation's definition. Nevertheless, Québec's commitment to expanding the boundaries of the national community during this period must not be overlooked or discounted. Although official government discourse during the 1980s continued to be underpinned by a restrictive conception of the nation, it was clear that "the term 'Québécois', in the minds of most francophones, took on a new resonance that referred to all Québec citizens."[259] This new resonance

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[253] Junichiro Koji, "Ideas, Policy Networks and Policy Change: Explaining Immigrant Integration Policy Evolution in Québec, 1976-1991," 81st Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association, Ottawa, May 27-29, 2009, 2.
[254] Symons, "The State and Ethnic Diversity," 33.
[255] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 29; Juteau 1999 159; Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 2002 444.
[256] Danielle Juteau, *L'ethnicité et ses frontières,* Montréal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1999, 158-159.
[257] Juteau, *L'ethnicité et ses frontières*, 159.
[258] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 2002, 444.
[259] Gérard Bouchard, "A New Old Country? The Formation and Transformations of Culture and Nation in Québec," in *The Making of the Nations and Cultures of the New World: An Essay in Comparative History*, trans. by Michelle Weinroth and Paul Leduc Brown Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008, 136

would become particularly prominent in the 1990s,[260] with the rise in popularity of civic nationalism.[261]

2.5 The 1990's: A Civic Turn

Although the introduction of civic elements into the Québec nation can be traced back to policies of the mid-1970s, it is the 1990s that constituted what Gilles Bibeau calls "the civic turn" in the development of Québécois nationalism.[262] This turn was perhaps most exemplified in the 1990 Liberal policy document entitled *Let's Build Québec Together: Vision: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration*, which Bouchard and Taylor describe as a "civic pact" between Quebeckers.[263] More specifically, the document – which continued to refine Québec's intercultural model of the prior decade – proposed the idea of a "moral contract" to articulate the reciprocal commitments expected of Québec as a host society and of its newcomers.[264] In particular, the contract was to be guided by three principles that characterized Québec as

> [1] a society in which French is the common language of public life; [2] a democratic society where the participation and the contribution of everyone is expected and encouraged; and [3] a pluralist society open to multiple contributions within the limits imposed by the respect for fundamental democratic values and the necessity of inter-community exchange.[265]

In addition to these principles, the document also replaced the controversial policy of cultural convergence with Gary Caldwell and Julien Harvey's notion of a *culture publique commune*

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[260] Ibid.
[261] Langlois, "Defining the Québec Nation," 118.
[262] Gilles Bibeau, "Accueillir «l'autre» dans la distinction. Essai sur le Québec pluriel." in *Traité de la culture*, ed. Denise Lemieux, Canada: Les édition de l'IQRC, 2002, 228.
[263] Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future,* 109.
[264] Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future*, 288.
[265] Gouvernement du Québec, *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble : énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et d'intégration,* Quebec: Ministère des Communautés culturelles et de l'immigration, 1991 15 as translated in Gagnon and Iacovino, "Expanding the Boundaries of Citizenship", 375.

(common public culture)[266] – which refers to the "minimal consensus that Québec society must establish" with respect to the values it considers central to the expression of a common and shared identity.[267]

According to Bouchard and Taylor, it is appropriate to speak of *Let's Build Québec Together* as a civic framework not only "for its insistence on common institutions as a focal point of participation," but also for its emphasis on "the legal and social dimensions of integration."[268] Equally important as the policy's civic elements was its concomitant expansion of the boundaries of Québec's national community. The document erased the previous division between the Québec nation and cultural communities introduced by *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* by regarding all those living in Québec as Québécois, irrespective of their ethnic or cultural backgrounds.[269] In other words, accompanying the implementation of a more civic approach to ethnocultural integration was a more inclusive conception of the nation, as all residents of Québec were now regarded as members of the national community.[270] Indeed, this position was reaffirmed in subsequent governmental documents and by other governmental organizations such as the *Conseil des relations interculturelles* (CRI). As Juteau notes, in 1998, the CRI not only "stressed the need to recognize multiple forms of belongings, and [...] that the ethnocentric connotations associated with the term Québécois be done away with", but also that "the term Québécois should include others than French-Canadians."[271] In her view, it was clear that "belongingness was redefined" in the governmental sphere and that "Québec had embraced pluralism."[272]

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[266] Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future*, 117, 126; Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 237.
[267] Gilles Bibeau, "The Pleasure of Difference: Why would Québec Deprive itself?," *InterCulture* 156 (2009): 21.
[268] Bouchard Taylor, *Building the Future,* 117.
[269] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 29.
[270] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 444.
[271] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 448.
[272] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 446.

During the 1990s, in addition to its growing presence in the public sphere, the "civic turn" was also making waves in academic circles, with intellectuals such as Jean-Pierre Derriennic, Dominique Leydet, Gary Caldwell, and Claude Bariteau, each promoting civic conceptions of the Québec nation.[273] Most notable among these intellectuals is Claude Bariteau, who takes issue with the account of the nation espoused by Dumont and supported by his followers in the Parti québécois. Specifically, Bariteau is highly critical of the idea of cultural convergence, claiming that it did not only privileged the culture of the dominant group, namely, francophone Quebeckers of French-Canadian heritage, but also overlooked the contributions of the province's ethnocultural communities.[274] In his view, a democratic approach to the development of a political nation cannot occur in a framework in which the majority imposes a culture that it itself defines.[275] Inspired heavily by the political thought of Jürgen Habermas, Bariteau argues instead that a democratic society in a multiethnic and multicultural context requires the development of a citizenship that is rooted in equal rights and a common public culture to which all members contribute.[276] In Québec in particular, Bariteau claims that the creation of this political culture must occur in a framework in which French is the common language of public life, believing that it is "le ciment de la québécité".[277] However, similar to his view of the notion of a common public culture, Bariteau asserts that it is imperative that French as the common public language be disassociated from the historical and cultural memory of French-Canada so as to avoid any perception that the culture of the

[273] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 47-54.
[274] Claude Bariteau, *Québec 18 septembre 2001. Le monde pour horizon,* Montréal: Québec Amérique, 1998 142-143, 149.
[275] Bariteau, *Québec 18 septembre 2001,* 163.
[276] Bariteau, *Québec 18 septembre 2001,* 155-156.
[277] Bariteau, *Québec 18 septembre 2001,* 163.

dominant group is being favored.[278] Instead, French is to be regarded simply as a "language of communication, rather than the language of cultural convergence."[279]

Like others who espouse a civic conception of the nation, Bariteau's definition of the common public culture is considered to be highly procedural, particularly because of his insistence on grounding citizenship on universal political symbols and institutions that are void of cultural or "ethnic" affiliations.[280] As we shall see below, this procedural definition will be criticized by intellectuals such as Gerard Bouchard and Michel Seymour, who not only argue that purely civic models are much too abstract, but that every national identity contains at least some degree of ethnicity. However, before attending to these criticisms, I would like to discuss the notion of citizenship as it constitutes the next important step in the development of the Québec national community.

2.6 A Québec Citizenship

As is noted by Oakes and Warren, the desire to emphasize the civic elements of the national community was accompanied by "the emergence of a new defining characteristic of Québec identity in the post-1995 period: citizenship."[281] Although the discourse surrounding the notion of a Québec citizenship is said to have appeared in the immediate aftermath of the 1995 referendum,[282] its development can be traced back to about two months prior to the October vote. As Danielle Juteau observes, in August of 1995, the CCCI (*Conseil des Communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration*) "was asked to establish building blocks towards a *citoyenneté québécoise* [...] and to propose ways of

[278] Bariteau, *Québec 18 septembre 2001,* 157.
[279] Claude Bariteau, "Québec as a Political, Democratic and Sovereign Nation," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation,* ed. Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 142.
[280] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 52.
[281] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 31-32.
[282] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 237.

incorporating diversity that ensured that all participated fully in Québec's collective life."[283] According to Juteau, this marked the first time that the expression of Québécois citizenship was used in public discourse.[284]

Despite the fact that many have debated on whether or not it was appropriate to speak of a Québec citizenship in the absence of a sovereign Québec, the idea of a *citoyenneté québécoise* was continuously reaffirmed and promoted in the governmental sphere during the post-1995 period, particularly "as a means of encouraging a sense of solidarity with Québec especially among those of immigrant descent."[285] For instance, in January of 1996, the notion was expressed by the then Premier of Québec Lucien Bouchard, who explained that *le peuple québécois* was composed of equal citizens.[286] The idea was also promoted by various government documents, such as that which accompanied *The National Forum on Citizenship and Integration* in 2000.[287] It was also one of the primary focuses of the 2001 Larose Commission that recommended "that Québec citizenship be officially and formally instituted to reflect the attachment of Quebeckers to the entire array of patrimonial and democratic institutions and values that they have in common."[288]

According to Oakes and Warren, the conception of citizenship endorsed during this period most closely resembles the civic republican model, particularly because of its emphasis on "the practical and identity dimensions of citizenship [and the] integration to a common culture" – which in the Québec context was to be organized around the notion of French as a common public language.[289] As the authors observe, the influence of this model is not only evident in the document

[283] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 447.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Oakes, "French: A Language," 542; Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 32.
[286] Juteau, "The Citizen Makes an Entrée," 448.
[287] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 32.
[288] Gouvernement du Québec 2001, *Le français, une langue pour tout le monde,* Rapport de la Commission des États généraux sur la situation et l'avenir de la langue française au Québec, Québec: Gouvernement du Québec, 2000, *21* as translated in Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 32-34.
[289] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 38.

that accompanied the National Forum on Citizenship and Integration which acknowledged that citizenship is always "embedded in a particular context, history and culture that give it meaning", but also during the Larose Commission that defined citizenship with respect to its participatory elements, as well as "the broader sense of belonging to a living heritage, [...] common political and cultural references and a shared identity."[290] As Oakes and Warren point out, though these definitions suggest a substantive account of citizenship, they should not automatically be equated with an ethnically-defined model of citizenship[291] In their view, there is little reason to believe that an account of citizenship colored by substantive elements precludes the establishment of more inclusive conceptions.[292] In fact, they note that both the Larose Commission and the document that accompanied the Forum on Citizenship repeatedly stressed "the dynamic nature of culture and that citizenship is a 'living heritage' to which all Quebeckers contribute irrespective of their ethnic background."[293]

Although the proposal to formalize a Québécois citizenship has not been adopted by any provincial government since it was introduced in the post-1995 period, its development nonetheless demonstrates the province's continued commitment towards creating a more inclusive Québec society. Indeed, the discourse that surrounded the notion of citizenship reflects a larger and more progressive effort to expand the parameters of the national community in Québec. In particular, this effort has manifested itself in a continuous attempt to construct a common civic and territorial-based identity able to unite all Quebeckers, irrespective of their origins.[294]

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[290] Gouvernement du Québec, La citoyenneté québécoise, Document de consultation pour le forum national sur la citoyenneté et l'intégration, Québec: Ministère des Relations avec les citoyens et de l'immigration, 2000, 10 and Gouvernement du Québec, *Le français, une langue pour tout le monde,* 12 as translated in Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 38-39.
[291] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 39.
[292] Ibid.
[293] Ibid.
[294] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 194.

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the road towards a more inclusive Québec has not always been a smooth one. It has seen its fair share of obstacles and disagreements in both the public and academic spheres. Therefore, it is important to briefly mention these contentious developments in the following section, as it will provide us with a fuller grasp of the direction that nationalism in Québec has taken since the Quiet Revolution.

2.7 Obstacles, Hiccups and Contentions in the Public Sphere

One of the most well-known and perhaps most referred to hiccups in the movement towards a more inclusive Québec was Jacques Parizeau's controversial post-referendum comments regarding money and the ethnic vote (see section 1.6.2). Equally significant was his use of the phrase "we, Quebeckers" which, according to many commentators, suggested a return to an exclusive and ethnic conception of Québécois nationalism.[295] Unsurprisingly, the remarks raised many questions regarding Québec's openness towards ethnocultural pluralism and the genuineness of its growing civic project.[296] At the same time, however, it is important to take note of the fact that Parizeau was "severely criticized from all sides of the political spectrum for his remarks," thus suggesting that public officials and personalities were truly committed towards moving away from an ethnic conception of the nation.[297] In fact, Parizeau's comments only served to intensify the shift towards a more civic and pluralistic conception of the Québec national community that was already underway during the 1990s.[298]

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[295] Langlois, "Defining the Québec Nation," 109; Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 30.
[296] Michel Venne, "Rethinking the Nation, or How to Live Together," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation,* ed. Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 5; Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 30; Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 237.
[297] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 237.
[298] Joseph-Yvon Thériault, "Universality and Particularity in the National Question in Québec," *Rooted Cosmopolitanism: Canada and The World,* ed. Will Kymlicka and Kathryn Walker, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2012, 72.

More recent hiccups in the movement towards an inclusive Québec include the well-documented reasonable accommodation crisis that occurred during the 2007 provincial election, as well as the contentious debates surrounding the proposal of Bill 60 (also known as the Charter of Values) in 2013-2014 (see section 1.6.2 for more details). Both controversies fit within a larger context regarding the place of religion in Québec and the secularization of its public space, a debate that can be traced back to the early 2000s.[299] With regards to the reasonable accommodation debates of 2007-2008, the crisis really exploded after the town council of a small community named Hérouxville adopted a document entitled *Normes de vie*.[300] The controversial document not only outlined a number of customs and practices that it deemed "normal", but also a series of religious and cultural accommodations that it considered unreasonable.[301] What made the *Normes de vie* even more contentious was the fact that this small community of Mauricie deemed it necessary to adopt these standards despite comprising of only one immigrant family.[302]

Adding to the antagonisms were the *Action Démocratique du Québec* and its leader Mario Dumont who used the Hérouxville and reasonable accommodation controversy as a springboard for its political campaign during the 2007 provincial election.[303] In response to the growing public and media attention given to the issue of religious and cultural accommodation at the time, Québec Premier Jean Charest, in February of 2007 announced, the establishment of the well-known Bouchard-Taylor Commission to report on the subject.[304] After months of public hearings and

[299] For a chronology of the debate's development see Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future,* 50-60.
[300] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* xv.
[301] Ibid.
[302] Ibid.
[303] Fiona Barker, "Learning to be a majority: Negotiating immigration, integration and national membership in Québec," *Political Science* 62:11 (2010): 32.
[304] Barker, "Learning to be a Majority," 31; Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 229.

consultations, the report and its recommendations were submitted to the government in May of 2008.[305]

In the context of this chapter's larger narrative, what makes the crisis particularly pertinent for our purposes is that it implied a return to a more narrow conception of the nation. As Gilles Bibeau notes, the accommodation debates

> contributed to the resurgence of an ethnically-accentuated nationalism that was thought to have disappeared in Québec. Divisive nationalism had in fact receded over the last fifteen years, or so we thought, swept away by a civic nationalism that was both inclusive and pluralistic. This nationalism was suddenly revealed to be much less inclusive than was previously thought.[306]

Echoing Bibeau's assessment of the crisis – albeit in a milder manner– is Jean-François Dupré, who explains that though the desire to secularize Québec's public space was often articulated "through rhetorical discourses extolling the pluralist fabric of Québec", its insistence on the religious neutrality of the state in fact limited its inclusiveness by "restricting the extent to which practicing members of minority religions would identify and be accepted as members of the Québécois nation."[307]

Despite the potential regression that this crisis implied, a few points remain reassuring regarding the move towards a more inclusive Québec. Firstly, the issue was heavily decried by many intellectual and social actors for potentially de-legitimizing Québec's efforts at creating a more open and tolerant national community.[308] Secondly, in the aftermath of the debates, the Charest government reaffirmed the province's commitment to intercultural integration with a particular emphasis on the idea of a moral contract[309] –which in section 2.4 was regarded as a significant step

[305] Ibid; Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 229.
[306] Bibeau, "The Pleasure of Difference," 11.
[307] Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 238.
[308] Barker, "Learning to be a Majority," 32.
[309] Barker, "Learning to be a Majority," 33.

towards an inclusive Québec. Thirdly, the public debates on the crisis of accommodation were not a phenomenon exclusive to Québec society, but "resembled [those occurring] in many liberal democracies [struggling] over the appropriate balance between national unity and cultural diversity."[310] Lastly, as Bouchard and Taylor point out, despite the backlash towards accommodation witnessed during this period, "we can say that a truly inclusive Québec identity has been developing in Québec for several decades. We are speaking of a genuine Québec identity that all citizens can share within or beyond their specific identities."[311]

As for the debates surrounding the more recent Bill 60, similar concerns over the potential narrowing of the nation apply in this case as well. For instance, Celine Cooper of the Montreal Gazette argues that Bill 60 runs counter to the PQ's stated desire of a more open, inclusive and equal Québec society.[312] What is more, she notes that the party has only perpetuated the view held by many that the PQ is using "the power of the state to impose the cultural dominance of the majority onto Québec's cultural, religious and linguistic minorities."[313] Taking this into consideration, it is not at all surprising that some have regarded the bill as an attempt to reintroduce a more exclusive form of Québec nationalism.[314] This being said, recently elected Premier Philippe Couillard's victory speech immediately following the 2014 provincial election provides us once again with some reassurance, as he "vow[ed] to run an inclusive and 'stable' government that represents the interests of all Quebecers."[315] This is evidenced by his claim that "we are all Quebecers. We should all focus on what brings us together. What unites us makes us stronger."[316] Although one can question

[310] Barker, "Learning to be a Majority," 32.
[311] Bouchard and Taylor, *Building the Future,* 124.
[312] Celine Cooper, "The PQ suffers from a divisive hang-up with identity politics," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 26th, 2013, A15.
[313] Ibid.
[314] Don MacPherson, "Who's values are these?", *Montreal Gazette*, September 11, 2013, A23.
[315] Sonja Puzic, "Québec Liberals win Majority: 'Division is Over'," *CTV News*, April 7, 2014, http://www.ctvnews.ca/politics/Québec-liberals-win-majority-division-is-over-1.1764036 (Accessed October 21st, 2014).
[316] Ibid.

whether Couillard's statements regarding unity and inclusion were in fact genuine or merely a matter of political rhetoric/opportunism, they are nonetheless consistent with repeated attempts since the 1970s to create a more inclusive Québec society.

2.8 Academic and Intellectual Disagreements

In addition to the public arena, debates about the nation's definition have been on-going in intellectual and academic circles as well. Generally speaking, we may say that the disagreements in this realm have been rooted in a persistent struggle to strike a balance between protecting the cultural (or "ethnic") elements of the francophone majority and endorsing more pluralistic and civic values so as to be more open to Québec's growing ethnocultural diversity (and therefore more inclusive). For instance, the strictly civic conceptions that were popular in the 1990s are often said to have been a direct response to cultural and ethnic models that do not only privileged the majority culture, but also overlooked Québec's ethnoculturally diverse minority communities.[317] As a result, emphasis was then placed on the ideas of equal political rights, civic principles and a common public culture so as to better respond to the pluralistic nature of Québec society. An example of such a reaction was seen in section 2.4 with Claude Bariteau's civic response to Fernand Dumont's alleged ethnic model.

A little more recently, strictly civic conceptions of the nation have come under fire for being much too abstract, theoretical and detached to generate strong cultural affiliations.[318] Additionally, these accounts have been criticized for potentially evacuating the nation of its cultural content.[319] As a result, a current has emerged in intellectual circles that attempts to reintroduce some degree of

[317] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 5; Victor Piché, "Immigration, Diversity and Ethnic Relations in Québec," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34:3 (2002): 19.
[318] Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* xvii.
[319] Piché, "Immigration, Diversity and Ethnic Relations," 18.

ethnicity while maintaining an overall civic framework.[320] This is precisely the position taken by Gerard Bouchard, who rejects purely civic models of the nation on account that they are too narrowly focused on the individual, too utopian in nature and therefore not sociologically viable.[321] This is not to say that Bouchard is entirely against grounding the nation in civic elements, he simply believes that a national identity constructed in the absence of ethnic dimensions is unrealistic.[322] In other words, while Bouchard agrees with proponents of civic nationalism that the Québec nation should rest on "universally applicable values, fundamental rights and democratic values", he nonetheless maintains that these "need to take root in [both] a history [and] a specific cultural environment."[323] Indeed, for Bouchard, this cultural environment is intimately tied with the culture of the francophone majority, particularly the French language. In Bouchard's view, the French language is an essential component in the creation of a common Québec culture not only because it serves as a common denominator that "opens the way to interactions, initiatives and common expressions," but more importantly, it allows individuals to "participate fully as a citizen in the life of the collectivity."[324]

Like Bouchard, Michel Seymour also takes issue with exclusively civic models of the nation, claiming that they dissolve the francophone majority "into a sterilized political community" that obscures what is specific about the Québécois nation: the francophone national majority.[325] While Seymour is wary of those who espouse strictly civic accounts of nationalism, he does not reject outright the presence of civic dimensions. On the contrary, Seymour argues that thinking adequately

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[320] Piché, "Immigration, Diversity and Ethnic Relations," 18; Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 5.
[321] Gérard Bouchard, *La nation québécoise au futur et au passé*, Montreal: VLB éditeur, 1999, 22.
[322] Bouchard, *La nation québécoise ,* 31.
[323] Gérard Bouchard, "Building the Québec Nation: Manifesto for a National Coalition," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation,* ed. Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 30.
[324] Bouchard, "Manifesto for a National Coalition," 29-30.
[325] Michel Seymour, "An Inclusive Nation That Does Not Deny Its Origins," in *Vive Québec: New Thinking and New Approaches to the Québec Nation, ed.* Michel Venne, Toronto: James Lorimer and Company, 2001, 152-153.

about the Québécois nation requires taking into account *both* the civic and cultural elements of the nation.[326] Thus, Seymour is not at odds with the creation of a common civic identity, so long as it is grounded in "the language culture and history of the francophone national majority."[327]

Contrasting with the more balanced nationalism[328] of Bouchard and Seymour is a current of thought known as "conservative" or "neoconservative" nationalism. Its main proponents include academics and intellectuals such as Jacques Beauchemin, Stéphane Kelly, Éric Bédard, Marc Chevrier, and Mathieu Bock-Côté. Emerging even more recently in the evolution of Québec society, neoconservative nationalism formed largely in reaction to Canadian multiculturalism and modernity's celebration of liberal individualism.[329] In addition to its reaction to these two developments, the school of thought also takes issue with the increasing openness of certain Québec nationalists towards cultural pluralism, the recognition and right to difference, the multiplication and fragmentation of identities, as well as an analysis of Québec society that incorporates minority communities and non-nationalist movements.[330] Believing that these values are ultimately destabilizing and threatening to cohesiveness and unity of the Québec nation and its francophone component, neoconservatives advocate for a return to the more "traditional" elements of the national community, among which entails an "overt reassertion of the French-Canadian culture and core values in defining the nation's fabric."[331]

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[326] Seymour, "An Inclusive Nation," 152.
[327] Seymour, "An Inclusive Nation," 152-153.
[328] I describe Bouchard and Seymour's visions of the Québec nation as "balanced" precisely because they attempt to find a more middling position between the civic and cultural elements of the nation, as opposed to favoring one side over the other.
[329] Chedly Belkhodja "Le discours de la «nouvelle sensibilité conservatrice» au Québec," *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40:1 (2008): 96; Jean-Marc Piotte and Jean-Pierre Couture, *Les Nouveaux visages du nationalisme conservateur au Québec*, Montreal: Québec Amérique, 2012, 13.
[330] Belkhodja, "Nouvelle sensibilité conservatrice," 96-97; Piotte and Couture, *Les Nouveaux visages*, 14
[331] Belkhodja, "Nouvelle sensibilité conservatrice," 85, Piotte and Couture, *Les Nouveaux visages*, 146, 159; Dupré, "Intercultural Citizenship," 238.

Most emblematic of this *sensibilité conservatrice* is Jacques Beauchemin, who Jean-Marc Piotte and Jean-Pierre Couture describe as the *intellectuel organique* of this current.[332] Like his neoconservative colleagues, Beauchemin is concerned with the fragmentation of identities and the celebration of difference brought about by contemporary society.[333] More specifically, Beauchemin fears that this modern context of pluralist identities not only overlooks the importance of the historical memory of the French-Canadian community and the emancipatory project of Québec sovereignty that it engenders, but that it may also potentially erode the two altogether.[334] While Beauchemin avoids explicitly stating the nationalistic conception that he favors, it is clear that he opposes pluralist conceptions of the nation. Instead, Beauchemin advocates for an image of Québec society that is characterized by a unitary political subject capable of transcending the particularistic claims of the many "identity groups" brought about by the "recognition of all by all."[335] As is perhaps expected –given the general overview of neoconservative nationalism outlined above– the political subject for Beauchemin is to be rooted in the historical and shared memory of the French-Canadian collectivity.[336]

Although the emergence of a neoconservative school implies a return to a more narrow conception of the nation, it is important to note that creating a more inclusive Québec has not ceased to be a priority for many nationalists in both the public and academic spheres. In fact, such is recognized by neoconservatives themselves who, in taking issue with those who promote a pluralistic conception of the national community, implicitly acknowledge that many are still committed to making Québec an open society that incorporates individuals from various walks of

[332] Piotte and Couture, *Les Nouveaux visages*, 12.
[333] Beauchemin, "A Nation Torn," 161-162; Jacques Beauchemin, "What Does It Mean to be a Quebecer?: Between Self-Preservation and Openness to the Other," in *Québec State and Society*, third edition, ed. Alain-G. Gagnon. Peterborough: Broadview Press, 2004, 18-19, 21-22.
[334] Beauchemin, "A Nation Torn," 159-160, 164-165; Beauchemin, "What Does It Mean to be a Quebecer?," 23-24, 28.
[335] Beauchemin, "A Nation Torn," 165-166; Beauchemin, "What Does It Mean to be a Quebecer?," 20-21, 23.
[336] Beauchemin, "A Nation Torn," 166-167; Beauchemin, "What Does It Mean to be a Quebecer?," 23-24.

life. While these disagreements suggest that Québec is far from reaching a consensus on which conception of the national community is most appropriate for its context, it is difficult to deny the effort made by many academics and intellectuals over the last five decades to expanding the nation's boundaries.

Conclusion

My intention in this chapter was to trace the development of the Québec nation from the ethnic nationalism of French Canada to a more inclusive, civic and territorial conception of the Québec national community. In following this development I was able to show that the boundaries of Québec nationalism since the Quiet Revolution have progressively widen so as to incorporate all those living in Québec, irrespective of their ethnocultural origins. Although negotiations and contestations over national identity in Québec are still and may forever be ongoing,[337] it is clear that many engaged in this effort have been committed to making Québec a more inclusive society.

Indeed, the theme of inclusion has been repeatedly emphasized so as to better situate and contextualize the discussion that will take place in the following chapter regarding the way in which some ethnocultural and linguistic minorities perceive nationalism in Québec. As we shall see shortly, despite the commitment of many Québec nationalists to create a more inclusive Québec society, these minorities continue to interpret its boundaries as being particularly narrow. More specifically, they continue to perceive Québec nationalism as coinciding with an ethnically-driven nationalism that restricts membership exclusively to francophones of French-Canadian descent, a conception of the nation that was progressively supplanted with the emergence of a territorial-based identity

[337] Barker, "Learning to be a Majority," 36.

Chapter 3 − Ethnocultural and Linguistic Minorities and Expressions of Montrealness

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the results of my empirical research so as to verify my hypothesis. I begin by briefly re-stating certain aspects of my methodology, particularly the period of study and the motivations behind its choice. I then present very general quantitative data regarding the total amount of opinion pieces read and the location from which they were penned. Subsequent to this presentation, I delve into a discussion about how the Greater Montreal area is defined, as I only examine the contributions of minorities living in this area. I then explain how each opinion piece is to be read and categorized. More specifically, I introduce what I describe as three "meta-questions" that will allow me to identify which works are relevant for analysis and interpretation. Accordingly, the answers to each question are then presented in the following three sections and can be summed up as follows: 1) that Québec nationalism is perceived by minorities as being ethnically-defined, 2) that minorities feel excluded from the Québec nation, and 3) that they have a strong affinity towards the city of Montreal that comes at the expense of an attachment to the rest of the province. In the final section, I tie the responses of each meta-question together and analyze them using a theoretical framework that conceives of identity as being constituted through our relationships with others and the stories we construct to gives those relationships meaning. In so doing, I am then able to confirm my hypothesis which states that the meaning of the Montreal identity for ethnocultural and linguistic minorities is (1) intimately tied to a sentiment of exclusion, that is to say, minorities have come to understand their Montreal identity in response to what they perceive as an exclusive form of Québec nationalism, one which restricts the notion of Québécois to francophones of French-Canadian descent; (2) it entails sharing in and taking pride in the city's

multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities which contributes to the building of an alternative (and more inclusive) identity that is distinct from and even opposed to Québec identity.

3.1 Approach re-stated and Presentation of General Data

As explained in chapter 1, the empirical aspect of this thesis involves examining the opinion section of the Montreal Gazette from September 4th, 2012 to April 7th, 2014. This timeframe coincides with the eighteen months in which the Parti québécois, under the leadership of Pauline Marois, governed Québec as a minority government. The reasoning behind this choice is twofold: first, to select a moment in the province's political history in which expressions relating to identity and belongingness would most likely occur, and second, to select a period in time that was relatively close to the writing of this work, as it would make the implications of our findings more immediately politically relevant. In my preliminary research it was found that these expressions appeared most frequently during episodes of political controversy and uncertainty that directly affect minorities. Coupling this insight with the aim of selecting a more recent period of study, the PQ's eighteen months in power emerged as an appropriate timeframe in which to test my hypothesis, as their year and a half in government proved to be quite contentious.

In particular, the PQ's eighteen months in power were accompanied by a number of political controversies that were interpreted by many as targeting Québec minorities − this will become obvious when examining the opinion pieces in section 3.3. Two of these controversies were intimated previously in chapter 1, specifically, the Marois government's proposal of Bill 60 (also known as the Québec Charter of Values, or simply "the Charter") and Bill 14.[338] Other notable political issues during this period include the media dubbed "pastagate" issue that made global headlines in 2013, as well as the similarly titled "soccergate" dispute − which was not a ruling

[338] See Chapter 1, section 1.6.2 for more details.

implemented by the PQ, but was nonetheless a point of contention. The former "refers to the furor [...] over the unsuccessful attempt by Québec's French-Language protection agency to force a Montreal restaurant to add French translations to the Italian names of dishes on its menu,"[339] while the latter refers to the Québec Soccer Federation's decision to ban those wearing turbans, keskis, patkas and other head-coverings from participating in the sport.[340] Together, these four controversies constitute both the political context in which the opinion pieces were written, as well as the issues to which an overwhelming amount of letters, editorials and op-eds reacted and responded to.

As for the number of opinions published in this period, the Montreal Gazette contained a total of 5,006 pieces during the eighteen-months in which the PQ held governmental power. Of the 5,006 works found in this span, 3,088 consisted of letters written to the editor by the general public. Another 368 were penned by the Gazette's editing team and were aptly published under the title "The Gazette's View". The remaining 1,550 pieces consisted of op-ed works written by various columnists, public intellectuals, academics and politicians such as Jack Jedwab, Denis Coderre, Don MacPherson, Josh Freed, Jean-François Lisée, as well as many other well-known names in the province of Québec and the city of Montreal.

With regards to their location, the Gazette received opinion pieces from a staggering 122 different municipalities and boroughs in Québec, as well as a substantial number of pieces from 58 cities around the globe.[341] Unsurprisingly, Montreal appears as the most frequently cited municipality, with a total of 968 contributions stemming from individuals claiming to be from Montreal. To put into perspective just how many individuals writing to the Gazette identified their

[339] Don Macpherson," It's all Bad News For Montreal," *The Montreal* Gazette, August 8, 2013, A13.
[340] Celine Cooper, "We Can Do Better Than This," *The Montreal Gazette,* June 10, 2013, A16.
[341] For the list of contributions from outside Québec, see Appendix C, specifically those locations which are darkened.

location as Montreal, Dollard-Des-Ormeaux was the second most cited municipality, with 147 pieces having been penned from the area, while Côte Saint-Luc was a close third with 135 contributions.[342]

Tallying the location of each piece also allows us to narrow in on those composed by individuals living in the Greater Montreal area. The reason for focusing on the Greater Montreal area and not just the municipalities and boroughs located on the island of Montreal is due to the fact that expressions of Montrealness can appear from individuals living in off-island suburbs regarded as part of the Greater Montreal Area. For instance, one Saint-Lazare resident not only describes Montreal as distinct from Québec, but also demands that the city be partitioned from the province.[343] This perspective suggests an attachment to the city, even though the individual does not live on the island of Montreal, perhaps due to the fact that he once lived in the city, but now lives off-island for financial matters. Notwithstanding the reasons behind his attachment to Montreal, the attachment itself makes it clear that the perspective of minorities living within the Greater Montreal area are as pertinent as those living on the island.

Of course, this discussion naturally brings us to the question of what municipalities belong to the Greater Montreal area. Although no official definition of the area exists, the Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal (CMM) – a planning and funding body headed by the mayors of Montreal and Laval among others – defines the Greater Montreal area as "consist[ing] of 82 municipalities in five geographic sectors, i.e. the Montréal agglomeration, the Longueuil agglomeration, Laval, the North Shore and the South Shore."[344] *Figure 1* below contains a chart listing the various municipalities belonging to each region as well as their respective populations:

[342] For a full list of locations, totals and percentages see Appendix C.
[343] Michael Morey, "Our Beloved Montreal is a Distinct Society," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 27th, 2013, A20.
[344] Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, "Portrait of Greater Montreal," *Metropolitan* 1 (2010): 5.

Figure 1

Montréal agglomeration	1,906,811
Baie-D'Urfé	3,967
Beaconsfield	19,571
Cote-Saint-Luc	32,616
Dollard-Des Ormeaux	49,938
Dorval	18,412
Hampstead	7,274
Kirkland	20,781
L'Ile-Dorval	0
Montreal	1,667,700
Montreal-Est	3,876
Montreal-Ouest	5,227
Mont-Royal	19,278
Pointe-Claire	31,190
Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue	5,318
Senneville	972
Westmount	20,691
Longueuil agglomeration	**399,279**
Boucherville	40,809
Brossard	76,936
Longueuil	234,003
Saint-Bruno-de-Montarville	25,507
Saint-Lambert	22,024
Laval	**391,893**

North Shore	529,825
Deux-Montagnes RCM (CMM part)	90,555
Deux-Montagnes	17,521
Oka	3,493
Pointe-Calumet	6,995
Sainte-Marthe-sur-le-Lac	13,561
Saint-Eustache	43,605
Saint-Joseph-du-Lac	5,380
L'Assomption RCM (CMM part)	108,383
Charlemagne	5,801
L'Assomption	18,825
Repentigny	80,482
Saint-Sulpice	3,275
Les Moulins RCM	141,745
Mascouche	38,918
Terrebonne	102,827
Thérèse-De Blainville RCM	150,450
Blainville	51,161
Boisbriand	26,714
Bois-des-Filion	9,334
Lorraine	9,577
Rosemère	14,199
Sainte-Anne-des-Plaines	13,558
Sainte-Thérèse	25,907
Mirabel	38,692
Mirabel	38,692

South Shore	456,155
Beauharnois-Salaberry RCM (CMM part)	12 112
Beauharnois	12,112
Marguerite-D'Youville RCM	71,441
Calixa-Lavallée	530
Contrecoeur	5,886
Saint-Amable	9,758
Sainte-Julie	29,077
Varennes	20,768
Verchères	5,422
Vallée-du-Richelieu RCM (CMM part)	105,239
Beloeil	19,906
Carignan	8,063
Chambly	24,205
McMasterville	5,580
Mont-Saint-Hilaire	17,003
Otterburn Park	8,539
Saint-Basile-le-Grand	16,363
Saint-Jean-Baptiste	3,083
Saint-Mathieu-de-Beloeil	2,497
Roussillon RCM	158,853
Candiac	18,448
Chateauguay	44,699
Delson	7,691
La Prairie	23,176
Lery	2,358
Mercier	11,008
Saint-Constant	24,826
Sainte-Catherine	16,553
Saint-Isidore	2,583
Saint-Mathieu	1,960
Saint-Philippe	5,551
Rouville RCM (CMM part)	10,133
Richelieu	5,526
Saint-Mathias-sur-Richelieu	4,607
Vaudreuil-Soulanges RCM (CMM part)	98,377
Hudson	5,120
Les Cèdres	5,912
L'Ile-Cadieux	133
L'Ile-Perrot	10,234
Notre-Dame-de-l'Ile-Perrot	10,441
Pincourt	13,440
Pointe-des-Cascades	1,193
Saint-Lazare	18,625
Terrasse-Vaudreuil	1,947
Vaudreuil-Dorion	29,968
Vaudreuil-sur-le-Lac	1,364
GREATER MONTRÉAL	**3,684,000**

Source: Communauté métropolitaine de Montréal, "Portrait of Greater Montreal," *Metropolitan* 1 (2010): 5.

Following the CMM, this chapter examines the opinions penned from those living in the 82 municipalities presented in this chart. Additionally, it analyzes pieces written by individuals living in the various boroughs−nineteen to be precise− that make up the city of Montreal, such as Anjou, Ahuntsic, and Montreal North.[345]

As for their categorization, each opinion piece is submitted to a series of questions that not only help group together similar responses, but also help identify which ones are relevant for analysis and interpretation. As explained in section 1.6.3, this approach is inspired by Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics, who posits that the act of questioning is a vital component in our ability to understand and interpret a text or conversation. In particular, each piece is subjected to three "meta-questions", that is to say, a trio of broad, overarching queries that correspond to the three

[345] It is important not to confuse the municipalities of the Montreal agglomerate with the boroughs that make up the city of Montreal. The distinction between the two lies in the following: The Montreal agglomerate is made up 17 independent municipalities (as seen in the figure above), while the city of Montreal (which belongs to the Montreal agglomeration) is composed of 19 individual boroughs. For a list of these boroughs, please consult Appendix B.

themes that underpin this thesis: 1) Québec nationalism and identity; 2) the place of linguistic and ethnocultural minorities in Québec; 3) the city of Montreal and ideas of Montrealness. More specifically, the three questions are constructed as follows:

1. How is Québec nationalism defined?
2. Do members of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities feel excluded from Québec society?
3. What significance does the city of Montreal have for members of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities?

While the occasional piece does respond to the meta-question in an explicit and straightforward manner, the vast majority of answers are found hidden in other matters and can only be uncovered by asking more specific and probing questions. As such, each meta-question is accompanied by a series of more particular and intimately related sub-questions that will allow us to extract more meaningful responses. In so doing, we will be able to respond to the meta-questions in a more substantive way. As for the content and phrasing of the sub-questions, these will be elaborated upon in the sections to come.

3.2 Minority Perceptions of Québec Identity and Nationalism

This section answers the first of the three meta-questions outlined in section 3.1, namely, that which asks how Québec nationalism is defined. In order to arrive at a meaningful response to this question, each opinion piece is submitted to the following list of sub-questions:

1. How are the sovereignty project/independence movement[346] and the proponents of nationalism/sovereignty presented?
2. Who constitutes a Québécois? What are the parameters of the Québec identity?
3. How is Québec society or Québec as a province described?
4. Who are the representatives of Québec nationalism? How are their intentions described?

[346] The "sovereignty project" and "independence movement" are presented here as similar terms because they are often used interchangeably by the individuals in our sample.

In probing for answers to these questions, I hope to provide a general sense of how ethnocultural and linguistic minorities in our sample perceive Québécois nationalism. In particular, I will show that this nationalism is interpreted as being ethnically-based and thus exclusive in its nature.

3.2.1 Descriptions of the Sovereign Project/Independence Movement and the Proponents of Nationalism/Sovereignty

As the title of this sub-section indicates, I am examining the manner in which contributors to the Gazette have described both the sovereignty project (which is also sometimes referred to as the independence movement) and the proponents of Québec nationalism/sovereignty. Though not immediately explicit in the opinion pieces examined, the ethnocultural and linguistic minorities writing to the Gazette often hint at an inherent association between nationalism on the one hand, and the political project of sovereignty on the other. This association is most apparent from the way in which they frequently interchange the words nationalists, independentists and sovereigntists, thus suggesting that to speak of sovereignty is to automatically speak of nationalism. Consequently, their descriptions of sovereignty indirectly provides us with an insight into how they understand nationalism both in terms of its intentions and character. Having clarified the matter, let us now examine some of the responses.

Writing in reaction to ex-Bloc Québécois MP Maria Mourani's departure from the party over the controversy of Bill 60, one Île-Perrot resident celebrates the fact that Mourani "has finally underst[ood] that the independence movement in Québec is non-inclusive."[347] What is interesting to note in this passage, in addition to the explicit description of the movement as being non-inclusive, is the author's use of the word "finally" to describe Mourani's revelation. The expression is significant because it suggests that the project of sovereignty has always been imbued with a sense of

[347] Phil Varnas, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, December 20th, 2013, A22.

exclusivity. In fact, the notion of the movement having a long history of non-inclusion is alluded to further when this same individual explains that he found it "hard to believe that [Mourani] had no inkling of this fact [the non-inclusive nature of sovereignty] *before* the PQ's ploy to obtain a majority in the next election by introducing the proposed charter of values (emphasis added)."[348] Thus, in contrast to Mourani herself, who argues that a "political vision of openness has been promoted and has prevailed for years" and that the exclusive nature of Bill 60 merely indicates a sudden "change in attitude",[349] the resident of Île-Perrot believes that the exclusive character of the movement has been at work for quite some time.

If Québec sovereignty is indeed an exclusive project as this contributor believes it to be, on what grounds then are individuals excluded from it? According to one individual from Montreal, sovereignty excludes Quebeckers on the basis of ethnicity. Disagreeing with a previously written article defending the project from those who accuse it of being guided by ethnic principles, this Montrealer describes the defense as a form of "self-parody", citing Parizeau's post-referendum comments and the Charter of Values as evidence in favor of sovereignty's ethnic character.[350] Although the ethnic content of the movement is never specified by the author, it is evident by his reference to Jacques Parizeau's comments regarding "money and the ethnic vote" that it is the ethnicity of the French-Canadian demographic that is being alluded to. Also of significance in the reference to Parizeau's remarks is that, similar to the letter penned by the individual from Île-Perrot, this Montrealer suggests that the ethnic ground, and thus the exclusive nature of sovereignty, is not a recent phenomenon brought about by the Parti québécois under the leadership of Pauline Marois, but is one that dates back at least to the 1995 referendum. It is perhaps this somewhat long history of non-inclusiveness grounded in the culture and ethnicity of the French-Canadian people that has

[348] Ibid.
[349] *Maria Mourani,* "Why I am no longer an indépendantiste," *The Montreal Gazette*, December 19th, 2013, A23.
[350] Jason Edward Louis, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 2012, A14.

prompted some to declare that "a sovereign Québec would move quickly to suppress all linguistic rights"[351], or that the Charter would reflect the type of politics that would exist in an independent Québec.[352]

If the sovereignty movement–described above as ethnically-based, non-inclusive and anti-linguistic and religious rights–can be said to be interpreted by these individuals in an negative manner, then the opinions held of the proponents of nationalism and sovereignty are equally unfavorable. For instance, Don Macpherson, writing in the context of the PQ's election victory in September 2012, suggests that the Parti québécois can appease sovereigntists (a word he often interchanges with "nationalists") by "introducing xenophobic 'identity' planks in [its] election platform," as well as by "forc[ing] an election over the defense of French and of 'Québec values' against minorities."[353] Adding to this conception of Québec sovereigntists and nationalists, Macpherson, on a separate occasion, accuses them of being "anti-English hawks" who "don't think the Marois government's proposed language legislation [Bill 14] goes far enough."[354] This latter view regarding the English language and sovereigntists is also shared by another Montrealer who implicitly associates the support of sovereignty with being "anti-English" and "anti-bilingualism".[355]

Of course, the charges against the proponents of nationalism and sovereignty don't end here. According to one author writing from the borough of Anjou, the policies promoted by Québec nationalists, like those of New France before it, are not only "chauvinistic and exclusionary", but they also "constantly remind us that only a select few can be real Quebeckers."[356] Although the author does not inform us of what he means by "real Quebeckers", nor of the ways in which their

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[351] William Raymond, "In Defense of Linguistic Rights," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 12, 2013, A14.
[352] Hayg Fazliyan, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, September 12, 2013, A18.
[353] Don MacPherson, "Weak Government, Weak Opposition," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 6, 2012, A25.
[354] Don MacPherson, "Now That the Public Has Had Its Say, What's Next for Bill 14?," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 20, 2013, B7.
[355] Ted Pearson, "Malta's Lesson for Quebec," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 30, 2013, A14.
[356] Derek Wisdom, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, October 3, 2012, A14.

policies are exclusive, his comparison of current nationalist policies to those of New France provides us with a general sense of what it is he is attempting to convey. As is explained in his letter, the policies of New France were deliberately constructed so as to "build [a] French population in North America", and as a result, Jews and Protestants (including French Protestants) were "not allowed to settle in [the territory]."[357] Elaborating further, the Anjou resident then concludes that similar exclusionary policies continued to be enacted "three hundred years later, in the 1960s", where allophones were "still being made to feel unwelcomed", and "even today" with the policies proposed by Marois' PQ government.[358] In drawing such a comparison with the past, this individual not only suggests that the sovereignty project's policies are constructed with a view to protecting Québec's French-speaking population, particularly those descendant from the French-Canadian Catholics, but that it is these individuals who are the "few real Quebeckers" mentioned previously. Such an interpretation is intriguing as it recalls the nationalism of French Canada that was dominant prior to the Quiet Revolution, a nationalism that emphasized the religious, ethnic and cultural aspects of belonging.

3.2.2 Who is a Quebecker? The Parameters of the Québec Identity

Perhaps the most explicit interpretation of the Québécois subject stems from the Gazette editorialist Don MacPherson, who explains quite straightforwardly that "a Québécois" refers to the "French-speaking majority" of Québec, particularly "old-stock French Canadians."[359] In fact, MacPherson is so adamant in this understanding of Québec identity that he takes the opportunity to reiterate the idea that a Québécois coincides exclusively with the French-speaking majority on four

[357] Ibid.
[358] Ibid.
[359] Don Macpherson, "April 7th's Conspicuous Metaphor," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 7, 2014, A15.

separate occasions in this eighteen-month period of study.[360] Of course, MacPherson isn't the only one who interprets Québec identity as being limited to a particular group of French-speaking Quebeckers. For instance, one self-identified Montrealer (now living in Florida) takes the opportunity in his letter not only to explain to current bilingual Montrealers that knowledge of both language has "zero" meaning in Québec, but also to inform them of the fact that "[they] will never be one of them" ("them", of course, referring to the Québécois).[361] Although not immediately apparent in these passages, the reference to the idea of bilingualism and its association with belonging suggests that speaking French is not a sufficient requirement for one to be regarded as a Quebecker. Indeed, the belief that being a Québécois requires something more than knowledge of the French language is one that is shared by others in our sample, five to be exact. As such, statements which assert that "speaking [French] isn't good enough" to be accepted in the province, that "anglophones and allophones can never be 'true' Quebecers, no matter how well they master French", or even that "speaking French [is] never going to be enough to be included in the 'family'" did not come as a surprise.[362]

Of course, it may be asked that if it is in fact the case that anglophones and allophones are not considered "true" Quebeckers, where then are these linguistic and ethnocultural groupings located on Québec's identity map? As one person explains, those not accepted as Québécois are regarded merely in Québec as "*les autres*", a category of identity used to describe "non-francophones"–or as is also implied in the letter, those not part of the "majority".[363] Accordingly,

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[360] Don Macpherson, "Coderre Isn't Likely to Get Much of a Honeymoon," *The Montreal Gazette*, Nov 7, 2013, A19; Don Macpherson, "The PQ, Protector of The Flock," *The Montreal Gazette,* August 24, 2013, B7; Don MacPherson, "April 7's Conspicuous Metaphor," *The Montreal Gazette,* March 7, 2014, A17; Don MacPherson, "On identity, Péladeau and the PQ Appear to be a Good Fit," *The Montreal Gazette,* March 14, 2014, A17.
[361] Pat Callaghan, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, Jan 29, 2013, A14.
[362] Shane Stephenson, "Quebec Has Potential for Greatness If It Will Seize It," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 2, 2013, A19; Cory McKay, "Quebec Should Not be Fighting Bilingualism," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 1, 2014, B6; Jay Gotteiner, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, April 4, 2014, A16.
[363] Peter Sipos, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, June 22, 2013, B6.

contrasting with "*les autres*" is the category of the "*nous*", which evidently indicates all those who *are* incorporated by the boundaries of the Québec nation. The "*nous*" refers to the "white and French-speaking majority" of Québec,[364] or as one other individual puts it, those who have a "lineage that can be traced back to Jacques Cartier."[365] In other words, the Québec subject is seen here as being limited specifically to francophones of French-Canadian descent, an interpretation that appears to be at work in each of the pieces referenced in this section.

3.2.3 Descriptions of Québec and Québec Society

As the title indicates, this section examines and analyzes the ways in which Québec and Québec society have been described over this eighteen-month period. Generally, these can be grouped into two categories. The first category regards Québec's relationship with the anglophone minority population. As one might expect, this relationship is very much perceived in a negative manner. For example, one author from Pierrefonds holds the belief that the province of Québec is, in a word, "anglophobic".[366] Québec's rocky relationship with its English-speaking population is also observed by another contributor who, in explaining the reasons why Québec has experienced a significant out-migration to other provinces, claims simply that "Québec has made it clear that anglophones are not welcome [here]."[367] Indeed, this thought is consistent with what we have seen previously in section 3.2.1. It falls in line with Don Macpherson's conception of nationalists and sovereigntists as "anti-English Hawks", as well as that of the Montrealer who links the support of sovereignty with being "anti-English". Together these accusations point to a vision of Québec that is not open towards the province's English-speaking population.

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[364] Sarah Shortall, "Importing France's model of Laicite is a mistake for the PQ," *The Montreal Gazette*, October 3 2013, A19.
[365] Charles Ghorayeb, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, March 20, 2014, A16.
[366] Richard Raybould, "Ads Needed to Fight Anglophobia," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 6, 2013, A16.
[367] Norm Schacter, "Quebec Attracts Too Few People," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 21, 2013, A22.

The second broad category relates to Québec's "intolerance" towards difference, minorities and immigrants. For instance, in their discussion of the Québec Soccer Federation's decision to ban head-coverings in the sport, the Gazette's team of editors interprets the issue as "yet another manifestation of intolerance in Québec towards people who dress and speak differently."[368] This interpretation of the head-covering ban is echoed by a Saint-Lambert resident –albeit in a less direct manner– who writes that "once again, Québec is proving itself to be a distinct society in backward, intolerant thinking."[369] Of significance in these passages is not necessarily the intolerance of this one specific incident, though this remains important, but the idea that the ban is "yet another manifestation" of the accused attitude towards difference. In other words, what is being conveyed here is the idea that Québec has a long history of intolerance towards diversity and minority cultures. In fact, this is precisely what one Montrealer asserts when reacting to a poll indicating that Québec is not very welcoming to newcomers. As the Montrealer explains quite bluntly in his letter to the editor, "this current intolerance is nothing new to me."[370] This long history of intolerance towards difference and newcomers alluded to with this comment is perhaps the reason why it is not unusual to come across pieces which claim that "minorities are not safe here" or that Canada, "unlike Québec [...] accepts the beliefs and tolerates all minorities."[371]

3.2.4 The Parti Québécois & the Representatives of Québec Nationalism

As stated at the outset of this section (3.2), it is seldom the case for individuals writing to the Gazette to convey their understanding of Québec nationalism in a straightforward manner. However, the closest we do get to an explicit interpretation of nationalism is when contributors offer their

[368] The Gazette's View, "Banning Turbans on the Soccer Pitch is Ridiculous," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 18, 2013, A20.
[369] Cynthia Jarjour, "Show Solidarity with Sikh Soccer Players," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 20, 2013, B6.
[370] Robert Antsee, "Intolerance Has Long Been With Us," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 26, 2013, A18.
[371] John Rovoto, "Maria Mourani Takes a Stand," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 2013, A24.

opinion on the Parti québécois. The general impression one has when reading these pieces is that the party is *the* mouthpiece of Québec nationalism, as though to speak of the goals of the PQ is synonymous with speaking of the goals of nationalism in general. While other parties like the *Coalition avenir Québec*, *Option nationale* and *Québec solidaire* are also regarded as belonging to the "nationalist camp",[372] it is the PQ that appears to be the most important representative of the movement. This association between the two proves to be beneficial for our purposes as it provides us with yet another avenue by which to gauge the way in which Québec nationalism is interpreted by the ethnocultural and linguistic minorities in our sample.

It is probably an understatement to say that perceptions of the Parti québécois' nationalistic visions and intentions are rather scathing. For example, these are some of the terms used to describe the PQ's nationalism: "anti-English", "anti-minority", "bigoted", "narrow-minded" and "homogenizing".[373] As such, it is unsurprising to come across pieces that accuse the PQ of being guided by ethnicity and exclusionist principles.[374] In one case in particular, its nationalism was even interpreted as purposely creating "two classes of citizens – those who have inherent rights [presumably the French-Canadian population] and those from diverse backgrounds who have had their rights infringed upon [ethnocultural and linguistic minorities]."[375]

One of the more moderate interpretations of the PQ's nationalist goals stems from an op-ed piece penned by Robert Schryer. In his discussion of Jean-François Lisée's outreach to the anglophone community during the controversy that surrounded the proposal of Bill 14, Schryer explains that he finds the expression of "goodwill" from the minister rather unorthodox, as the PQ

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[372] Glen K. Malfara, "The CAQ and Bill 14," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 15, 2013, A15.
[373] Don MacPherson, "Captives Once Again," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 21, 2013 A23; L. Ian Macdonald, "Rights Trump 'Values'," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 2013 A25; Celine Cooper, "The Montreal/Heartland Gap Widens," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 16, 2013 A17;
[374] Peter Sipos, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, April 1, 2014, A16; Robert Marcogliese, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, April 3, 2014, A14.
[375] Cameron Gray, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, October 1, 2013, 18.

and its various leaders from Jacques Parizeau to Bernand Landry have made it clear that their party's "utopian vision of Québec society makes no pretences of including [...the] impure laine."[376] Although Schryer does in essence accuse the PQ of promoting an ethnic nationalism, as is evident by his belief that the *impure laine* (or those not of French-Canadian descent) are excluded from the Québec nation, he does so without the use of hyperbolic descriptors sometimes used in other pieces (ex. "xenophobic" and "racist"). These hyperbolic accounts tend to predominate, sometimes even taking on a sarcastic tone. For example, one Montrealer takes the opportunity to mock the PQ in his letter, declaring that the party should change its slogan to from "*un Québec pour tous*" to "*un Québec pour nous*", adding that "we know who the '*nous*' are, don't we?"[377]

Also of significance with the way in which the PQ's nationalistic vision has been interpreted in these opinion pieces is that, similar to the sovereigntist movement in section 3.2.1, the party is also understood as having a long and unbroken history of exclusion. As one individual from Côte Saint-Luc explains, the PQ's promotion of "exclusion rather than inclusion" is not just an extension of "Jacques Parizeau's referendum night rant about losing because of ethnic votes", but rather, is "a continuation of the nous-versus-vous division which has existed during the years of the two solitudes" and the Quiet Revolution.[378] This "continuation of the nous-versus-vous division" might explain why the party is seldom given the benefit of the doubt with respect to its policies, particularly those relating in any way to culture. Specifically, it was almost axiomatic for individuals to interpret these policies (such as the Charter of Values, Bill 14 or even the proposal to re-write post-secondary Québec history) as being a reflection of any one of or combination of the following:

[376] Robert Schryer, "Lisée Has Been Refreshingly Unorthodox for a Péquiste," *The Montreal Gazette*, February 23, 2013, B7.
[377] Irwin Browns, "PQ's Slogan Should be 'Un Québec Pour Nous,'" *The Montreal Gazette*, August 24, 2013, B6.
[378] Jack Hoffman, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, August 23, 2013, A16.

racism, discrimination, xenophobia, intolerance, exclusive nationalism, "anti-minority" politics, and anti-English sentiments.[379]

3.2.5 Tying Together the Responses

Taking into account all of the pieces cited in sub-sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.4, it is unequivocal that the linguistic and ethnocultural minorities writing to the Gazette regard Québec nationalism as being exclusive in its character. Also important to note is the manner in which these individuals interpret that exclusivity. As has been stated both implicitly and explicitly in several of the above-mentioned as examples, Québec nationalism is considered to exclude on the basis of ethnicity. More particularly, it is a widely held belief that the boundaries that outline the contours of the Québec nation are structured in such a way so as to incorporate solely the French-speaking population of Québec, specifically those of French-Canadian descent.

Equally noteworthy is the reoccurring suggestion that this exclusive nationalism associated with the French-Canadian population is not merely a contemporary vision brought about by the Marois-led PQ government, but is one that has continuously underpinned the province's political history. This long and consistent thread of exclusion is rather significant as it does not only go against what was shown previously in chapter 2, namely, that conceptions of Québécois nationalism have become progressively more civic and inclusive since the Quiet Revolution, but also because it challenges the idea that conservative nationalism has resurfaced only recently in the evolution of Québec nationalism. Instead, for the ethnocultural and linguistic minorities quoted in our sample, it appears as though exclusive nationalism has continuously influenced visions of Québec society,

[379] Examples of the PQ's being described as discriminatory can be seen in K. Azad, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, September 13, 2013, A14; Penny Hassan, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, November 15, 2013, A24. Similarly, a description of the PQ's being described as racist and xenophobic can be found in Allan Mardinger, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, May 4, 2013, B6.

from the Charter of Values back to Parizeau's post-referendum remarks, and even to the Quiet Revolution.

3.3 Minority Perceptions of Place and Belonging

Of the three meta-questions submitted to the Gazette's opinion sections, the second garnered the most straightforward responses, relatively speaking. The question asks whether or not ethnocultural and linguistic minorities feel excluded from Québec society. Indeed, the aim of this query is to uncover the way in which minorities living in the Greater Montreal area interpret their sense of place with respect to the nation. Due to its focus on the notion of exclusion, it can be said that the second meta-question bears some relation to the first: in section 3.2, I wanted to determine how minorities interpret Québec nationalism, specifically, whether they interpreted Québec society in exclusive terms, whereas in the present section, I want to determine whether or not these minorities *feel* excluded from that society. Since it is seldom the case that the minorities in our sample declare their sense of exclusion in explicit terms, the sub-question asked to reveal that sentiment is the following:

> How do ethnocultural and linguistic minorities articulate their sense of place and belonging with respect to Québec society?

3.3.1 Sense of Place and Belonging

While there does exist a handful of pieces that do express an identification with Québec society and identity,[380] it is unequivocally the case that the minorities in our sample perceive

[380] Rania Aghaby, "Quebec Gave Me the Freedom to Wear My Crucifix," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 19, 2013 A27; Erin Moores, "Choosing To See Ourselves as Quebeckers First," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 11, 2012, A14; Matthew McCully, "I'm a Quebecer and a Musician First; Being Anglo is Beside the Point," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 15, 2013, A13.

themselves as falling outside the nation's boundaries. In fact, we saw a glimpse of this perception briefly in section 3.2.2, where it was shown that a number of individuals felt as though speaking French was not nearly enough to be accepted as a "true Quebecker" or as a part of the Québec "family." This association between speaking the language of the majority on the one hand, and still not being regarded as a Quebecker on the other, was just one of several ways in which these minorities articulated their sense of place and belonging.

One of the most common ways in which these minorities communicated their sense of place was by referencing the notion of second-class citizenship to describe their experiences in Québec as minorities. In terms of raw numbers, the notion was expressed a total of twenty-one times in this eighteen month sample.[381] What is interesting to note here is the general sense of frustration and fatigue that tended to accompany this reference. Such was the case for a Châteauguay woman, who exclaimed that she was "sick and tired of feeling like a second-class citizen in [her] own province," suggesting that she has been made to feel this way on more than one occasion.[382] Similar frustrations were also echoed by a Montrealer who, after explaining that anglophones and allophones are indeed "treated like second-class citizens", declares that he has "done nothing to merit being placed at the back of the bus."[383] For one Vaudreuil-Dorion resident in particular, the notion was even expressed with a sense of disheartenment and hopeless resignation, as she admits to herself that she "will never be accepted as [a] cohabitant in this province [...and that she] will always be considered a second-class citizen."[384] Also of significance in these passages is the implicit sense of inferiority underpinning the reference to second-class citizenship. In particular, the notion presumes that there

[381] While twenty-one instances does not seem like a large number, it is important to note that referencing second-class citizenship was just one of a variety of ways in which minorities expressed their sense of place in Québec. As will be discussed below, other instances include not feeling welcomed in one's own province, feeling as though one is being driven out of Québec, etc.
[382] Janet Scullion, "'French Only' Sign is Insulting," *The Montreal Gazette*, October 6, 2012, B6.
[383] Peter Harding, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, December 5, 2013, A20.
[384] Linda D'Errico, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, October 3, 2012, A14.

exists a higher-tier of citizenship to which these individuals cannot lay claim, precisely because they are members of the province's minority groups. Moreover, it suggests that even if these individuals were to be incorporated within the boundaries of the Québécois nation, it would not be on an equal basis with the francophone majority of French-Canadian descent.

In addition to comparing their situation to second-class citizens, it is also commonplace for the minorities in our sample to claim that they are "being made to feel uncomfortable, unwelcomed and unwanted in [their] own province,"[385] as it was referenced on twenty-three separate occasions. In fact, this phrase was repeated almost verbatim by a Montrealer who explains that he is "being made to feel unwelcome in a place [his] family has loved and called home for many generation."[386] Perhaps the most noteworthy and robust iteration of this shared experience stems from a St. Hubert woman who, in asking whether or not she and her children feel repressed in Québec, answers that you would too if:

> the world you lived in reminded you daily that you weren't welcome there [...] if the people around you looked down at you with disdain and told you that you weren't one of them, even if you have lived in the same place as they do your whole life [and if] despite your best efforts to be part of the full Québécois experience [...] you are looked down on [as] if you don't do it well enough.[387]

In particular, the passage is significant because it reveals –albeit indirectly – the reason behind this general feeling of unwelcomeness experienced by members of the province's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities writing to the Gazette, which is to say, that they believe they are not recognized by the Québécois (francophones of French-Canadian descent) as being members of the Québec nation. As such, it comes as no surprise when these minority members not only begin to question where they fit in the said nation –as is the case for one individual who claims that she is unsure

[385] Harry Selick, "The Election and Its Aftermath," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 8, 2012, B6.
[386] Tristan Hobbs, "It's Naive to Argue that Sovereignty Will Be Painless," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 2012, A14.
[387] Jennifer Sykucki, "How Am I Not Une Vraie Quebecoise?," *The Montreal Gazette*, October 1, 2012, A15.

where non-francophones belong in Québec society[388] –but also what they must "do to prove they belong in the place they call home."[389]

Similar to the descriptions of the Parti québécois referenced in section 3.2.4, articulations of exclusion can also take on a somewhat hyperbolic and dramatic tone. These can range from fears of systemic marginalization by the dominant culture to claims of there being a "callous eviction of linguistic, cultural and indigenous minorities from [Québec's] political discourse."[390] Among the most drastic articulations is the belief that Québec is actively trying to "eradicate" and "drive out" minorities from the province altogether[391] –which, incidentally, was one of the more common ways in which the minorities in our sample reacted to the various policies proposed by the Parti québécois during their eighteen months in power, having been expressed a total of twenty-four times. The most extreme instance of this accused behavior of eradication, however, stems from one Côte-Saint-Luc man who equates the PQ's policies –particularly the Charter of Values –and their treatment of minorities "to a form of ethnic cleansing."[392] While certainly an exaggeration, this comparison can perhaps be explained by the general sense of frustration that minorities experience from having the same "tiresome and unproductive" debate over "religion [..] ethnicity, pluralism, diversity, language, majority/minority relations, reasonable accommodation, multiculturalism, interculturalism, identity,

[388] Zhimei Zhang, "We Are Quebeckers, Too, and Our Voices Should be Heard," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 9, 2013, B7.
[389] Razi Hasan, "What Must One Do to Prove One Belongs?," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 30, 2013, A14.
[390] Zijad Delic and Saif Alnuweiri, "Bill 60 Is a Blow to Religious-Minority Members' Sense of Belonging," *The Montreal Gazette*, February 18, 2014, A17; Saleem Razack, "Politics in Quebec Have Yet to Catch Up With Reality," *The Montreal Gazette*, February 18, 2014, A17.
[391] Peter Blaikie, "It's About Sovereignty, Not Language," *The Montreal Gazette,* March 27, 2013, A21; Janet Sanders, "Language is Being Used As a Cudgel," *The Montreal Gazette,* April 6, 2013, B6; Sophia Florakas-Petsalis, "To The Children of Bill 101, Bill 14 Feels like Punishment," *The Montreal Gazette*, April 6, 2013, B7.
[392] Jerry Maisel, "'Pur et Dur' Versus a Mosaic," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 4, 2013, A14.

immigration and integration",[393] as well as from being made to feel like "intruders, and outsiders in a province that is also [their own]." [394]

3.3.2 Tying the Responses

In light of the above-referenced passages, it is clear that the minorities cited from this eighteen-month sample do in fact feel excluded from the Québec nation. The references to the concept of second-class citizenship and the feelings of unwantedness and unwelcomeness are particularly indicative of this. As mentioned in the previous sub-section, the notion of second-class citizenship alludes to the idea of there being lesser or inferior forms of belonging. Moreover, it harkens back to the division described previously in section 3.2.2 between the *nous* and *les autres*, where only the former were interpreted as falling within the nation's parameters and were thus considered "true Quebeckers".

It is also worth underscoring the multiple references to the idea of feeling unwelcome in one's own home, as they are strikingly similar to Daniel Salée's claim that anglophones and allophones in Québec are made to feel like "strangers in their own house."[395] As was explained in section 1.2, Salée holds this position because he believes that the provincial government has done little over the years to dispel the view that Québec minorities "figure only incidentally in the image sovereigntists have of Québec."[396] As such, Salée concludes that it unsurprising for minorities to feel excluded from the nation. The link between a sentiment of exclusion on the one hand, and feelings unwelcomeness and unwantedness on the other, were also noted in Sylvie Fortin's qualitative study with French migrants discussed in section 1.2. Similar to the minorities in our sample, Fortin too

[393] Celine Cooper, "We Can Do Better Than This."
[394] Florakas-Petsalis, "Bill 14 Feels like Punishment".
[395] Salée, "Identity, Difference and Politics of Ressentiment," 475.
[396] Salée, "Identity, Difference and Politics of Ressentiment," 474.

discovered a general sentiment of unwantedness among the individuals interviewed in her work. What is more, she found that this feeling was very much rooted in the belief that Quebeckers of non-French Canadian descent can never be "true" Quebeckers.[397]

The most poignant example of this feeling of exclusion, in my view, can be seen in the previously cited passage asking "what more must a person do to prove they belong in the place they call home?"[398] The content of the question implies that the individual has not only been denied on several occasions from being incorporated into Québec society, but has also hopelessly run out of ways to demonstrate to the majority that he ought to be recognized as a member of the Québec nation.[399] Combining this non-recognition by the majority with the tendency of minorities to interpret Québec nationalism as being ethnically grounded, it comes as no surprise when individuals declare that they "are not, nor [will they ever] be, Québécois", and that they "no longer feel as if they belong [...] in this province."[400]

3.4 Minority Perceptions of Montreal and Montrealness

In the present section I examine the responses to the last of the three meta-questions: what significance does the city of Montreal have for the ethnocultural and linguistic minorities in our sample? The general aim of this query is to get a better sense of the role Montreal plays in the lives of these individuals, as well as the type of relationship they have with the city. As was the case for the previous two meta-questions, the current one is also accompanied by a series of sub-questions. These are structured as follows:

1. How is the city of Montreal defined and described?

[397] Sylvie Fortin, "Citoyennetés et appartenances," 76-77.
[398] Razi Hasan, "What Must One Do to Prove One Belongs?," *The Montreal Gazette*, August 30, 2013, A14.
[399] It is perhaps useful to note here that there were a total of fifteen pieces that communicated (both implicitly and explicitly) feelings of non-belonging and non-recognition.
[400] Marion Dean, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette,* September 26, 2013, A18.

2. What attachments do the minorities in our sample have with the city?
3. How is Montreal's place within the larger Québécois context understood?

In answering these questions, I hope to establish that 1) the minorities from this eighteen-month period have a strong affinity towards the city and that this comes at the expense of an attachment to the rest of the province; 2) that they view Montreal as being distinct from Québec not just in its character, but also in its mentality; 3) and that Montreal provides them with a sense of place and belonging in a province that does not regard them as "true Quebeckers".

3.4.1 Definitions and Descriptions of the City

Many of the responses to this first sub-question – fifty-one to be exact – resemble closely the descriptions and definitions of the city discussed by Sherry Simon, Jean-Louis Roy, and others in chapter 1. Most familiar among these responses are those that describe Montreal as being multicultural, multilingual, multiethnic and cosmopolitan.[401] Moreover, like the poets and writers cited by the aforementioned authors, the minorities in our sample also celebrate the city's ethnocultural and linguistic diversity. For instance, one woman from Vaudreuil-Dorion characterizes Montreal as a place "where all belong, no matter what language they speak",[402] while a Saint-Laurent resident is proud of the fact that individuals "from assorted ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds [can] effortlessly switch between multiple languages."[403] In addition to its resemblance to the artists referenced in Simon and Roy's works, the latter description is also very much reminiscent of Patricia Lamarre *et al.*'s concept of code-switching which, as stated in section 1.1, refers to the ability of Montrealers to speak in more than one language in a single conversation.

[401] Justin Pambianchi, "What Has The PQ Done For Montreal?," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 13, 2014, A16; Yi Sen Wang, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, December 4, 2013, A20.
[402] Linda D'Errico, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, October 3, 2012, A14.
[403] Lorraine Hodgson, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, April 19, 2013, A18.

This enthusiasm over the city's diversity is also shared by an individual from Île-Perrot who describes Montreal as being "unique in its makeup" and believes that Montrealers are "fortunate to have a wonderful blend of people of all types of backgrounds, each bringing his or her own point view." [404] Accordingly, the same author affirms that this "is part of what makes Montreal a great place to live."[405] Perhaps the most enthusiastic of all the individuals in our sample was the Gazette editorialist Celine Cooper, who simply could not contain her adoration for the city's cultural richness. Expressing her ideas over four different op-ed pieces in this eighteen-month period, Cooper describes Montreal as "an inspiring and dynamic city", citing its "colorful population and the ideas they bring to life", as well as the island's "ethno-cultural diversity and [...] multiple identities" as its "greatest assets."[406] Elaborating on this vision on a separate occasion, Cooper characterizes Montreal as a "small-scale version of the world" and "a site of contact where diversity and difference can thrive."[407] In her view, it is the "social interaction between [the city's] cultural and linguistic groups [...] [that is] the well-spring of Montreal's creative energy", while the city's linguistic duality is a "valid reflection of who [Montrealers] are and how [they] live."

If these descriptions of the city could be summed up in a few short sentences, the following account by a Montreal *Cégep* student would certainly capture what it is about Montreal that the individuals in our sample adore most. As the young woman explains quite eloquently:

> [Montreal] is like a canvas full of simple dabs of colour that blend into one another and together make a beautiful painting. The mesh of the individual colours is what makes the whole and is what has built it over the years. Montreal harbours pieces of the whole world – yes,

[404] Patrick Flynn, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, November 9, 2013, B6.
[405] Ibid.
[406] Celine Cooper, "Can Montreal Become a 'Future City'?" *The Montreal Gazette*, April 8, 2013, A15; Celine Cooper, "Our Next Mayor Must Put Montreal in a Global Context," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 2, 2013, A19.
[407] Celine Cooper, "Montreal Can Be Great, but Lisée Charts Wrong Course to Get There," *The Montreal Gazette*, December 17, 2012, A19; Celine Cooper, "Creative Tension is Good for Us," *The Montreal Gazette*, May 21, 2013, A19.

> those pieces are primarily French and English, but the accents of all of those other cultures help the painting glow and stay vibrant.[408]

In other words, Montrealers are proud to be part of a city that can bring together individuals from all walks of life into a coherent and unique whole. Moreover, the diversity that sets the city apart from others is viewed as source of unity for Montreal's worldly population.

3.4.2 Montreal Attachments

The responses with respect to the second sub-question relating to the city of Montreal are relatively straightforward. Simply put, Montreal is a place that one can be "proud to call home."[409] One of the reasons behind this pride is the city's "flavorful diversity" discussed in the previous sub-section. However, a more important reason is that Montreal offers some form of sanctuary from the constant language, independence and identity debates that pervade Québec's political arena. According to one individual, this is precisely the reason why his immigrant friend declares that his sole form of attachment in the province of Québec is the city of Montreal.[410] This claim is rather significant, as it indirectly states that the individual does not identify with the rest of Québec beyond Montreal's borders.

Somewhat related to this experience is the claim made by one Montrealer who, in explaining that she is being made to feel like an outsider in Québec because of her status as a religious and linguistic minority, nonetheless describes the city of Montreal as her "home."[411] In so doing, the woman suggests that Montreal offers her a unique sense of belonging in an environment where one

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[408] Barbara Madimenos, "We Don't Want to Lose Montreal's Vibrant Cultural Mix," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 20, 2013, B7.
[409] Maria Continisio, "Who's a Deserter From Quebec?," *The Montreal Gazette*, June 19, 2013, A24.
[410] Michel Kelly-Gagnon, "Five Stories for Pauline Marois," *The Montreal Gazette*, November 2, 2013, B5.
[411] Judith Bercusson, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, October 3, 2012, A14.

is "not necessarily [...] most accepted."[412] This latter notion of not being accepted in one's place of residence harkens back to the various passages cited in section 3.3.1, specifically those in which individuals felt "unwelcomed" in the province in which they live. As was stated previously, this feeling of unwelcomeness was underpinned by a sentiment of exclusion, that is to say, a feeling of not being regarded as true members of Québec society. In the context of our current discussion, Montreal appears then to represent a significant locale for these minority members, providing them with a meaningful sense of place in a province that does not recognize them as being "cohabitant[s]", as one individual previously put it.[413]

In addition to being considered one's home, Montreal also appears to play a role in defining one's identity. Such is the case for a Pierrefonds resident who, after explaining that she has trouble identifying as a Québécoise, even though her family has lived in Québec for over 140 years, nonetheless describes herself as "a very proud Montrealer."[414] This sentiment is somewhat echoed by another individual – although in an inverse manner – who, shortly after identifying as a Montrealer, states that he is "not proud to be a Quebecer."[415] The non-identification with the Québec identity on the one hand, and the identification as a Montrealer on the other in both of these instances is rather intriguing, as it suggests a sense of Montrealness that is devoid of any attachment to the rest of the province. This is precisely what one individual from the borough of Saint-Leonard explains in his letter to the editor. In particular, he not only asks his fellow residents of the island to "call yourselves Montrealers", but also that they "drop the label 'Québécois' when describing your identity or even

[412] Ibid.
[413] Linda D'Errico, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, October 3, 2012, A14.
[414] Jennifer Rankin, "Language Struggles and Identity," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 8, 2013, A16.
[415] Ron Harris, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 2013, A24.

[...] that you are from Québec. We are from Montreal, our beloved city [...] it defines our identity like nothing else can."[416]

3.4.3 Montreal's Place In Québec

There are two ways in which the minorities in our sample express their understanding of the city's place within the larger Québécois context. The first of these understandings relates to the idea that Montreal should be accorded a special city-state status so as to "liberate itself" from the rest of Québec.[417] The general view here is that such a status would allow Montreal to acquire a set of decision-making powers in order to increase the city's autonomy with respect to the regions of Québec. Closely related to this vision is the notion that Montreal should be partitioned from Québec so that it may become its own province.[418] Indeed, this refers to the possibility of "separating" Montreal from Québec, just as Québec can be separated from Canada.

Though presented here as distinct visions, it was not unusual for these two understandings of Montreal's place to be conflated with one another, that is to say, where the notion of city-state status was assumed to be synonymous with the city's independence.[419] In fact, this conflation was acknowledged by Montreal Mayor Denis Coderre who, in an op-ed piece explaining what a special-status for the city would entail, took the opportunity to clarify that it *does not* signify "separating Montreal from the rest of Québec."[420] In any event, the notion of *partitioning Montreal/according it a special status* is significant for our purpose because, similar to the non-identification with the

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[416] Vince Di Clemente, "We're Montrealers, and We're Distinct From the ROQ," *The Montreal Gazette,* September 27, 2013, A20.
[417] Andrew H.Heft, "Montreal's Special Status," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 8, 2014, B6; Bonnie Shore Unger, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette,* March 8, 2014, B6.
[418] Adil Siddiqui, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, September 17, 2013, A20; Ben Van Gak, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, January 8, 2014, A16; Ildikó Glaser-Hille, "Consider Montreal's Unique Situation," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 4, 2014, A10.
[419] Ilan Rose, "I've Got a To-Do List for The Next Mayor of Montreal," *The Montreal Gazette*, June 25, 2013, A17.
[420] Denis Coderre, "What Special Status for Montreal Does and Doesn't Mean," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 29, 2014, B7.

Québécois identity discussed in the previous sub-section, it too suggests a weak form of attachment to the province beyond Montreal's borders, or conversely stated, an attachment solely to the island of Montreal.

The reasons underpinning this desire to partition the city/to have it accorded a special status are also twofold. The first is that the minorities in our sample believe that *their* city is being held back from recapturing its former "magic" and thus achieving "greatness".[421] With regards to its main culprits, the sovereignty movement, Québec nationalism, the Parti québécois, and language and identity politics are the ones blamed for "shackling" Montreal's potential.[422] For instance, one individual claims that the province's language debates are "damaging" to Montreal's "world class" prospects,[423] while another accuses "Québec nationalism and the political instability created by 45 years of the threat of separation" for the city's decline.[424]

The second reason for partitioning the city/according it a special-status stems from the belief that Montreal is altogether different from the rest of the province, or more precisely, that the city is a "distinct society within Québec."[425] Similarly, Montreal is also described as having a "different mentality" or "perspective" from the rest of the province, the PQ and "hard-core separatists."[426] On one occasion, the interests of Quebeckers were even regarded as being fundamentally "different from the majority of Montreal residents."[427] Indeed, this view is rooted in a belief that the rest of Québec

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[421] Andrea Weinstein, "When Did Home Begin to Feel Like Foreign Territory?," *The Montreal Gazette*, June 26, 2013, A23; Keith Brown, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, August 16, 2013, A14.
[422] Adil Siddiqui, "Montreal's Chance to Lead on Language," *The Montreal Gazette*, July 23, 2013, A14; Mary-Clare Fernandez, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, March 27, 2014, A16.
[423] Frances Gorzalka, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, November 6, 2013, A20.
[424] Jeff Brock, "Ending Montreal's Slump," *The Montreal Gazette*, February 28, 2014, A18.
[425] Michael Shafter, "Montreal is a Distinct Society," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 27, 2013, A20; Gary Shapiro and Richard Yufe, "Doublespeak From Lisée and De Courcy on Bill 14," *The Montreal Gazette*, May 24, 2013, A21; Jess Salomon, "A Montreal Charter," *The Montreal Gazette*, November 22, 2013, A23.
[426] Iris Fisher, "Dreaming of Montreal as a City-State," *The Montreal Gazette*, February 27, 2014 A16**;** Michael Morey, "Our Beloved Montreal is a Distinct Society," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 27, 2013, A20.
[427] Andrew H. Heft, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, May 25, 2013, B6.

is "unilingual" and "homogenous",[428] while the city of Montreal is a multicultural, multiethnic and multilingual entity that "stands in the way" of Québec's quest for "national unity."[429]

3.4.4 Tying the Responses Together

Having examined the various responses to the three sub-questions, what significance, then, does the city of Montreal have for the ethnocultural and linguistic minorities in our sample? The answer to this meta-question has been alluded to on several occasions in the preceding sections. First, Montreal is a place that these minority members can call "home", particularly in a province that challenges their sense of belonging by not welcoming them as equal members of Québec society. Second, as one respondent put it, the city of Montreal "defines [their] identity like nothing else can."[430]

It is perhaps an understatement to say that the individuals cited from this eighteen-month period have a rather strong affinity towards the city of Montreal. That being said, what is most noteworthy about this affinity is that it appears to come at the expense of an attachment to the rest of the province. Not only is such apparent from the pieces referenced in section 3.4.2 – where individuals are explicit in their identification as Montrealers and their concomitant non-identification as Quebeckers–but also in section 3.4.3 which discussed both the idea of partitioning Montreal, as well as the desire to have the city accorded a special status. In my view, these latter two visions of the city are simply an alternative way of expressing what had already been communicated in 3.4.2, namely, a sense of Montrealness that is independent of any association with the rest of Québec. The discussion of the city's distinctness from the regions of Québec beyond Montreal's borders is rather indicative of this, as it suggests that Montreal and Québec are two separate entities with diverging

[428] Andrew H. Heft, "Montreal's Special Status," *The Montreal Gazette*, March 8, 2014, B6.
[429] Celine Cooper, "The Montreal/Heartland Gap Widens," *The Montreal Gazette*, September 16, 2013, A17.
[430] Di Clemente, "We're Montrealers, and We're Distinct From the ROQ".

and incompatible "interests" and "perspectives". Also alluding to this divergence between the province of Québec and the city of Montreal on an identification level is the notion of partition itself. Specifically, it does not only indicate that these individuals do not see Montreal as a Québécois city, but more importantly, that they do not see themselves as Quebeckers. This is significant because it once again reveals a weak form of attachment to the rest of the province, or in this case, no attachment at all.

In light of these considerations, what then to make of Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic diversity and its significance for the minorities in our sample? Firstly, it is one of the reasons why these individuals are so attached to the island of Montreal.[431] It is quite clear that the city's cultural and linguistic richness is a source of pride for these minority members, as well as an experience that all could share in despite their differences. Secondly, as stated at the end of 3.4.3, Montreal's multicultural and cosmopolitan character is also at the root of why the minorities cited from this eighteen-month period describe Montreal as being distinct from the rest of Québec. Particularly, the city's diversity is seen as giving Montreal a different "mentality" from the rest of the province and thus forms part of what separates Montrealers from Quebeckers. However, as we will see in the following section, this is not the only phenomenon influencing the way in which ethnocultural and linguistic minorities understand the meaning of the Montreal identity. In order to have a greater grasp of their sense of Montrealness, we must also take into account the conclusions reached with the previous two meta-questions.

[431] This had been stated previously in 3.4.2.

3.5 Multiculturalism, Exclusive Nationalism and the Montreal Identity

It is difficult to discuss the meaning of an identity without making reference to the "other" against which it acquires its significance. As was explained in section 1.5, this difficulty is owed much to what Charles Taylor calls the dialogical character of the human condition,[432] or more specifically, to the fact that all self-understandings (individual and collective) are intimately bound up with the way in which we interact and encounter others.[433] We saw a glimpse of this fact in section 3.4, where the rest of Québec was frequently referred to, but only to help describe the city of Montreal and one's affinity towards it. Perhaps the most significant examples of this influence of the other on the self, however, were presented in section 3.4.2, where one's attachment to Montreal could not be articulated without clarifying that one did not feel at home in Québec, or even that one did not identify with the rest of the province altogether. This inability for minorities to communicate their sense of Montrealness without simultaneously discussing their non-attachment to the rest of the province suggests in a rather strong way that their relationship with Québec is embedded in its very meaning, as it was only in explaining this relationship that this sense could be disclosed. What is also interesting to note is that even when the rest of Québec was not mentioned in an explicit manner, it nonetheless appeared to define Montrealness. For instance, it can be said that the enthusiasm expressed by Montrealers (in section 3.4.1) over the city's "colorful population" and its multicultural character is not simply rooted in the fact that these are features specific to the island and its inhabitants, but also in the fact that these help to distinguish them from other Quebeckers. Accordingly, the specificity and significance of Montreal's cultural plurality emerge only when compared to the supposed "homogeneousness" of Québec beyond Montreal's borders.

[432] Taylor, "The Politics of Recognition," 32.
[433] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 43.

At any rate, it is apparent that the relationship that minorities have with the rest of Québec heavily shapes the way in which they understand themselves as Montrealers. However, it is not just any type of relationship that underpins this understanding, but particularly one of exclusion. As was demonstrated in section 3.3, it is frequent that minority members feel as though they do not belong as equal members of Québec society, often regarding themselves as outsiders and second-class citizens.[434] Indeed, the tendency for ethnocultural and linguistic minorities to harbor feelings of exclusion is very much rooted in a shared belief that the Québec nation is defined in ethnic terms – a conception of the nation that was progressively supplanted with the territorial-based nationalism brought about by the Quiet Revolution.[435] As was shown in section 3.2, minorities often interpret the Québec subject as coinciding exclusively with white francophones of French-Canadian descent. In fact, they assert that this form of ethnic nationalism associated with the *Québécois de souche* has been continuously promoted by Québec politicians, particularly those belonging to the Parti québécois. Interestingly, this assertion is made despite multiple efforts since the 1960s to move away from ethnic conceptions of the nation and to define Québec society in more inclusive terms.

Using the language of both Margaret Somers and Lessard, Johnson and Webber's account of identity formation outlined in section 1.5, we can say that the interpretation of Québec nationalism as being grounded in the ethnicity of the province's francophones of French-Canadian descent constitutes a commonly held *narrative* that helps minorities *make sense of* their lived *experiences*[436] – which in their context is one of exclusion. It is simply not the case that minorities do not identify with the Québec nation because its values are unappealing to them, but rather because they believe the nation's reach incorporates only those who have a "lineage that can be traced back to Jacques

[434] For more specific examples of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities feeling like outsiders and second-class citizens, see section 3.3.1.
[435] See section 2.3 for more details regarding the Quiet Revolution and the emergence of a more territorial-based Québec Nationalism.
[436] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 7-8; Somers, "Narrative Constitution of Identity," 622.

Cartier" while deliberately excluding those who do not.[437] In fact, we have even seen instances where minority members say that they have tried desperately to belong to Québec society, but conclude that they have been refused membership because of their ethnocultural and linguistic differences.[438] Framing their sentiment of exclusion as such allows minority members to rationalize their non-belonging to Québec society in a way that places blame for their non-attachment on the other. Consequently, it no longer becomes a question of whether or not minorities wish to become members of Québec society, but a question of whether the Québécois– in this case, francophones of French-Canadian descent –are willing to recognize minorities as members of Québec society.

It is precisely this sentiment of exclusion stemming from the non-recognition of minorities in an ethnically defined Québec nation that underpins the Montreal identity as expressed by ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area. In other words, it is *because* minorities feel excluded from the Québec nation that they come to define their sense of Montrealness in such a way that signifies a concomitant non-attachment to the rest of Québec. The perceived non-recognition by the Québécois allows for the city of Montreal to emerge as "an important reference point for a sense of belonging" in a province in which minorities would otherwise have none or very little of.[439] Indeed, defining themselves as Montrealers provides minorities with a sense of place and meaning in a context that challenges their self-understanding by excluding them from Québec society. As such, the Montreal identity for minorities manifests itself as an alternative to Québec identity to which they cannot lay claim.

As Iris Young explains in *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, it is entirely possible for a group's identity to be formed on the basis of a shared experience of exclusion, arguing that "sometimes a group comes to exist only because one group excludes [...] and those [so] labelled

[437] Charles Ghorayeb, untitled, *The Montreal Gazette*, March 20, 2014, A16.
[438] See section 3.3.2 for more details.
[439] The quoted portion of this sentence is drawn from Oakes and Warren, *Language, Citizenship and Identity,* 141.

come to understand themselves on the basis of their shared oppression."[440] It is important to note that, for Young, the term oppression is to be understood in a very broad manner. More precisely, oppression is used to refer to five "concepts and conditions", namely, 1) exploitation, 2) powerlessness, 3) violence, 4) cultural imperialism and 5) marginalization.[441] Of these "five faces of oppression", it is cultural imperialism that is most relevant to the discussion at hand.[442] In particular, Young describes cultural imperialism as "the universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm", or in other words, as the promotion of one group's values and interpretation of events as constituting "the dominant cultural products of society."[443] According to Young, cultural imperialism not only results in the political exclusion of those whom are understood as different, but also in the labelling of groups other than the dominant culture as inferior and deviant.[444] Consequently, those so labeled fail to identify with the prevailing culture on account that their perspectives and experiences are not recognized by them.[445]

In addition to this non-identification, cultural imperialism may also cause culturally oppressed groups to internalize an excluded and "inferiorized" image of themselves.[446] One implication of this internalization is that it marks the culturally oppressed group off from the dominant one, as the former do not identify with latter's universalized norms, while the latter do not share in the former's experience of exclusion.[447] Moreover, this experience of exclusion can help form the basis of a shared identity, or what Young conceptualizes as a "positive sense of group difference." As she explains, "because they can affirm and recognize one another as sharing similar

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[440] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 46.
[441] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference,* 40.
[442] This may seem paradoxical since the most radical strand of the Québec independence movement in the 1960s and 1970s was strongly anti-colonial and anti-imperialist. See Sean Mills (2010).
[443] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 59.
[444] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 60.
[445] Ibid.
[446] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 59.
[447] Ibid.

experiences and perspectives on social life, people in culturally imperialized groups can often maintain a sense of positive subjectivity."[448] Although Young is never explicit about what she means by "positive subjectivity", the various examples she uses in *Justice and the Politics of Difference* suggest that it entails asserting the specificity a group's culture, experiences and perspectives over and against those of the dominant culture.[449]

Admittedly, it may seem difficult to qualify the minority experience in Québec as one of oppression. However, I believe that various elements of this discussion regarding culture imperialism, as articulated by Young, capture the way in which ethnocultural and linguistic minorities perceive their relationship with the rest of Québec. Firstly, the claims to universality by dominant cultures that occur in situations of cultural imperialism are analogous to the way in which minorities interpret the Québec subject: as being constituted by the francophone majority of French-Canadian descent. Secondly, the feelings of inferiority and exclusion that minorities experience because of this interpretation are akin to the way in which culturally imperialized groups are made to feel excluded because of their difference from the dominant group. Consequently, we can say that the specificity of the minority experience of exclusion forms the basis of a "positive sense of group difference", namely, the Montreal identity. In other words, feeling excluded from Québec society constitutes the foundations of a shared experience through which ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area express and assert their sense of Montrealness.

In addition to this sentiment of exclusion, the meaning of this identity is also very much rooted in Montreal's multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities.[450] Such was demonstrated in section 3.4.1 with the numerous references to the city's ethnocultural plurality. Taking into account

[448] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 61.
[449] Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, 159-161, 166.
[450] In fact, I alluded to this particular aspect of the Montreal identity towards the end of section 3.4.4, where I tied together the responses to the various sub-questions relating to the city of Montreal. As such, the following themes may overlap with those discussed previously.

the passages cited therein, it is evident that Montreal's cultural richness constitutes a source of pride and unity for minorities living in the Greater Montreal area, as they could not help but celebrate the city's diversity. Once again, using the language provided by Lessard, Johnson and Webber's account of identity formation, we can say that sharing in Montreal's heterogeneity constitutes the basis of a *narrative* that allows minorities to *forge a sense of commonalty*, thereby causing them to *feel an affinity* for one another.[451] Accordingly, the ability to partake in the city's multicultural aspects offers minorities with a *sense of place* and *belonging* that the rest of Québec and its monolithic identity cannot provide.[452]

Equally important, Montreal's polyglot character also forms the foundations of a narrative upon which the Montreal identity and its distinctness from Québec can be articulated and reinforced. More specifically, the narrative presents the former as a bastion of ethnocultural diversity and inclusivity, while the latter is portrayed as a homogeneous and excluding entity. As a result, minorities have come to believe that Montrealers possess a different "mentality" and "perspective" from the rest of the province—which itself has inspired some to declare that Montreal ought to be separated from Québec on account that it is a "distinct society".[453] This is rather significant, as it challenges the way in which Létourneau, Anctil, Walker and others have interpreted Montreal's distinctness from the rest of Québec.[454] As I mentioned in chapter 1, these authors often represent this distinctness as one in character, as opposed to one in meaning. However, as we have seen throughout the present chapter, particularly with the responses in section 3.4.2 and 3.4.3, this distinctness from the rest of the province is at the very core of what it means to be a Montrealer—hence the concomitant non-attachment to the rest of Québec that accompanied its expression.

[451] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 11.
[452] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 12.
[453] See section 3.4.3 for more details regarding Montreal as a distinct society.
[454] See section 1.1 for details.

At any rate, it is evident that the constant juxtaposition between the city of Montreal on the one hand, and the province of Québec on the other allows minorities to communicate an image of the Montreal subject as multicultural and cosmopolitan, as well as to underscore the manner in which it is differentiated from and even opposed to Québec identity. Examined from the perspective of Lessard, Johnson and Webber, the image of the cosmopolitan and multicultural Montreal subject can be viewed as a sort of *counter-story* that minorities use both to *establish their presence* in the province, as well as to *respond* to what they perceive as a form of *social exclusion*.[455] The image is used almost as if to say "it does not matter if we (minorities) are deliberately left out of the Québec nation, as the city of Montreal is our home; it provides us with a meaningful sense of place, and is much more in line with our diverse values, assumptions and ways of life." Taken in this way, the cosmopolitan Montreal subject appears then to act as a rallying-point/pole of inclusion around which minorities can gather and assert themselves over and against an exclusive Québécois identity that is interpreted as ethnically, culturally and linguistically homogeneous.

What is most notable about this understanding of the Montreal identity is that it places Sherry Simon, Jean-Louis Roy and other's conception of the Montreal subject in a new light, as the image of the multicultural Montrealer no longer emerges solely from a love for the city's diversity and cultural plurality. Instead, the specificity and significance of Montreal's cosmopolitan sensibilities emerge because they are contrasted with the supposed uniformity of Québec beyond the city's borders. In other words, diversity, inclusivity and multiculturalism come to constitute defining characteristics of Montrealness precisely because they oppose those features of Québec identity that make minorities feel like outsiders in their own home. In my view, this constant background reference to the rest of Québec is an excellent example of Margaret Somers' theory of identity construction which claims that the stories which constitute our identities are always embedded in the intersubjective relations

[455] Lessard, Johnson, Webber, "Contested Meanings," 13.

we experience in space and time.[456] While minorities come to express their sense of Montrealness through stories which celebrate Montreal's ethnocultural plurality, those stories cannot be separated from their relationship with the rest of the province and its excluding character –hence the twofold meaning of this identity. Taken together, the sentiment of exclusion and the sharing in of Montreal's multicultural sensibilities contribute to the building of an alternative identity that is understood as distinct from a narrowly defined Québec identity.

Conclusion

My aim in this chapter was to examine the opinion sections of the Montreal Gazette so as to verify my hypothesis. In order to determine which opinion pieces were relevant for analysis and interpretation, I submitted each op-ed, letter and editorial to three meta-questions that correspond with the three themes that underpin this thesis: Québec nationalism; the sentiment of exclusion; the city of Montreal and ideas of Montrealness. In so doing, I was able to determine that: 1) ethnocultural and linguistic minorities have a tendency to interpret the Québec nation as incorporating solely francophone Quebeckers of French-Canadian descent; 2) ethnocultural minorities tend to feel excluded from this nation; and 3) ethnocultural and linguistic minorities do not only have a strong affinity towards the city of Montreal and its cultural richness, but that this affinity often comes at the expense of an identification and attachment to the rest of Québec.

Following the presentation of my empirical results, I tied the responses to each meta-question together and analyzed them using the theoretical framework outlined in section 1.5. It is there that I demonstrated that the meaning of the Montreal identity is intimately bound with the relationship minorities have with the rest of Québec. In particular, I showed how a sentiment of exclusion from a

[456] Somers, "Narrative Constitution of Identity," 622.

narrowly defined Québec nation formed the basis of a shared narrative that allowed Montreal to emerge as an important reference point of identity, which in turn gave minorities a sense of place in a province that makes them feel like outsiders. Similarly, I showed how the narrative of the multicultural and cosmopolitan Montrealer was also intimately bound with the relationship that minorities have with the rest of Québec. In constantly juxtaposing the mentality and character of Montrealers to the rest of the province and Quebeckers, the narrative of the multicultural and cosmopolitan Montreal subject acquired its specificity, distinctness and significance. Together, these two dimensions of Montrealness contributed to the building of an identity that is opposed to Québec identity, thus verifying my hypothesis.

General Conclusion

This thesis set out to answer the following research question: what is the meaning of the Montreal identity as understood by Montreal's ethnocultural and linguistic minorities? In examining the Montreal Gazette's opinion pages from the period of September 4th, 2012 to April 7th, 2014, I was able to confirm the hypothesis introduced in section 1.4, namely, that *from the perspective of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities, the meaning of Montreal identity is twofold: (1) it is intimately tied to a sentiment of exclusion, that is to say, minorities have come to understand their Montreal identity in response to what they perceive as an exclusive form of Québec nationalism, one which restricts the notion of Québécois to francophones of French-Canadian descent; (2) it entails sharing in and taking pride in the city's multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities which contributes to the building of an alternative (and more inclusive) identity that is distinct from and even opposed to Québec identity*

As for the unfolding of the research, this thesis proceeded in three parts. Chapter 1 outlined the foundations of my research. In particular, it began by reviewing the academic literature on the Montreal identity, which focused primarily on the Montreal subject as multicultural and as being united in diversity. Following this overview I examined an aspect of the identity seldom discussed in the literature, namely, its distinctness from the rest of Québec. In exploring the few texts that took up the notion, I arrived at a discussion of exclusion and its relation to ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area. Indeed, it was from this examination that I was then able to formulate the project's central research question and hypothesis outlined above. Subsequent to this formulation, the chapter introduced the theoretical framework that I used to analyze the results of my empirical research: that individual and collective identities are constituted via a dialectical relationship between our relations with others and the stories we construct to give them

meaning. Lastly, the chapter concluded with my methodological section where I introduced the Montreal Gazette's opinion pages as my data set, the PQ's eighteen months in power as my period of study and Gadamerian hermeneutics as the main source of my methodological approach.

In chapter 2, I took a slight, but necessary detour and examined the evolution of Québécois nationalism. Since my hypothesis tied the meaning of the Montreal identity to the relationship that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities have with the rest of the province and the Québec identity, an in-depth analysis of the development of nationalism in Québec was required in order to better understand the significance of this relationship. Additionally, exploring its development allowed us to better contextualize the results of my empirical research and the extent to which the minority interpretation of Québec nationalism departed from the trajectory it has taken since the 1960s. As was demonstrated in the chapter, Québec nationalism did indeed have its roots in the ethnically defined, clerical nationalism of French Canada and its concomitant logic of *survivance*. However, since the Quiet Revolution, the Québec nation has progressively grown more civic and more inclusive so as to better incorporate the province's growing ethnocultural pluralism. Although the move towards an inclusive Québec has seen its fair share of obstacles along the way –such as Parizeau's post-referendum comments, the reasonable accommodation crisis and the rise of neoconservative nationalism– it does not discount the fact that many have been and still are committed to expanding the parameters of the Québec nation.

In chapter 3, I explored the results of my empirical research so as to verify the thesis' central hypothesis. I began the chapter by briefly re-stating my period of study and the motivation behind its choice. Subsequent to this, I presented the three "meta-questions" that were submitted to each opinion piece penned during the eighteen months in which the Parti québécois held governmental power. The responses to each meta-question and their corresponding sub-questions were then

examined in the three sections following their introduction. Generally speaking, the responses can be summed up as follows: 1) that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities interpret Québec nationalism as ethnically defined; 2) that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities tend to feel as though they are excluded from the Québec nation; and 3) that ethnocultural and linguistic minorities have a strong affinity towards the city of Montreal that often comes at the expense of an attachment to the rest of the province. Finally, the chapter tied the responses to each meta-question together and they were analyzed under the theoretical lens outlined in chapter 1. In particular, I used theories developed by Charles Taylor, Iris Young, Margret Somers, and Lessard, Johnson and Webber to reveal a conception of the Montreal identity that is 1) underpinned by a sentiment of exclusion and 2) tied to the city's multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities. In so doing, I was able to confirm my hypothesis.

Taken as whole, we can identify three contributions that result from this thesis' research and conclusions. The first regards the aforementioned and often repeated discrepancy between the trajectory that Québec nationalism has taken since the 1960s and the way in which it is perceived by ethnocultural and linguistic minorities. Despite multiple attempts since the 1960s to depart from ethnic conceptions of the nation, there remains a strong tendency for minorities to interpret the boundaries of the Québec nation along ethnic lines. This discrepancy is not only significant because it helped us to better understand the way in which these minority members define their sense of Montrealness, but also because it questions the efficacy of recent nationalists' goals of promoting a common public culture oriented around the French language and Québec culture.[457] In other words, it begs the following question: why aren't ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area swayed by discourses advocating for a more inclusive Québec? Of course, one immediate response is that various policies relating to culture and identity often challenge minorities'

[457] Micheline Labelle, "The 'Language of Race,'" 43.

sense of place and belonging, thereby causing them to question the genuineness of inclusivist rhetoric. That said, the reasons underpinning this discrepancy are surely more complex than the one presented here. As such, it opens an avenue for additional and interesting research in this particular area.

The second contribution relates to the way in which the Montreal identity has been discussed and defined in the academic literature. As I pointed out in chapter 1, authors such as Sherry Simon, Claire McNicoll and Jean-Louis Roy often interpret this identity as emerging from a love for the city's diversity and cultural richness. However, the results of my empirical research indicate a slightly more nuanced understanding of the multicultural and cosmopolitan Montreal subject. More specifically, the results show that the city's ethnocultural plurality plays an important role in defining minorities' sense of Montrealness precisely *because* it opposes those features of Québec identity that make them feel like outsiders in their home province. This conclusion is rather significant as it reveals an understanding of the multicultural and multicultural Montreal subject –whose specificity emerges because it contrasted with the perceived uniformity of Québec beyond the city's borders– hitherto unexplored in the academic literature.

The third and final contribution regards Montreal's distinctness from the rest of Québec. As I discussed previously, though authors such as Jocelyn Létourneau, Brian Walker and Pierre Anctil allude to the idea of Montrealers being distinct from Quebeckers, they often reduce the distinction as a distinction in character as opposed to one in meaning. In examining the opinion pages of the Montreal Gazette, I was able to reveal that to be distinct from the rest of Québec does in fact constitute an important part of what it *means* to be a Montrealer for ethnocultural and linguistic minorities living in the Greater Montreal area. Such was not only evident in those passages which asked for Montreal to be partitioned from Québec on account that the city and its inhabitants

constitutes a distinct society, but also from those which expressed ideas of Montrealness which are devoid of an attachment to the rest of Québec. Although it is not an entirely novel understanding of the Montreal subject, since Labelle and Salée also alluded to it in their work "Immigrant and Minority Representations of Citizenship in Québec", my findings give viability to a conception of Montrealness that incorporates a distinctness from Québec in its very meaning.

Of course, future research on the subject of the Montreal identity might take into account the fact that the results of my research were contingent on the bias of the Gazette's editing team, potentially resulting in an over-representation of certain points of views. Moreover, there also remains the fact that I examined opinion pieces from what is ultimately an English-language forum, which may have excluded the perspective of minorities who do not originate from states with English as an official language or who do not have a history of integrating within the anglophone community. With respect to the first issue, as I explained in section 1.6.1, though I have taken into account certain quantitative aspects of my empirical research, it was by and large the qualitative component that informed my conclusions. Indeed, my aim was not to uncover *how many* minority members identify themselves as Montrealers in this or that way, but *how they defined and expressed* their sense of Montrealness. As for the second limitation, it is important to recall that a substantial number of the Gazette's readership (roughly 30 percent) has a home language other than English. Thus, it would be misguided to view the opinions found in the Gazette as only representing the anglophone community's. Lastly, there remains a limitation not mentioned previously, one relating to my period of study. More specifically, it can be asked whether or not I would have achieved similar findings had I examined a moment in the province's political history that was not as controversial as the Parti québécois' eighteen months in power. For instance, it may be asked whether we would have seen similar expressions of Montrealness under the recently elected Liberal

government who, under the leadership of Philippe Couillard, has focused primarily on the province's economic performance and who has been committed to promoting an inclusive Québec identity. This is a particularly intriguing question that may potentially open the door for future investigation.

In any event, my thesis has contributed to an area of study that, in my view, has barely had its surface scratched. In examining the Montreal identity from the perspective of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities, and then subsequently tying its meaning to both a sentiment of exclusion and to the city's multicultural and cosmopolitan sensibilities, I hope to have encouraged future researchers on the Montreal subject to look beyond the commonly discussed notions of hybridity, inter-referentiality and cultural mixing. Indeed, I believe that the Montreal identity disclosed in this work opens up new avenues for fruitful research with respect to nationhood and identity, as well as the study of minority self-representations in the province. For instance, we may ask whether or not the existence of a Montreal identity that defines itself as distinct from and even opposed to Québec identity undermines nationalists' attempts to promote a common public culture oriented around the French language and Québécois culture. We may also ask in what ways does a Montreal identity that is void of any attachment to the rest of the province stand in the way of minorities embracing the concepts of nationhood and sovereignty. Similarly, does this same sense of Montrealness give greater force to partitionist notions that appear to emerge in politically tense times? Although these questions are beyond the scope of this work, they nonetheless demonstrate the ways in which studying this phenomenon opens the door for a host of interesting and thought-provoking questions that can be the subject for future investigations.

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Appendix A
Meta and Sub-Questions

Meta-Question	Sub-Question(s)
1. How is Québec Nationalism defined?	a) How are the sovereignty project/independence movement and the proponents of nationalism/sovereignty presented? b) Who constitutes a Québécois? What are the parameters of the Québec identity? c) How is Québec society or Québec as a province presented? d) Who are the representatives of Québec Nationalism? How are their intentions described?
2. Do members of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities feel excluded from Québec society?	a) How do ethnocultural and linguistic minorities articulate their sense of place and belonging with respect to Québec society?
3. What significance does the city of Montreal have for members of ethnocultural and linguistic minorities?	a) How is the city of Montreal defined and described? b) What attachments do the minorities in our sample have t the city? c) How is Montreal's place within the larger Québécois context understood?

Appendix B
Boroughs of Montreal[458]

▪ *Ahuntsic-Cartierville*	▪ *L'Île-Bizard–Sainte-Geneviève*	▪ *Saint-Laurent*
▪ *Anjou*	▪ *Mercier–Hochelaga-Maisonneuve*	▪ *Saint-Léonard*
▪ *Côte-des-Neiges–Notre-Dame-de-Grâce*	▪ *Montréal-Nord*	▪ *Verdun*
▪ *Lachine*	▪ *Outremont*	▪ *Ville-Marie*
▪ *LaSalle*	▪ *Pierrefonds-Roxboro*	▪ *Villeray–Saint Michel–Parc Extension*
▪ *Le Plateau-Mont-Royal*	▪ *Rivière-des-Prairies–Pointe-aux-Trembles*	
▪ *Le Sud-Ouest*	▪ *Rosemont–La Petite-Patrie*	

[458] The boroughs on the list are taken from the City of Montreal's official website. For more information, please see: Ville de Montreal, "Boroughs", http:// http://ville.montreal.qc.ca/portal/page?_pageid=5977,86679930&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL.

Appendix C
Location Tallies and Percentages[459]

Location	Total	Percentage
Abu Dhabi	1	0.03%
Ahuntsic	4	0.13%
Anjou	11	0.36%
Arundel	1	0.03%
Australia	3	0.10%
Ayer's cliff	1	0.03%
Baie-d'Urfé	36	1.17%
Beaconsfield	101	3.27%
Bedford	1	0.03%
Blainville	5	0.16%
Blenheim, Ontario	1	0.03%
Bloomfield, New Jersey	1	0.03%
Bois-des-Filion	1	0.03%
Boston	1	0.03%
Boucherville	2	0.06%
Bromont	1	0.03%
Brossard	57	1.85%
Burlington, Ontario	1	0.03%
Calgary	2	0.06%
Campbell's Bay	1	0.03%
Candiac	1	0.03%
Cartierville	1	0.03%
Chambly	2	0.06%
Chapel Hill, North Carolina	1	0.03%
Châteauguay	37	1.20%
Chisasibi	1	0.03%
Cochrane, Alberta	1	0.03%
Cooper Landing, Alaska	1	0.03%
Cornwall, Ontario	1	0.03%
Côte Saint-Luc	135	4.37%
Côte-des-Neiges	7	0.23%
Cowansville	1	0.03%
Davenport, Iowa	1	0.03%
Deux-Montagnes	7	0.23%
Dewittville	4	0.13%
Dhaka, Bangladesh	1	0.03%

[459] Darkened city and location names indicate contributions which stem outside the province of Québec.

Dollard-Des Ormeaux	147	4.76%
Dorval	39	1.26%
Duncan, BC	1	0.03%
Dunham	1	0.03%
Dunvegan, Ontario	1	0.03%
East Bolton	1	0.03%
Edmonton	3	0.10%
Elgin	2	0.06%
Etobicoke	1	0.03%
Florida	1	0.03%
Fredericton, NB	1	0.03%
Fulford	1	0.03%
Gatineau	4	0.13%
Granville Ferry, NS	1	0.03%
Greenfield Park	28	0.91%
Grenville-sur-la-Rouge	1	0.03%
Guelph, Ont	1	0.03%
Hamilton, Ont	1	0.03%
Hampden, Massachusetts	1	0.03%
Hampstead	36	1.17%
Hatley	1	0.03%
Hawkesbury, Ont	1	0.03%
Hichinbrooke	1	0.03%
Hudson	22	0.71%
Île Bizard	9	0.29%
Île des Sœurs/Nun's Island	5	0.16%
Indianapolis, USA	1	0.03%
Ithica, NY	1	0.03%
Kahnawake	11	0.36%
Kingston, Ont	1	0.03%
Kirkland	102	3.30%
Knowlton	4	0.13%
Knoxville, Tennessee	1	0.03%
La Prairie	1	0.03%
Lac-des-Îles	1	0.03%
Lachine	33	1.07%
Lachute	1	0.03%
Lac-Simon	1	0.03%
Ladysmith, Bc	1	0.03%
Lasalle	51	1.65%
Laval	47	1.52%

Le Plateau-Mont-Royal	20	0.65%
Lennoxville	2	0.06%
L'Île-Perrot	22	0.71%
Lindsay, Ontario	1	0.03%
Liskeard, England	1	0.03%
Little Burgundy	1	0.03%
London, England	1	0.03%
London, Ontario	2	0.06%
Longueuil	11	0.36%
Lorraine	2	0.06%
Maria	6	0.19%
Markham, Ontario	1	0.03%
Melbourne, QC	3	0.10%
Mexico City	2	0.06%
Mirabel	1	0.03%
Mission, B.C	1	0.03%
Mississauga	2	0.06%
Montreal	968	31.35%
Montreal North	3	0.10%
Montreal West	47	1.52%
Mont-Saint-Hilaire	3	0.10%
Mont-Tremblant	1	0.03%
Morin Heights	1	0.03%
Mount Currie, BC	1	0.03%
NDG	111	3.59%
New Richmond	1	0.03%
New York, New York	2	0.06%
No Location	48	1.55%
North Hatley	1	0.03%
Oceanview, Delaware	1	0.03%
Old Montreal	1	0.03%
Orford	1	0.03%
Ormstown	3	0.10%
Ottawa	40	1.30%
Otterburn Park	1	0.03%
Outremont	10	0.32%
Palm Beach Gardens, Florida	1	0.03%
Park Extension	4	0.13%
Pierrefonds	88	2.85%
Pincourt	16	0.52%
Pointe-Claire	124	4.02%

Pointe-Lebel	1	0.03%
Pointe-Saint-Charles	2	0.06%
Pontiac	1	0.03%
Quebec City	8	0.26%
Repentigny	3	0.10%
Rigaud	1	0.03%
Riverview, NB	1	0.03%
Rivière des Prairies	1	0.03%
Rockburn	3	0.10%
Rosemère	8	0.26%
Rosemount	5	0.16%
Roxboro	29	0.94%
Saint-André-Avellin	1	0.03%
Saint-Anicet	1	0.03%
Saint-Basile-le-Grand	1	0.03%
Saint-Bruno	20	0.65%
Saint-Constant	2	0.06%
Saint-Didace	1	0.03%
Sainte-Adèle	1	0.03%
Sainte-Agathe-des-Monts	2	0.06%
Sainte-Anne-de-Bellevue	14	0.45%
Sainte-Geneviève	3	0.10%
Sainte-Lucie-des-Laurentides	1	0.03%
Sainte-Thérèse	1	0.03%
Saint-Eustache	2	0.06%
Saint-Henri	4	0.13%
Saint-Hippolyte	3	0.10%
Saint-Hubert	8	0.26%
Saint-Julie	1	0.03%
Saint-Lambert	44	1.42%
Saint-Laurent	96	3.11%
Saint-Lazare	25	0.81%
Saskatoon	1	0.03%
Seattle, Washington	1	0.03%
Senneville	2	0.06%
Shawinigan	1	0.03%
Sherbrooke	4	0.13%
St. Leonard	18	0.58%
Sugar Hill, New Hampshire	1	0.03%
Surrey, B.C	1	0.03%
Sutton	1	0.03%

Terrasse-Vaudreuil	5	0.16%
Thunder Bay, Ont	1	0.03%
Tide Head, New Brunswick	1	0.03%
TMR	12	0.39%
Toronto	20	0.65%
Trois-Rivières	5	0.16%
Vancouver	2	0.06%
Vaudreuil-Dorion	9	0.29%
Verdun	28	0.91%
Victoria, Bc	1	0.03%
Ville de Léry	1	0.03%
Villeray	1	0.03%
Wareham, Massachusetts	1	0.03%
Waterloo, Ont	2	0.06%
Waterloo, QC	1	0.03%
Waterville	1	0.03%
Wellington, Florida	1	0.03%
Westmount	111	3.59%
Whistler, B.C	1	0.03%
Winnipeg	2	0.06%