

THE ROLE OF THE GAZETTE
IN LINGUISTIC GROUP RELATIONS IN QUEBEC:
A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH

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ABSTRACT

In Canada it is often assumed that the media, through its agenda-setting role, can act as a mechanism for overcoming the forces which divide the two linguistic communities. Yet when looked at from a 'national' Quebec perspective, as does this work, what is considered divisive at the Canadian level could be perceived as integrative at the Quebec level.

The present work explores the role of Montreal's only daily English-language newspaper, The Gazette, in linguistic group relations in Quebec during the late 1970's. It finds evidence to support the argument that the role and importance of the press in Anglophone-Francophone relations vary along with changes in the socio-political environment. In the case under study the major "definnisseurs du contexte" were found to be the degree of segmentation of the society, the degree of stability of linguistic group identities and the effectiveness of the mechanisms of linguistic group conflict resolution.

RESUME

Au Canada, on prend souvent pour acquis que les médias, parce qu'ils jouent un rôle important dans le choix des sujets discutés, ont le pouvoir d'agir comme mécanisme intégrateur des forces qui divisent les deux communautés linguistiques. Pourtant, si, comme nous l'avons fait dans cette thèse, nous prenons le cas du Québec, on se rend compte que ce qui peut être vu comme facteur de division au niveau canadien, peut également être perçu comme facteur d'intégration au niveau du Québec.

Cette thèse examine le rôle du seul quotidien de langue anglaise à Montréal, The Gazette, et ses relations avec les groupes linguistiques du Québec à la fin des années 1970. Elle supporte l'argument selon lequel le rôle et l'importance de la presse écrite, dans ses relations francophones-anglophones, varie selon le contexte socio-politique. Le cas étudié démontre que le degré de segmentation de la société, le degré de stabilité du sentiment d'appartenance des groupes linguistiques ainsi que l'efficacité du mécanisme de résolution des conflits linguistiques dans la société, sont les définisseurs de ce contexte socio-politique.

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INTRODUCTION

The present work explores the role of The Montreal Gazette in Anglophone-Francophone relations in Quebec during the late 1970's and early 1980's. It sets out to explain the impact of media segmentation on cultural group relations as it relates to societal cohesion and, by so doing, seeks to clarify the role of the press and its impact on political integration.

The media has most often been viewed as a mechanism by which individuals are integrated into the political, social and economic institutions of the collectivity. If a nation is defined as consisting of "a group of people conducting a greater volume of transactions among themselves than they conduct with others outside of the group"(1) then the communications system plays an important role in defining the boundaries of, and the meaning of membership in, the nation.

In Quebec the issue of "national" integration, especially for the Anglophone population, is a complex one. Given the French sociological definition of the concept of 'nation', French-speaking Quebec can be regarded as a distinct national community. Used in the more Anglo-Saxon sense the concept of nation, as defined by political and juridical variables, applies to the whole of Canada of which Quebec is

1. Brian Stewart, "The Canadian Social System and the Canadian Broadcasting Audience," in Benjamin D. Singer (ed), Communications in Canadian Society, Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975, p. 41.

clearly an integral part. Thus, when looking at The Gazette and Anglophone-Francophone relations in Quebec we will take into consideration the issue of national integration on both the Canadian and Quebec levels.

In Canada there has been a preoccupation with, on the one hand, national political unity and, on the other hand, the role of the press. A strong sense of identification with the nation is commonly assumed to be an essential component of national unity and it is commonly believed that through its identity formation role the media integrate the members of the different linguistic communities into a national political unity. Hence attention has focussed on the impact of the American media on the Canadian identity and on regulating the amount of Canadian content in Canadian broadcasting.

The historic necessity of linking together diverse cultural groups scattered across a vast land mass and of defending the fragile weave against cultural onslaught from south of the border underlie the establishment of a national broadcasting system. Brian Stewart has described this system as having been "consciously planned by four Acts of Parliament and constantly regulated by a series of governmental agencies. About thirty Royal Commissions, lesser commissions and parliamentary committees have analyzed it and made recommendations on it."(2) Since the establishment of a "national" broadcasting system the debate has raged over the desire-

2. Ibid, p. 40.

ability, usefulness and success of a system "owned and controlled by Canadians" which is to "safeguard, enrich and strengthen the cultural, political and economic fabric of Canada."(3)

Regulation of the ownership and content of the electronic media and restrictions on foreign ownership of the written press are intended to guard against divisive forces of external origin. Yet linguistic segmentation gives rise to internal divisions which, in recent years, have threatened the unity and viability of the Canadian nation. Hence attention has been directed to the media as a mechanism for overcoming the forces which divide the two linguistic groups. The issue has been identified as the degree to which the media contribute to the development of a national consciousness or a Canadian identity through the dissemination of "Canadian news about Canadian events" thereby increasing awareness of, and positive feelings toward, the Canadian fact.(4) From this perspective a nationalizing or integrative media would reinforce the Canadian identity over the separate identities of the numerous sub-groups.

Turning now to the Quebec national scene we find a similar although less anguished preoccupation with the role of the media. In regard to the French-language media the question has been one of their role in the transformation of Quebec society and in the redefinition of Quebec's political

3. Ibid, p. 40.

4. Terence H. Qualter, "Propaganda in Canadian Society," in Benjamin D. Singer (ed), op cit., p. 277.

relationship to English-speaking Canada. With regard to the English-language media there has been many a question as to whether or not they serve the function of "integrating" the English-speaking population into the political and social life of the province. For Francophone Quebec the issue is one of integration into Canada while for Anglophone Quebec it is on the level of integration into the province. This leads us into the complex area of the role of the press in "national" integration in linguistically segmented societies.

When examining the written press as opposed to the electronic media, the absence of a national newspaper and the structural division of the press along linguistic lines are factors which considerably alter the nature of the 'problematique' of the media as an integrative institution. It has been argued that the unity or cohesiveness of the nation in culturally segmented societies depends on "the character of the relationships that each linguistic community has with the common institutions and with each other in economic, political and social spheres of activity." (5) The mere fact of ethnic and linguistic diversity is a necessary but not sufficient cause of linguistic group conflict, but rather, the sources of tension between Anglophones and Francophones (which threaten the unity of the nation) "are to be found primarily in the existence of parallel social networks and institutions, and in the ways in which they are struc-

5. Raymond Breton et al., Cultural Boundaries and the Cohesion of Canada, Montreal, Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980, p.143.

tured."(6) Hence it follows that the segmentation of the press may in itself be a source of strain and tension between the two communities. If the press is not one of the common institutions then what role does it play in the integration of the members of different linguistic groups into the overarching community and into the common institutions? That is to say, what role does a segmented media play in cultural group relations? Does it act as a divisive force by reinforcing linguistically based cultural differences? Does it act as an integrative force by bolstering the sense of belonging to the same overarching community? Or does the media have a neutral effect on linguistic group relations?

The simplistic assumption that the media contribute to political integration by reinforcing a strong sense of identification with the national community belies the complexity of political integration and societal cohesion where strong linguistic, regional, provincial and national attachments both overlap and conflict. In the case of the linguistic cleavage, the dynamics of French-English relations on the national level and on the provincial level are intricately linked. Nowhere is this more so than in the province of Quebec.

To understand Anglophone-Francophone relations in Quebec one must take into consideration not only the strength of attachment to the Canadian nation but also the degree of attachment to the province and the strength of each lin-

6. Ibid., p. 141.

guistic group's separate identity. The two-tiered nature of identity in Canada, the role of the media in the formation of these conflicting identities and the consequent impact on Anglophone-Francophone relations has, so far, been overlooked. Past studies of linguistic group relations in Canada have not taken into consideration the possible role or influence of the media on the character of the relationships outlined above. Although some content analysis studies have concluded that the media, in certain instances, did not act as an integrating agent they have not delved into the question as to why this is so. Neither the role of identity nor the role of the press in political integration and societal cohesion has been looked at in any depth.

Through an examination of the role of The Gazette in Anglophone identity formation in Quebec, this work attempts to fill this gap and to explore, in greater depth, the impact of the media on linguistic group relations.

It will be argued in the following pages, that the media always act as a mode of incorporation of the members of diverse sub-groups into the existing political, social and economic institutions of the society. Whether this role is judged to be divisive or integrative is a function of the degree of stability or change in the relationship between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec and between the linguistic groups and the common institutions. In other words, while the role of the media remains constant, the context will determine the type of impact the media has on linguistic group relations.

The first half of this paper looks at the theoretical underpinnings of the involvement of the media in questions of political integration. Chapter One examines past approaches to the media as a nationalizing or integrative agent and the conclusions of past studies. It argues that the issue is not the degree to which the media reinforces the Canadian or some other identity but rather, what impact reinforcing the identity of the community it serves has on linguistic group relations. Chapter Two develops the theoretical underpinnings for a new perspective on the role of the media in culturally segmented societies and presents some hypotheses specific to the case in question.

The second half of this paper then moves on to examine a specific case, that is, the role of The Gazette in linguistic group relations in Quebec.

CHAPTER ONE

ETHNIC CONFLICT, CANADIAN UNITY AND THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

In theory, the mass media derives its influence on political integration and national unity in three ways. Firstly, such influence is a product of the agenda-setting function of the media. The limitations of space, in a daily newspaper, or of time, on a television or radio news broadcast, mean that all the news cannot be aired or printed. By selecting which issues or events will receive public attention, the media effectively set the agenda for discussion and thereby shape political reality.⁽¹⁾ Hence the media act as a line of vertical communication between the government and the public by channelling information from the one to the other and by serving as the 'public watchdog' on governmental action. Secondly, the media provide a horizontal link of communication among the members of the society. The wider the scope of reporting the greater the number of individuals who 'transact' or interact with one another.

Finally, the medium of communications has an ideological role to play in the nation. As one of the incumbents of

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1. A large body of literature exists on the agenda-setting and other political functions of the media. See among others, Ben H. Bagdikian, The Information Machines: Their Impact on Men and the Media, New York, Harper and Row, 1971; Edward Jay Epstein, News From Nowhere, New York, Random House, 1973; William Rivers and Wilbur Schram, Responsibility in Mass Communication, New York, Harper and Row, 1969; Neil Compton, "The Mass Media," in Social Purpose for Canada, Michael Oliver (ed.) Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1961.

this ideological role, the media act as a custodian of values and "interpreter of social experience" by making sense of and giving structure to a wide range of national and international life. In his seminal work on social class and power in Canada, John Porter ascribes to the media this crucial function of assuring the smooth functioning and continued existence of the political system:

"To ensure that a value system does not become so vague that it ceases to perform its social function of providing cohesion it is necessary to build into certain social roles the task of restating and generalizing values. Individuals who have a particular facility with the written and spoken word and who can manipulate symbols assume these ideological roles ... the roles are found in the operation of the mass media ... the unifying of value themes is achieved through the control of the media of communication and therefore the structure of the ideological system becomes articulated with other systems of power. The ideological system must provide the justification for the economic system, the political system."
(2)

The media are widely recognized as important ideological agents in highly complex societies - agents of socialization acting to transmit and reinforce the values and goals of the particular society of which it is a part. It is, at once, a product and reflection of, and support for, a set of social and political institutions and their underlying values. "One of the problems of unity in highly differentiated social structures is that groups which are placed

2. John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1965, p. 459.

differently in the social structure do not experience the same social life because they are cut off from one another by class, religion, ethnicity, language, or some other barrier. But somehow, if a complex structure is to survive, the overall value system for the society must have some meaning for all groups, and at the same time consistency for the total society."³

It has been theorized, by some students of political modernization and development, that the 'standardization' and 'massification' of social values lies at the root of the emergence of new nations and that the development of new mass communication technologies plays a central role in this process. The various processes of modernization such as urbanization, industrialization, mass transportation and communication and the spread and improvement of mass education have an irreversible homogenizing effect on disparate groups which facilitates the development of a national consciousness.

Karl Deutsch, a leading proponent of the theory, singles out a special role for communications. "When several population clusters are united through more communications or more economic activity, then people begin to think of themselves as a country."⁴ As societies develop there is a "race between the growing rate of transactions among the populations in particular areas" and "the growth of integra-

3. Ibid, p. 459-460.

4. Karl W. Deutsch, Nationalism and Its Alternatives, New York, Knopf, 1969, p. 6.

...tive institutions and practices among them" which leads to the "attainment of a sense of community" and to a society whose institutions "are sufficiently strong and widespread to assure peaceful change."(5) According to Arend Lijphart, Deutsch's approach leads to the conclusion that "the very process of political integration, unification or unity is one of gradual broadening of social communications."(6)

Cyril Black carries this thesis even further by arguing that growing interdependence will lead to a point "at which the various societies are so homogeneous as to be capable of forming a world state" and, therefore, we are headed "toward an ultimate integration of societies."(7) The mass media is considered, by Black, to be a major driving force of this process.

Lucien Pye attributes to the mass media a more circumscribed role in promoting integration. The communications media contribute to the development, within a collectivity, of a common identity as a people by presenting a coherent picture of their history and their present day experience,

5. Karl Deutsch cited in Arend Lijphart, "Political Theories and the Explanation of Ethnic Conflict in the Western World: Falsified Predictions and Plausible Postdictions," in Milton J. Esman (ed), Ethnic Conflict in the Western World, London, Cornell, 1977, p.56.

6. Arend Lijphart, op cit., p. 46.

7. C.E. Black, The Dynamic of Modernization: A Case Study in Comparative History, New York, Harper and Row, 1966, p. 155.

and by reassuring them of a future. (8)

The theory of the role of the media in the dual processes of political modernization and development has been the point of departure for analysts of the Canadian scene. It is on the basis of this theory that the media is assumed to generalize values, promote the Canadian identity and thereby strengthen Canadian unity.

THE MEDIA AND NATIONAL INTEGRATION IN CANADA

Constant pressure from divisive forces of both internal and external origin has repeatedly led to the questioning of the viability and survival of the Canadian nation. Central to this issue is concern over the strength of what has been termed the 'elusive Canadian identity.' Both regional loyalties and cultural identities are seen as having a deliterious effect on the sustenance of a national bond and subsequently on national unity. The threat has been felt to be particularly dangerous when, as in the case of Quebec, the regional and cultural loyalties (in its Anglo-Saxon political sense) mix to form a competing national identity. The appeal of the Quebec 'national' identity has often been considered to be stronger than that of the Canadian identity and hence is a force for national disunity.

National unity is an affective concept which can be defined as, among other things, the absence of conflict,

8. Lucien Pye, Communications and Political Development, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1963.

loyalty to the national government, harmony or positive feelings among people in different parts of the country, feelings of pride and other good feelings about being Canadian, co-operation rather than tension between levels of government, giving precedence to one's Canadian identity over one's regional or cultural identity, and it is the feeling of getting a good deal from being part of the country.(9) Hence one approach to the study of the degree to which the media play an integrative role has been to examine the amount of national versus regional or local news.

In 1970 a Senate Committee Report on the Mass Media placed special emphasis on the role of the media in helping to forge and maintain a strong national identity. The problem was identified as being an excessive concentration on local and regional news items to the detriment of issues of national concern. The report states that:

"The job [making journalism work] is crucially important, for what is at stake is not only the vigor of our democracy. It also involves the survival of our nationhood. A nation is a collection of people who share common images of themselves. Our love of the land and our instinctive yearning for community implant that image in the first place. But it is the media ... that can make it grow. Poets and teachers and artists, yes, but journalists too. It is their perceptions which help us to define who and what we are."(10)

9. Raymond Breton et al., op cit., p. 3.

10. The Uncertain Mirror: Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, Volume I, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1970, p. 11.

Similarly, the 1981 Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers singled out factors such as the concentration of ownership, inadequate journalist training, the business orientation of newspaper chains and the ideology of fair reporting as impediments to conducting "a vigorous national debate" in the daily press.(11)

Reporting on the results of a survey illustrating the highly regional orientation of newspapers in Canada, Bell and Tepperman concluded that "... the average Canadian knows little about people and events outside his or her own region," and, therefore, the "members of the general public can hardly be expected to help hold the country together."(12) The authors suggest that increasing the amount of coverage devoted to national events and to explaining diverse cultural and social groups to one another would help to remedy this situation.

According to Jowett and Hemmings the communications system has, historically, been a major force in the development of a national consciousness. Now "the important question is whether the mass media can continue to provide material to satisfy this diversity of needs, while continuing to play an important role as a national social bond ... the media are being relied upon to an ever greater extent to act as a force

11. Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers, Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1981, p. 135-145.

12. David Bell and Lorne Tepperman, The Roots of Disunity, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1979, p. 157.

for national unity."(13)

A second approach to the issue has focused on the differing content found in the English and French language media and analyzes the degree of integrativeness or divisiveness of that content vis-a-vis linguistic group relations. Once again, the question of identity formation is of central concern.

Neil Compton, in a study of the English and French language media prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, found "gloomy truth for reformers." The media, he concluded, cannot easily act as "cultural middlemen" to mitigate the ethnic and regional conflicts threatening the unity and political stability of the country. Compton argued that newspapers and journalists tend to reflect the community they serve and of which they are a part and hence, on the national level, reflect the divisions which already exist within the nation.(14)

Similarly, Frederick Elkin found that the dual language and culture of Canada pervades the media system and divides it into media compartments. As opposed to being an integrative force in Canadian society "the mass media reflect the problems and dilemmas of Canada and the tenor of the times; they serve wittingly or unwittingly, as both mirrors

13. Garth S. Jowett and Barry R. Hemmings, "The Growth of the Mass Media in Canada," in Benjamin D. Singer (ed), op cit., p. 264.

14. Neil Compton, Multiculturalism and the English-Language Media, Research report prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1966, p. 13.

of, and major contributors to, our problems of Canadian identity."(15)

Qualter viewed the media as a 'medium of mixed value' with regard to the dissemination of Canadian propaganda. The limited usefulness of newspapers in increasing awareness of the 'Canadian Fact'-stems from "the economics of the newspaper industry, the values pursued by the owners and the subservience of some papers to the local political establishment."(16)

The dependency of daily newspapers on the Canadian Press News Agency is held by many to be a mechanism of national integration in that it disseminates a Canadian oriented view of both national and international news. Qualter, for instance, states that "the CP [Canadian Press] is an unheralded, but not unimportant, unifying force in Canada."(17) Yet in a study of national news coverage of the 1970 F.L.Q. crisis Arthur Siegel concluded that neither the Canadian Press nor any other news sources played an integrating role. Says Siegel:

"On balance ... the evidence shows that the press system in Canada as illustrated by its performance in the FLQ crisis, had

15. Frederick Elkin, "Communications Media and Identity Formation in Canada," in Benjamin Singer (ed), op cit., p. 242.

16. Terence H. Qualter, "Propaganda in Canadian Society," in Benjamin Singer (ed), op cit., p. 281.

17. See Frederick Elkin, op cit.; Terence Qualter, op cit.; and Carmen Cumming, "The Canadian Press: A Force for Consensus?", in Stuart Adam (ed), Journalism, Communication and the Law, Scarborough, Prentice-Hall, 1976.

an unsettling effect on Canadian integration or at least did not promote it. The empirical findings reveal that newspapers reinforce subcultural differences rather than contribute to the unification of society by broadening the base of common norms, values and collective experiences shared by its members."(18)

In an in-depth study of the integrative role of the Canadian Press, Hawley Black found that both structural and institutional factors inhibit the Agency from overcoming existing cultural and regional cleavages. Despite his findings Black remained optimistic about the potential of the mass media to act as a politically integrative institution.(19)

Siegel's study, and an earlier work by Daniel Latouche on the role of the press during the F.L.Q. crisis(20), are examples of research into the role of the media in a crisis situation where the media was drawn into an active role by the events themselves. The remainder of the works reviewed do not take into account any possible effects arising out of the socio-political context. In other words, the analyses are static in that they do not acknowledge or explore the possibility that the role of the media may vary

18. Arthur Siegel, Canadian Newspaper Coverage of the F.L.Q. Crisis, unpublished Ph.d. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal, 1979.

19. Hawley L. Black, The Role of the Canadian Press News Agency in Gatekeeping Canada's News, Ph.d. dissertation, McGill University, Montreal 1979.

20. Daniel Latouche, "Mass Media and Communication in a Political Crisis," in Benjamin Singer (ed), op cit.

or, should the role remain constant, that the impact of the media may vary along with changes in the socio-political context. The fact that mutations were found in the role played by the media during times of crisis would suggest that the context must be investigated as a possible factor in any study of the influence of the press.

THE DEFINITION OF AN INTEGRATIVE MEDIA

The findings of these media studies, with regard to political integration, have been surprisingly consistent. As pointed out by the Royal Commission on Newspapers, the declining political influence of dailies, their withdrawal from commitment on issues of national importance and their concentration on regional or local issues are trends which have "seriously weakened their [newspaper's] fundamental role in a democratic society." (21) These factors, in addition to the structural division of the media along linguistic lines, strengthen regional and cultural identities to the detriment of the Canadian identity. The conclusion drawn is that far from being integrative the mass media help undermine Canadian unity.

Of course the questioning of the effective value of the Canadian media in fostering national unity is done entirely from a national Canadian perspective. When seen from a national Quebec perspective what is considered divisive at

21. Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers, op cit., p. 137-138.

the Canadian level could be perceived as integrative at the Quebec level. Not only do these studies not acknowledge the dual-tier structure of the Canadian polity but they choose instead to automatically view that which is seen as reinforcing regional culture - usually a catch phrase for Quebec - as a threat to Canadian unity.

Hence the definition of what exactly is meant by an integrative media remains unclear in the literature. However, a fundamental assumption is made throughout to the effect that increased knowledge of and communication among disparate groups contribute to national unity, mitigate conflicts between cultural and regional groups and increase the degree of societal cohesion. It is assumed that a common national identity is fundamental to keeping the country together and that the reinforcement of sub-group identities threatens the over-arching community which is the nation. What has been demonstrated by past research is that the media reinforce sub-group differences; what has yet to be demonstrated satisfactorily is that those differences have a negative impact on political unity and on societal cohesion. One is struck, when reading these analyses after a ten year interval, by their simplistic and one-sided viewpoint on the role of the media and on the questions of national integration and societal cohesion in a segmented society such as Canada.

Perhaps the greatest weakness of past research in the field has been the lack of attention devoted to the ways in which a segmented media may influence the character of the relationships between linguistic communities and between

those communities and the common institutions. The arrow may also point the other way: these various sets of relationships may influence the role played by the media.

Rather than focus solely on the strength of attachment to the concept of the Canadian nation, the present work delves into the complexities of societal cohesion in a nation composed of numerous linguistic, cultural and regional identities. National unity may be threatened by a weak Canadian identity, but in order to understand the causes and the true nature of the unity crisis, one must investigate the intricate bonds which cement groups to one another and to the common institutions, and to the effectiveness of the mechanisms of conflict resolution. It is argued here that it is through an examination of the contribution of the media in these areas that the media can be judged to be, or to not be, a politically integrative institution.

It follows, then, that to understand the mechanism(s) by which the media may act as a force for integration in a segmented society one must look at what might be called the dialectical relationship between the media and the socio-political context within which the media function. As an integral part of the society the media must be considered as an institution in its own right - an organization promoting the dissemination of information. The institution of the media has established links with other institutions and, with each of the sub-groups and, in turn, both the choice of media content and the values expressed facilitate the incorporation

of individual members of the society, into the existing set of relationships.

It will be argued in Chapter Two, and demonstrated in subsequent chapters that when significant change takes place in the structure of the society, the role of the media may vary accordingly. In short, in a segmented society where the media are segmented along the lines of the major cleavage, the role of the media in linguistic group relations is a function of its relationship with each of the linguistic groups and with the common institutions. Whether the media have an integrative or divisive influence on linguistic group relations depends upon the nature of the relationships of each community with one another and with the common institutions.

CHAPTER TWO

A CONTEXTUAL APPROACH TO THE ROLE AND IMPACT OF THE PRESS IN SEGMENTED SOCIETIES

The contextual approach to the role of the media in segmented societies assumes that the role of the media varies with changes in the nature of the relationship between linguistic groups. It will be argued in the following pages that (1) the degree of segmentation of the society, (2) the degree of stability of linguistic group identities, and (3) the effectiveness of the mechanisms of conflict resolution are the major 'definisseurs du contexte' and as such are indispensable to understanding the role and impact of the media. This is particularly true of understanding the role of The Gazette in Anglophone-Francophone relations in Quebec.

The first assumption made in the literature on the integrative role of the media is that the existence of strong regional and cultural identities has a deliterious effect on national unity and societal cohesion. This assumption is highly questionable given the findings of research into segmented societies and consociational politics. Although cultural diversity is commonly thought of as a barrier to national unity, "the mere fact of linguistic and ethnic diversity is not a source of disunity."⁽¹⁾ As Breton and Stasiulus argue, "these phenomena are relevant for societal cohesion only to the extent that they are associated with

1. Raymond Breton et al., op cit., p. 10.

various other conditions."(2)

One of those 'other conditions' is the segmentation of Canadian society. The theory developed by Pierre Van den Berghe describes a fragmented or segmented society as consisting of disparate groups, divided on the basis of language, ethnicity, tribe, race, religion or other, who develop their own sets of institutions. The pluralist society, on the other hand, is a heterogeneous association of numerous cultural groupings. In Van den Berghe's words:

"Par fragmentation culturelle ou pluralisme social, nous entendons ... que la société ... possède aussi cette caractéristique particulière [hétérogénéité] que chacun (ou du moins quelques-uns) de ces groupes culturels est compartimenté au niveau local aussi bien qu'à l'échelle 'nationale', dans un ensemble plus ou moins complet d'institutions et d'organisations analogues, parallèles et non complémentaires, chaque groupe ayant de plus une culture ou sous-culture plus ou moins distincte."(3)

In choosing what to print and what not to print the media portray an image of the society which contributes to or reinforces that society's image of itself. Hence the content of the media in pluralist and segmented societies differs significantly. In a pluralist society the media have a much more diverse audience to satisfy and consequently

2. Ibid., p. 10.

3. Maurice Pinard, "Pluralisme social et partis politiques: quelques éléments d'une théorie," in Réjean Pelletier (ed), Partis politiques au Québec, Montréal, Hurtubise, 1976, p. 38.

deal with a broader range of issues. To remain commercially viable and to attract as many readers as possible the media will avoid giving consistent support and coverage to one cultural group over another.

On the other hand, a media which is segmented along the lines of the major cleavage of the segmented society will reflect the identity, hopes, aspirations, and interests of the segment it serves. Francine Chartrand-McKenzie found that this is because journalists tend to conform to the views of their public:

"Tout journaliste ... tente chaque jour de reconsidérer ses vues, de les conformer le plus possible à celles de ses lecteurs ... Un double consensus tend alors à s'établir: le journaliste répond aux attentes de son public de même qu'à celles de l'organisation formelle dans laquelle il s'inscrit ... La conformité au public consiste à donner au public ce que le public attend ... C'est la condition sine qua non du marché de l'information, un impératif non seulement pour les journaux mais pour toutes les communications de masse. D'où leur aptitude à refléter et à renforcer les opinions préalables plus souvent qu'à les modifier."(4)

The report, prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, argued that newspapers do not necessarily make an overt effort to reflect the opinions of its readers but that "newspapers, which are rightly proud to be, as they say, 'part of the community,' sometimes grow so

4. Francine Chartrand-McKenzie, "Les Journalistes anglo- et franco-canadiens," Report prepared for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967, p. 23-24.

close to the community's dominant public values that they resemble house organs of official opinion."(5)

It would be precipitous to assume that by reflecting and reinforcing the segmentation of the society the media have a divisive impact on linguistic group harmony. Although the political problems of co-existence in segmented societies are compounded where cultural groups are concentrated, territorially and where these divisions coincide with sub-unit political boundaries, the existence of multiple group identities does not necessarily imperil the unity of a nation. Consociational democracy, a 'model of democratic conflict management in segmented societies,' allows each constituent segment to retain a separate and distinct identity. Originally identified by Arend Lijphart and elaborated upon by scholars such as Jurg Steiner and Kenneth McRae, consociationalism has been found to be operative, to varying degrees, in Switzerland, Belgium and Canada among others.(6) As opposed to majoritarianism, where given the underlying principle of majority rule the individual has a significant impact on the political process, consociationalism is based on the group level. In consociational systems "the relevant actors ... [are] the solidarity communities, ethnic, racial, or reli-

5. Robert Fulford as quoted in Ibid., p. 25.

6. Arend Lijphart, The Politics of Accommodation, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1969; Kenneth McRae (ed), Consociational Democracy, Political Accommodation in Segmented Societies, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1974; Robert Praesthus, Elite Accommodation in Canada, Toronto, Macmillan, 1973.

gious, into which the society is fragmented."(7) Esman outlines the basic characteristics of this system:

"Consociational governance involves the organization of politics by parties or movements, each representing one of the constituent solidarity groups. The leaders of all the communities form an elite cartel that governs the polity and distributes the benefits and costs of government among the component groups. Each leader asserts the interests of his community and negotiates differences with colleagues who represent parallel communal constituencies in the elite cartel."(8)

Consociational politics is based on a form of elite accommodation. While the elites must be committed to the maintenance of a national system, in theory it is unnecessary for the masses to be attached to any group other than to the regional, ethnic, linguistic or other group of which they are a part. Lijphart goes as far as to suggest that in order to avoid the danger of friction caused by contact between groups, "it may be desirable to keep transactions between antagonistic subcultures in a divided society ... to a minimum."(9) Kenneth McRae emphasizes that consociationalism assumes that the fragmentation of the society will continue.

As pointed out in Chapter One, it is also assumed in

7. Milton J. Esman (ed), Ethnic Conflict in the Western World, Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1977, p. 14.

8. Ibid., p. 14.

9. Arend Lijphart as quoted in S.J.R. Noel, "Consociational Democracy and Canadian Federalism," in Kenneth McRae, op cit., p. 264.

the literature on the media that communication and information exchange across linguistic and other boundaries is essential to inter-group harmony and unity. Yet increased communication and contact between social groups has been found, in some cases, to lead to intensified cultural group conflict. Studies of ethnonationalism and ethnoregionalism have disputed earlier modernization theorists' interpretations of the role of the mass media in the nationalizing process by showing that in some situations, better communication between disparate cultural groups enhances ethnic conflict by making each segment aware of their 'differentness.'

Walker Connor argues that Deutsch's assimilationist model does not hold for sectionalism or for societies where there is 'at least one ethnically conscious group.' The level of conflict between differentiated groups can be affected by the intensity and nature of contact between them. "Increased contacts among ethnonationally conscious groups appear more apt to cement and reinforce the divisive sense of uniqueness." (10)

While agreeing with Connor that increased contact and communication among diverse social groups are more likely to result in "strain and conflict" than in "greater mutual understanding," Lijphart believes that the resurgence of ethnic conflict in developed nations is due to the awareness, created by this interaction, of social and economic inequalities. "Only in conjunction with the qualitative increase in

10. Walker Connor, "Ethnonationalism in the First World," in Milton J. Esman, op cit., p. 28-29.

social communication can the awareness of economic and other inequalities among ethnic groups be expected to become really acute."(11)

Even Karl Deutsch acknowledged the possibly negative impact of the mass media on segmented societies by pointing out that:

" ... linguistically and culturally ... members of each group are outsiders for the other. Yet technological and economic processes are forcing them together, in acute recognition of their differences and their common mutual experience of strangeness and more conspicuous differentiation and conflict may result,"(12)

It would appear, then, that the impact of increased communication between disparate groups, and hence, the impact of the media, varies according to the stage of development or the degree of stability in the relationship between those groups. It would also appear that a strong case can be made that the existence of multiple identities is not in itself a threat to Canadian unity or at least not essential for there to be a high degree of societal cohesion. Yet the question of identity is a significant factor in determining what was referred to earlier as the 'character of the relationships between linguistic groups and between linguistic groups and the common institutions.'

11. Arend Lijphart, "Political Theories and the Explanation of Ethnic Conflict in the Western World: Falsified Predictions and Plausible Postdictions," in Milton J. Esman, op cit., p. 58.

12. Karl Deutsch as cited in Ibid., p. 56.

Within a segmented society the degree of "institutional completeness" of the major composite groups is a factor in the determination of the severity of the cleavage(s) in the political system. "If a conflict of interest occurs between different national or ethnic groups and those groups have high degrees of internal loyalty, then each of the conflicting parties can call on the loyalties of the nation or ethnic group as a whole to support its particular interests."(13) Stinchcombe postulates that the level of identification with and loyalty for an ethnic or national group is a function of the degree of institutional completeness of the group and argues that "generalized or diffuse loyalty of a group depends on that group being in fact the locus of normative solutions to life problems, resulting in the group being a central point in the organization of people's personal identities, in their confidence that their competencies and social rights will in fact solve those life problems."(14) Changes in the degree of institutional completeness on the part of one or both linguistic groups bring about a change in their relationship with one another and the common institutions.

In segmented societies where each group has a relatively high level of institutional completeness, the degree of societal cohesion is a function of the extent to which

13. Arthur L. Stinchcombe, "Social Structure and Politics," in Fred Greenstein and Nelson Polsby (eds) Handbook of Political Science, Volume 3, California, Addison Welsey, 1975, p. 604.

14. Ibid.

"mutually satisfactory accommodations" can be worked out through the mechanisms of conflict resolution, i.e. the practice of consociationalism. Yet "an important aspect of these relationships [that each linguistic community has with the common institutions and with each other] is socio-psychological in nature. On the one hand is a sense of loyalty to the common institutions or the belief, on the part of both linguistic communities, that these institutions are legitimate and that it is possible to identify with them. On the other hand there exists social solidarity across the two communities or the sense of belonging to the same overarching community." (15) Hence the question of identity or, political integration, remains fundamental to the successful resolution of conflict. As long as both linguistic groups are loyal to and consider legitimate the common institutions, and as long as both groups are attached to the overall community, then the existence of separate group identities does not imperil the political unity of the society. But any change in the loyalty and/or identity on the part of one or both linguistic groups changes the nature of the relationship between them.

A shift in identities, in loyalties or in the degree of institutional completeness induces change in the way in which groups relate to one another and to the political, social and economic institutions. The period of change and adaptation, as we have seen above, is often conflictual. It is hypothesized that a segmented media will defend the in-

15. Raymond Breton et al., op cit., p. 143-144.

terests of the community it serves by exposing the conflictual issues and reflecting the views, values and positions of one community only. Thus it will have a divisive impact on linguistic group relations. Yet it will, at the same time, continue to incorporate individuals of its community into the existing set of relationships, in this case, of a conflictual nature.

The mass media is one mechanism in the political process by which communication takes place among the members of the society and between linguistic groups and the political institutions. According to David Easton:

"Within the limits of their positions and roles, parties, opinion leaders, the intelligentsia -- where they are a political force -- and the mass media similarly may search out the wants of what may be called the silent ones in the system, and less articulate. And, as in the case of interest groups, each of these units may also initiate demands as a reflection of their own independently felt wants ... hence these members or organizations are critical gatekeepers standing at the boundary of the system and controlling the initiation of demands."(16)

But the fewer the number of formal and informal mechanisms of communication between linguistic groups (in particular the minority language group and the government) the greater will be the pressure on the media to express the feelings, wants and needs of the community as well as act as a 'watchdog'

16. David Easton, A Systems Analysis of Political Life, New York, Wiley, 1965, p.96.

over the government. Concurrently, the government will pay special attention to the media in order to take the pulse of the ethnic minority. However, this puts the media in a double bind. While pressured to be the community spokesperson and uphold the values of the community, opposition to what the government is trying to achieve will alienate the parties even further from one another. It is further hypothesized that the role of the media as a community spokesperson and as government 'watchdog' for the community takes on greater importance if the formal and/or informal mechanisms of elite accommodation fail to resolve linguistic group conflict.

To briefly summarize the discussions, the two basic assumptions found in the literature on the media as an integrative institution are highly questionable. The present work, based on the findings of research into segmented societies, societal cohesion and the role of communication in ethnonational conflict, proposes three alternative hypotheses:

1. If the media incorporates individuals into the existing social structure then a segregated media reinforces and reflects the divisions which exist in the segmented society.
2. The importance of the media roles of government watchdog and spokesperson for the community it serves is a function of the effectiveness of the informal and formal mechanisms for conflict resolution.
3. Whether the impact of the media is divisive or integrative in terms of linguistic group relations is a function of the degree of stability or change in the relationship between Anglophones and Francophones and between the linguistic groups and the common institutions.

THE GAZETTE IN THE CONTEXT OF QUEBEC

Three specific hypotheses regarding the role and impact of The Gazette in Anglophone-Francophone relations in Quebec will be tested in subsequent chapters.

Firstly, it is hypothesized that The Gazette, as an English-speaking institution, reflects and reinforces the identity of the Anglophone population thereby contributing to the perpetuation of the differences and conflicts between Anglophones and Francophones in Quebec.

Secondly, the roles of The Gazette as government watchdog and community spokesperson for the Anglophone population became increasingly important during the 1970's because of a breakdown in both the formal and informal mechanisms of conflict resolution.

Finally, The Gazette had a divisive impact on Anglophone-Francophone relations in Quebec because, as an institution of the Anglophone population, the newspaper has actively fought against any change in the relationship between Anglophones and Francophones within Quebec and in the relationship of Quebec Anglophones to both federal and provincial political institutions.

Since the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, Quebec society and politics have undergone a major transformation. These changes, often analyzed from the perspective of political modernization and development theory, are well documented.⁽¹⁷⁾ The segmented Quebec society brought to public

17. For an excellent application of this approach to Quebec

attention by Hugh McClennan's novel, Two Solitudes, gradually became more pluralist; politics became more majoritarian; and the powers exercised by the provincial government expanded at a rapid rate. Perhaps of greatest consequence were the shifts in loyalty and identification on the part of large numbers of francophones, from Canada to Quebec and from French-Canadian to Quebecois. In large part, the Anglophone population remained loyal to the federal government and retained a strong Canadian identity.

The legitimacy of provincial political institutions was called into question by many Anglophones with the coming to power of the Parti Quebecois in 1976; a political party which many saw as wanting to 'tear the country apart' and as being hostile to their economic and linguistic interests. Additionally, harmonious relations between Anglophones and Francophones in the province, which were already in decline, became gradually more conflictual with the introduction, beginning in the early 1970's, of a series of language laws promoting the use of French and restricting the use of English.

During the early 1970's, I argue, The Gazette reflected the interests, concerns and positions of the Anglophone population of the province and had a divisive impact on

see Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Posgate, Développement et modernisation du Québec, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1983; see also Edmond Orban (ed), La modernisation politique du Québec, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1976. For a more detailed discussion of the political transformation of the province, see Gerard Bergeron and Réjean Pelletier (eds), L'État du Québec en devenir, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1980.

linguistic group relations because it was an English-speaking institution. The newspaper's opposition to any legislation governing language use in the province, its staunchly federalist position, its almost exclusive coverage of the hard-line Anglophone stance on against any changes to the status quo, its coverage of the doomsday scenarios for the province and for the Anglophone population being painted by Federal politicians and Anglophone elites in particular should Quebecers vote yes in the referendum on sovereignty-association, and its failure to adequately cover or explain the Francophone community, served to heighten the tension and animosity between the two groups.

With the election of the Parti Quebecois the Anglophone population was left bereft of government representation and previously influential Anglophone elites, mainly from the business community, were alienated from the party in power. Consequently, The Gazette became one of the few channels of communication between the two linguistic groups and between the Anglophone population and the Quebec government. The Gazette, therefore, in its government watchdog and community spokesperson roles was of central importance to linguistic group relations.

THE CHOICE OF THE GAZETTE

We are dealing, then, with The Gazette given that the 1979 demise of the Montreal Star, following a year long strike, made The Gazette the only English-language daily

newspaper in the province. The closing of the Montreal Star at a time of weakening national unity and increasing linguistic group conflict, it will be argued, is an important element of the Quebec context and had a major impact on the role of the press in provincial linguistic group relations.

THE CHOICE OF CLEAVAGES

Often a choice must be made between defining a cleavage as one based on ethnicity or as one based on language. Unfortunately, there appears to be no standard in the literature on Quebec. John Meisel, in his Working Papers on Canadian Politics, opts for language, as ethnicity, which he describes as being a composite notion usually comprised of origin, language and religious background, is considered too difficult to operationalize for the non-Francophone population. As the tendency has been for immigrants to Quebec to integrate into the Anglophone population we will follow his lead and consider, for the purposes of this study, language of daily use to be the major social and political cleavage. Meisel justifies this choice by arguing that:

"... an important feature of Canada's linguistic pattern the inexorable mobility of an overwhelming proportion of all immigrants to the English language and through it into Anglophone society."(18)

18. John Meisel, Working Papers on Canadian Politics, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975, p. 133.

"...language-use tells us a good deal about the individuals day-to-day exposure to one or the other of the cultures and to its values. It is thus assumed here that the English-speaking Canadian will reflect the values of the dominant, ie. English, society and that the Francophone will hold values of the minority society."(19)

For the purposes of this study 'the minority' refers to the Quebec Anglophone numerical minority. While other ethnic groups in the province will not be ignored neither will they be the main focus of analysis.

METHODOLOGY

The data for this study was primarily culled from secondary sources. Primary source research was carried out where no prior literature existed, but these instances were relatively rare. Although this work is not based on a content analysis of The Gazette, such a study would be a complementary tool for verification of the findings and would likely prove a fruitful avenue of further research.

One way to measure the degree to which the media are tied to a particular segment of the population is to examine the degree of homogeneity or heterogeneity of its audience. The greater the degree of segmentation, the greater are the chances that the media of each segment will be playing to a relatively homogeneous public, and the more closely

19. Ibid., p. 129.

will the media serve the interests and values of the segment to which it is attached. Hence the media will be more strident in defence of its group's perceived rights and privileges. This role, however, is unsuited to the broader audience of a pluralist society. In order to measure the relationship of The Gazette to the Anglophone community, we will look at ownership, the background and linguistic competence of the reporters and management, readership, according to mother tongue and the degree to which the profile of the owners, management and staff resembles the profile of the segment it serves. The greater the concordance, the greater the probability that the two groups share the same identity, loyalties, values and outlook.

The mechanisms of demand articulation or conflict resolution are (1) the degree of integration of the minority language group into the decision-making apparatus by way of private or public elites and (2) by the effectiveness of representations on behalf of the Anglophone population by federal and English-speaking provincial governments. The fewer the mechanisms of communication and the lesser the effectiveness of these mechanisms the more the media will be relied upon to play the role of watchdog and community spokesperson.

The investigation of changes in the socio-political context as a factor in the role and impact of the press in linguistic group relations is the main contribution to knowledge of the present work.

Part Two of this paper is divided into three sections. Chapter Three analyzes the degree of segmentation in Quebec society and in the media, and the extent to which The Gazette can be said to be an institution of the English-speaking population. Chapter Four examines the mechanisms of conflict resolution and the importance of the English daily as a spokesperson and watchdog for the Anglophone population while Chapter Five looks at the role of The Gazette in the formation of a Quebec Anglophone identity during the 1970's. Through an examination of The Gazette's portrayal of the Anglophone and Francophone populations and the Quebec government we will then be in a position to assess the impact of The Gazette on linguistic group relations in Quebec during the time in question.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SEGMENTATION OF QUEBEC SOCIETY

The purpose of this chapter is to determine the degree of segmentation of Quebec society and the degree to which The Gazette can be considered an institution of the English-speaking population. To do so, it situates the media and particularly The Gazette, within the social structure of Quebec and compares the profile of the staff and management of the newspaper to that of the Anglophone population as a whole.

Canada has been described, by one scholar, as being "two federal systems, of very different types, compelled to co-exist within the same constitutional structure. On the one hand it is, jurisdictionally speaking, a federation of provinces ... There is, however, a sense in which the union is not a federation of provinces at all, but a union of the two 'founding peoples' whose primary purpose is to preserve and foster the separate identity of each." (1)

In Quebec the 'separate identity of each' has been jealously guarded through the segmentation of the society into two parallel sets of institutions. Although initially the parallel systems were established on the basis of religious differences, by far the most important cleavage today

1. James R. Mallory, The Structure of Canadian Government, Toronto, Macmillan, 1971, p. 393-394.

is that of language. For each linguistic group there exists a system of schools, CEGEPs, universities, hospitals, social services, churches, professional services, radio and television stations, newspapers and cultural institutions such as museums, literary circles, historical societies and cinemas.

The segmentation of the society, however, extends far beyond the educational and cultural fields. Disparities in income and occupational status between the English and French in Quebec are now almost legendary.(2) In the 1971 study of language use by sector of economic activity, the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language found that linguistic segmentation extended far into the workplace and the economy.(3) Notes Hubert Guidon, "Quebec is the only

2. Among the numerous academic and governmental studies available see Paul Bernard et al. "L'évolution de la situation socio-économique des Francophones et des non-Francophones au Québec (1971-78)," Montréal, Office de la langue française, 1979.; Jac-Andre Boulet, L'évolution des disparités linguistiques et revenus de travail dans la zone métropolitaine de Montréal de 1961-1977, Document no. 127, Ottawa, Conseil économique du Canada, 1979.; Robert Lacroix et Francine Vaillancourt, Les revenus et la langue au Québec (1970-1978), coll. Dossiers du conseil de la langue française no.8, Quebec, Editeur officiel du Quebec, 1981; Calvin J.Veltman, "Les incidences du revenu sur les transferts linguistiques dans la région métropolitaine de Montréal", Recherches sociographiques, 17, 3, sept.-dec. 1976, pp. 323-339; Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, Book 1 Language of Work, The Position of the French Language in Quebec Quebec, December 1972.

3. Report of the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language and on Language Rights in Quebec, op. cit. The Commission found that French was found to dominate in four sectors: primary industries, ie., agriculture, forestry, fishing and mining; construction;

province in Canada that has a double economy, in labor force terms, neatly segregated along language lines."(4) A 1971 study of language use in the labour market found that 64% of French-speakers used French almost exclusively in the workplace while 63% of English-speakers used, almost exclusively, their own mother-tongue.(5) In the population as a whole in 1971, 86.5% of the French-speaking population was able to remain almost unilingual while 84% of the English-speaking population was able to do so.(6)

From a socio-economic perspective the Commission found that Anglophones with less than nine years schooling used mostly French in the workplace while those with better education, greater status and higher income tended to use little French at work. For an upwardly mobile Francophone, knowledge of the English language was essential for entry into higher status and higher paying occupations.(7) Ex-

administration; and commerce. The financial and utility sectors were almost the exclusive preserve of the English language. Professional segregation was not only occupational but also hierarchical. In the French sectors, French and English speakers tended to use more French than average for their linguistic groups. In the English sectors, French was underrepresented and less French was used by both groups than the average for their group. The manufacturing sector appeared to be the only exception to this general rule and was classified bilingual.

4. Hubert Guindon, "The Modernization of Quebec and the Legitimacy of the Canadian State," in Daniel G. Glenday, Hubert Guindon, Allan Turowetz (eds), Modernization and the Canadian State, Toronto, Macmillan of Canada, 1978, p. 217.
5. The Position of the French Language in Quebec, op. cit., p. 17.
6. Ibid, p. 23-24.
7. Ibid.

ceptions to this pattern included the Roman Catholic Church, the liberal professions and politics where the Francophone elite were firmly entrenched.

Language usage and language customs themselves acted as a barrier to the integration of the two groups. Summarized by Brazeau and Cloutier: "Studies have shown that bilingualism is not collectively advantageous: it allows institutions to function in one language at the top and in another language at the bottom with the help of intermediaries who can act as translators at low occupational levels in the office and in the shop."(8) Prior to the introduction of language legislation in the mid 1970's, the language of communication was governed by an "etiquette of rapport between [the] language groups and by norms regarding linguistic usage."(9) In practice, this meant that the language spoken in the workplace was that of the superior (in the hierarchy of job classifications).

Income differentials provide another indication of the degree of segmentation in the economy. As shown in Table 1 the average income of non-Francophone men was substantially higher than their Francophone counterparts and, although less marked, there was also a difference in average income between Francophone and non-Francophone women. When looked at in more detail, as shown in Table 2, the differences are even more startling. The sexes combined, a higher proportion of the

8. Jacques Brazeau and Edouard Cloutier, "Language Issues in Contemporary Canada," op cit., p. 215.

9. Ibid, p. 220.

TABLE 1

Labour Market: Average Income, 1971 and 1978

	Men		Women		Total	
	F	NF	F	NF	F	NF
1971 average income	\$10,883	\$13,944	\$6,295	\$7,064	\$9,543	\$11,811
1978 average income	\$13,552	\$16,249	\$8,307	\$9,270	\$11,804	\$14,015

Source: Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos and Dominique Clift, The English Fact In Quebec, Montreal, Libre Expression, 1979, p. 239.

TABLE 2

Marché du travail
Répartition des francophones et des non-francophones
selon le niveau de revenu - par sexe - 1971-1978.

Revenu annuel avant deductions	Recensement 1971						IFAQ 1978					
	Hommes		Femmes		Total		Hommes		Femmes		Total	
	F	NF	F	NF	F	NF	F	NF	F	NF	F	NF
Moins de \$7,500	32.1	25.1	66.2	60.2	42.3	36.0	22.1	16.9	48.9	39.0	31.2	24.0
\$7,500-\$10,499	22.9	17.1	20.3	23.7	22.2	19.2	14.2	12.7	22.9	27.6	17.1	17.4
\$10,500-\$13,499	20.0	18.5	8.2	9.4	16.7	15.6	20.3	17.0	16.5	19.0	19.0	17.6
\$13,500-\$16,499	10.5	10.4	3.2	3.1	8.3	8.2	15.1	11.2	5.7	8.4	11.9	10.2
\$16,500-19,499	6.1	9.0	1.3	1.7	4.7	6.8	11.6	13.3	3.9	3.7	9.1	10.3
\$19,500 et plus	8.2	19.7	0.8	1.9	6.1	14.2	16.9	28.8	2.0	2.3	11.9	20.3
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Source: Paul Bernard et al, p. 126.

non-Francophone group were in the upper income bracket as compared with the Francophone population. This difference persisted into the late 1970's.

Although segmentation was almost all-pervasive in Quebec, there were still a number of areas where linguistic segmentation did not exist. These areas included political parties, professional associations (excluding teachers' associations) and trade unions.

The general conclusion to be drawn is that sectorial and hierarchical professional segregation, differences in socio-economic status and institutional segmentation not only permitted a high use of one's mother-tongue but effectively minimized the frequency of contact between the two linguistic groups. Territorial segregation is another feature of the province given that the vast majority of non-Francophones (over 80%) are not only concentrated in Montreal but are also concentrated in certain residential districts of the city. Hence the opportunities for Anglophones, in daily life, to become familiar with the Francophones of Quebec were few and far between. As a medium of communication the mass media was potentially one of the only mechanisms of information exchange about and between the two segments of the society yet the system of mass communication itself was segmented along linguistic lines.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE QUEBEC MEDIA

Of the eleven daily newspapers in operation in the province during the 1970's, four were published in the En-

English language. In addition to the dailies, the Anglophone community was served by a half a dozen radio stations, two television channels and fourteen weekly newspapers. The media of the United States and other Canadian provinces were also readily accessible.

In 1971 the Commission of Inquiry on the Position of the French Language found that there was little cross-over between the two linguistic groups in terms of their consumption of information. Each group tended to use the media of their own language.

"As our inquiry clearly indicates, the vast majority of both English and French-speaking Quebecers are heavy consumers of the 'products' offered by newspapers, television, radio, books and films ... All evidence indicates that the majority of members of each community have access to these goods in their own language. Consequently the language barrier is much more powerful than might be supposed, for both French and English-speaking people. In addition, each group seems so well served in this area that little need is felt for recourse to the other language in pursuit of these goods ... On the whole ... our data indicates that there is little real give-and-take between the two cultures which coexist in Quebec." (10)

By 1980 the situation had changed very little. In a survey of users of Montreal's English-language media, although 26% of the respondents reported reading one of the city's three French-language newspapers on a regular basis,

10. The Position of the French Language in Quebec, op cit.,
p. 277-278.

only 1% relied exclusively on the French-language media for their news and information.(11) The highest proportion of Anglophone readers of the French press was found in the lower age groups, an interesting finding which may be an indication of declining segmentation.

On the other side of the coin, of the Francophones surveyed, 24% reported almost exclusive usage of the English language media for news and information indicating that "Francophones seem to cross over to the English media much more frequently than vice-versa."(12) The Commission of Inquiry detected a major difference in the motivation of Anglophone readers of French-language newspapers from that of Francophone readers of English-language dailies:

"There is no doubt that each of the two language communities enjoys all the newspaper services normally required for the cultural development of any group. More French-speaking people read English newspapers than the other way around. Among English-speaking people who read French newspapers, the motivation is rather to learn the language than to obtain information on the French life of Quebec; with French-speaking people, English papers are read primarily for news content."(13)

The data would seem to indicate that at least three-quarters of the Anglophone population is dependent upon the English-language media for information about the world around

11. The Community and the News, op cit., p. 39.

12. Ibid.

13. The Position of the French Language in Quebec, op cit., p. 274-275.

C
them. Although news and information can be obtained through the electronic media, daily newspapers appear to be the main source of information about life and developments in Quebec, as indicated by the Commission's findings:

"The majority of Quebecers watch Canadian television. But though only a small minority of French-speaking people are interested in American television, a very much greater proportion of their English-speaking counterparts pay attention to television from south of the border ... the most surprising revelation is the scant shrift given by Montreal's English radio stations to French-language vocal works. They might just as well not exist ... About one person in ten reads books written in the language of the other group. A considerable proportion of English-speaking people read British and American work (40% and 21%)."(14)

Despite the increasing popularity of the electronic media, newspapers are still important information sources. The 1980 survey found that 48% of those polled and 55.5% of the non-Francophones polled, "use(d) an English-language newspaper as their major source of information" and that 37% and 34% respectively, "trust(ed) daily newspapers more than any other media source for news and information."(15) English-speakers (38%) tended to trust daily newspapers more than did the 'other' group (30%) of respondents.(16)

Of the four English language daily newspapers in

14. Ibid., p. 276-277.

15. The Community and the News, op cit., p. 39.

16. Ibid.

Quebec, only two survived to the end of the decade. In 1973, due to the declining Anglophone population in Quebec City, the Chronicle-Telegraph was transformed into a weekly. The Montreal Star, at the time the province's largest circulation English newspaper, was closed by a strike for eight months in 1978 and finally permanently shut down its presses in September of 1979.(17) The closure of the Montreal Star left The Gazette as the only English daily in Montreal, the other English newspaper in the province being the relatively small Sherbrooke Record.

According to the Royal Commission on Newspapers, the circulation of The Gazette in the province as a whole increased by 63% from 1970-1980 and the newspaper now controls roughly 30% of the total Montreal market as seen in Table 3.(18) Most of this increase was gained through the demise of the Montreal Star. During the 1976-81 period the circulation of The Gazette increased by 76% on weekdays and 120% on Saturdays.(19) The 1980 survey of English-language media users found that the French-language newspapers gained only 1% of dedicated Montreal Star readers while 90% of the

17. Pierre-Paul Proulx, "Montreal: the fragile mosaic," in Gérard Hébert et al., Labor Relations in the Newspaper Industry, Research Publication, Royal Commission on Newspapers, Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1981, p. 136.

18. Leonard Kubas, Newspapers and Their Readers, Research Publication, Royal Commission on Newspapers, Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1981, pp. 130-131.

19. Pierre-Paul Proulx, op cit., p. 131.

TABLE 3

Percentage Share of the Market by Daily Newspapers

	1976	1976	1978	1978	1981	1981
	Mon. to Fri.	Week- end	Mon. to Fri.	Week- end	Mon. to Fri.	Week- end
Le Journal de Montreal	21.8	17.3	31	26.4	41.8	33.4
La Presse	21.4	27.9	18	23.8	24.5	31.0
Le Devoir	3.8	3.2	6.5	5.8	5.4	4.4
Montreal Gazette	16.3	14.8	12.1	11.4	28.3	31.1
Montreal- Matin	15.5	12.5	14.3	11.1	N/A	N/A
Montreal Star	21.1	24.3	18.2	21.5	N/A	N/A

Source: Canadian Advertising Rates and Data (CARD), Maclean-Hunter, Toronto, 1981.

Montreal Star's readers switched to The Gazette.(20) Of the English surveyed in 1980, 63% read The Gazette daily, 52% of the 'other' non-Francophones read The Gazette daily(21) and only 7% of all those surveyed never read the newspaper.(22) The Gazette, therefore, during the late 1970's was one of the major sources of information about Quebec for the English-speaking segment of the population. Yet it also had an important Francophone readership as indicated by the paper's own study. Over 22% of The Gazette's 1980 circulation was to Francophone households.(23) Given this audience, to what extent did The Gazette reflect the values and identity of the English-speaking population? To this end we will first examine the make-up of that segment of Quebec society.

A PROFILE OF THE ANGLOPHONE POPULATION IN QUÉBEC

According to the 1971 census, 80.7% of the population of Quebec reported being of French-speaking origin while of the non-Francophone 19.3%, 13.1% reported English as their mother-tongue and the remaining 6.2% of the population were classified as other.(24) While a minority in terms of the population of Canada as a whole, French-Canadians are in the

20. The Community and the News, op cit., p. 45.

21. Ibid, p. 39.

22. Ibid, p. 52.

23. Ibid, p. 39.

24. Gary Caldwell, A Demographic Profile of the English-Speaking Population of Quebec 1921-1971, Quebec, International Center for Research on Bilingualism, 1974, p. 13.

majority in the province of Quebec. In addition to sharing a common language the Francophone population shares a common culture and heritage, is overwhelmingly Catholic and on the whole can be described as relatively homogeneous.(25)

The same cannot be said of the English-speaking population. Up until the mid-1970's it was commonly believed that the English constituted 20% of the population of the province, that on the whole they were rich, unilingual, protestant of Anglo-Saxon origin and lived, for the most part, in the west end of Montreal.(26) As a community they were believed to be economically and politically powerful and internally cohesive due to a high degree of homogeneity. As in all stereotypes the image of the English-speaking population is, to some extent, historically justified and contains, to this day, some grains of truth. Yet recent research on the subject has demonstrated the current fallaciousness of this traditional image as hinted at by the 1971 census figures reported below.(27)

Since World War II the composition of the non-Francophone population of Quebec has been in a continual

25. For the purposes of this study the Francophone population in comparison with the Anglophone population is homogeneous. The social transformation of the Quiet Revolution has revealed the many division within the society. For a good discussion of these divisions see Dale Posgate and Kenneth McRoberts, op cit., ch. 4.

26. Gary Caldwell, op cit., p. 29.

27. Eric Waddell, "Des gens et des lieux" in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell eds., op cit., p. 32.

state of flux. While remaining numerically stable (28) the declining number of those of Anglo-Saxon origin, the increasing numbers of immigrants from countries such as Italy, Greece, and Portugal, and the high mobility of those working for multi-national head offices, universities and the English-language media are three of the factors which have led to a high level of internal instability. As one analyst put it, less than half of the members of the Anglophone community "can claim the distinction of being(sic) born in Quebec."(29) The highly mobile 'temporary' Quebec residents who came to the province to work for a short duration for a multi-national corporation, a university or the English-language media generally had no roots in the province, few ties with the native-born Anglophone population and little knowledge of French Quebec.(30)

In 1941, 21% of the population of Montreal, where 80% of non-Francophones live, was of British origin while 10.6% was of other ethnic origin. By 1971 the British contingent had declined to 14.8% while the ethnic component had climbed to 17.8%.(31)

The significance of these demographic trends lies in the cultural and religious heterogeneity that new immigrants

28. Gary Caldwell, "Un peuple, une société," in Caldwell and Waddell eds., op cit., p. 61.

29. The Community and The News, op cit., p. 62.

30. Eric Waddell, op cit. p. 41.

31. Eric Waddell, op cit., p. 47.

of diverse origin introduce into the society. The protestant group, which in 1971 accounted for 45% of the non-Francophone population, was in itself divided into Anglican, United Church, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, Unitarian etc. Non-French Catholics now account for 39% of the Anglophone contingent and 16% are classified as other. (32)

On the whole, until the introduction in 1977 of the provincial language legislation requiring immigrant children to attend French language schools, most immigrants sent their children into the English-language school system and made use of the Anglophone system of institutions.(33) The result was the integration of most immigrants into the English-speaking populace which accounts for the numerical stability of the latter. (34)

In summary, the majority Francophone population of the 1970's was distinguished by its cultural, religious and perceived socio-economic homogeneity. On the other hand, the English-speaking population in Quebec was becoming increasingly diverse to the point where, it has been argued by a number of authors writing in *Les Anglophones du Québec*, it

32. Nathan H. Mair, "Les Églises protestantes," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell, op cit., p. 223.

33. La politique québécoise du développement culturel, Vol. 1: Perspectives d'ensemble, Le ministre d'État au Développement culturel, Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1978.

34. René Didier, Le processus des choix linguistiques des immigrants au Québec, Québec: Éditeur Officiel, 1973, p. 191; Jacques Henripin, L'immigration et le déséquilibre linguistique, Ottawa, Main d'oeuvre et Immigration, 1974, 31, Table 4.7.

could not be called a community at all but, rather, a heterogeneous collectivity. Gary Caldwell, for example, argues that:

"Il est aujourd'hui évident que le seul point commun à tous les Anglophones du Québec est la langue. En effet, sur les plans ethnique et culturel, cette population est très peu homogène... La fragmentation socio-culturelle, encore accentuée durant l'après-guerre, et le fort taux d'instabilité démographique dont il a été question plus haut ont eu des effets néfastes sur la population anglophone, à laquelle manquent aujourd'hui l'homogénéité culturelle, les traditions et le leadership nécessaire à la constitution d'une véritable communauté... le Québec Anglophone de l'après-guerre constitue davantage une population qu'une communauté."(35)

Internally the English-speaking population fits the description of a pluralist society, defined earlier as a 'heterogeneous society composed of any number of cultural groups whether they be linguistic, ethnic, tribal, racial or religious' who share a set of common institutions. Hence this group is practically indistinguishable from the rest of North America.

The repercussions of the changing demography on the cohesiveness of the Anglophone population as a community were two-fold. Firstly, the increasing diversity of the population meant that one of the only common bonds was language, that the population was becoming less internally cohesive and that there was little feeling of a common history or consequently,

35. Gary Caldwell, "Un peuple, une société," op cit., p. 64-65.

of an English-Quebec identity.(36) Secondly, the lack of a Quebec identity combined with the high mobility of the academic and economic elite meant that the 'community' lacked spokesmen who could represent it as a whole.(37)

Yet the Anglophones, vis-a-vis the francophone population, still constituted a separate linguistic group. To what extent does The Gazette resemble the Anglophone population?

A PROFILE OF THE GAZETTE

It was in 1778 that The Gazette first began publishing, and ownership and control remained in local private hands until 1968 when it was sold to the Toronto-based

36. Fully 78.8% of the English-speaking Quebecers surveyed in 1978 felt that they were Canadians first and foremost compared to 45.5% of the total Quebec population who identified with Canada before Quebec. "Quebecers satisfied with government," op cit., p. 2013.

37. In 1980 Graham Fraser, political columnist, lamented the lack of Anglophone spokesmen who could represent the population as a whole rather than just certain vested interests. "... the departures of both men [George Springate, MNA Westmount and Donald Peacock, outgoing President of the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers] represent a loss for English Quebec. It is difficult to think of any other public figures who have so vigorously fought to represent the voiceless English in Quebec who are not well-to-do, who do not belong to the University Club, who are vulnerable to the social changes that have occurred in Quebec over the last decade. For the English working class is virtually without spokesmen or representation in political life ... politically they are virtually disenfranchised." Graham Fraser, "George Springate, Don Peacock Departures a loss for anglo Quebec," The Gazette, Tuesday, 8 July 1980; see also Eric Waddell, "Des gens," op cit., pp. 52-55 and Jean-Louis Roy, "Regard sur les universités Anglophones du Québec," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell, op cit., pp.307-313.

Southam newspaper chain. Although studies have found little evidence of direct interference by chain owners into the decisions regarding content or editorial positions, the commercial policies of chains have been found to influence the style and content of newspapers. Gerard Hébert found that:

"The existence of chain ownership seems to have had some impact in that wire copy and chain articles are more extensively used and hence diminish the input of local journalists. This is especially so for The Gazette."(38)

Robert Fulford et al., in a research report for the Royal Commission on Newspapers, argued that the style of The Gazette underwent a change in the mid-1970's. From 1973 to 1976 the newspaper was "deeply involved in investigative journalism," a tendency which Gazette management sees as having had disastrous consequences.(39) According to the management and journalists interviewed this style of journalism was responsible for falling circulation and reader opposition to "what they [the readers] considered to be an offensive attitude in the writing of many journalists" resulting in "the advertising community ... showing increasing signs of restiveness."(40) The appointment of a new publisher and of Mark Harrison from the Toronto Star, as editor-in-

38. Gerard Hébert, op cit., p.147.

39. Robert Fulford et al., The Journalists, Volume 2, Research Publication, Royal Commission on Newspapers, Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1981, p.90.

40. Ibid.

chief, marked a turning point in the style of the newspaper.(41) It has become what the Royal Commission has described as being an 'omnibus newspaper,' that is, a newspaper with a little bit of something for nearly every taste.(42) Relying heavily on news services such as the New York Times, the Canadian Press, the Toronto Star as well as on syndicated columnists, it tries to appeal to the broadest audience possible.

Since that time the policy of The Gazette has been to hire "the best talent available for the job" which has, in practice, meant bringing in unilingual senior editorial staff from outside the province, mainly from the Toronto Star.(43) Key posts affected by this policy included the editor-in-chief, the managing editor, the assistant managing editor, the city editor and the financial editor. In a 1979 interview, Mark Harrison, editor-in-chief, defended this frequently and harshly criticized policy.

"My job is to recruit the best talent for the job, and frankly, I have been unable to find that talent in Montreal. If you demand bilingualism in every editor, you are excluding 95% of the journalists in this country ... I have worked in the southern United States, and you used to hear that argument all the time ... You can't write about us because you don't come from here. It's nonsense." (44)

41. Ibid.

42. Report of the Royal Commission on Newspapers, Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1981.

43. Fulford et al., op cit., p. 90.

44. Mark Harrison as quoted in Fulford, op cit., p. 91.

Some of the severest criticism of this practice has come from the newspaper's own staff. According to one:

"We have turned our back on the majority of our own community. You'll have a scene where an assistant city editor is called in to tell one of his bosses what the French papers are saying about a major story. A built-in ghetto."(45)

According to another:

"We are not covering the French community as we should be, we aren't aware of half the undercurrents in this province, and that is a direct reflection of the interests of the people who run the paper ... Somebody comes in with a proposal to do a profile of an important Parti Quebecois cabinet minister, and one of them will say "Who's he?"(46)

In the early 1970's The Gazette began to hire Franco-phone journalists but this practice has been limited by what the editor describes as the lack of high quality reporters able to write well in English and capable of adjusting to 'English-style' journalism.(47) For the most part the journalists at The Gazette are bilingual although a number of them are 'foreigners', ie. English-Canadians from other provinces, Americans and British, who came to Montreal in order to work for The Gazette.(48)

45. An anonymous Gazette reporter, quoted in Fulford, op cit., p. 91.

46. A second anonymous Gazette reporter quoted in Fulford, op cit., p. 92.

47. Personal interview with Mark Harrison, Editor-in-Chief, The Gazette, 8 July 1980 at the Montreal offices of The Gazette.

48. This observation stems from personal interaction and informal discussions with a number of present and former Gazette staffers.

The composition of the newspaper in terms of ownership, management and staff, reflects the composition of the Quebec Anglophone population as a whole. The shift of economic power to Toronto and to the West has translated, in this case, into Toronto-based ownership of the newspaper. Furthermore, the large proportion of highly mobile, transient and unilingual managers is an important characteristic of the non-Francophone community. The mediation by bilingual journalists of the relationship between the Francophone community and the unilingual English decision-makers is reminiscent of the mediatory role played by English-Catholics prior to the 1960's. Even the division of labor at The Gazette with unilingual Anglophones at the top, bilingual anglophones and Francophones in the middle and unilingual Francophones working the presses at the bottom, mimicked the pattern of segmentation of Quebec society as a whole.

Finally, the omnibus nature of the newspaper reflects the pluralist nature of the Anglophone population. Staffed in large part by newcomers to Quebec and serving an audience which has much more in common with English-Canada and the United States than with French-Quebec, The Gazette has been found to differ little from other English-Canadian dailies. A comparison of the treatment of the F.L.Q. crisis of 1970, the 1969 constitutional conference, and the Quebec provincial elections of 1966 in French and English language newspapers, revealed major differences between the two. The differences, however, between the English press in Quebec and the English press in the rest of Canada were minimal, leading Arthur

Siegel to conclude that the one was but an extension of the other:

"La presse Anglophone du Québec et celle des autres provinces partagent certaines valeurs. En réalité, les journaux anglophone du Québec ne sont que jusqu'à un certain point tributaires de la presse canadienne de langue anglaise."(49)

Sensitive to commercial pressures The Gazette has already proved willing to change its style and content to suit the community it serves. That community the newspaper recognizes as being the Anglophone population of the province for whom it acts as government watchdog and community spokesman.

"The primary role of this newspaper is to defend and support the legitimate interests of the Anglophone community and at the same time to be sensitive to the French-language community..."(50)

On the whole the English daily was satisfying its audience. In a survey of the users of the Anglophone media, 73% of the respondents "thought that The Gazette adequately reflects the concerns and interests of the English-language community in Montreal," and 76% felt "satisfied by the amount and quality of news and information provided by The Gazette."(51)

49. Arthur Siegel, "Les media québécois et l'unité canadienne," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Weddell (eds), op cit., p. 354.

50. Fulford et al., op cit., p. 91.

51. The Community and the News, op cit., p. 71-72

To summarize, the Quebec of the 1970's was a highly segmented society within which the two major linguistic groups were clearly distinguishable from one another. Media segmentation along the lines of the major cleavage contributed to estrangement between the two groups. Furthermore, the profile of The Gazette in terms of staff background, ownership, and news content, closely resembled the composition and interests of the Anglophone population of the province, and for that matter, of English Canada as a whole.

On the basis of accumulated evidence we conclude that The Gazette can be considered to have been, during the 1970's, an institution of the Anglophone population. In Chapter Four we examine the extent to which this standing may have influenced the role of the newspaper in linguistic group relations.

CHAPTER FOUR

LINGUISTIC GROUP RELATIONS IN QUEBEC

In this chapter we are interested in the ways in which linguistic group conflict in the province may have influenced the importance of The Gazette as a bridge between English Quebec and the embodiment of the Francophone community, the provincial government. As argued in Chapter Two, the importance of the media is a function of the degree of integration of the Anglophone population into the decision-making apparatus of the province and the effectiveness of the formal or informal mechanisms of conflict resolution.

There is obviously not enough space in a newspaper to report on all of the developments taking place in the society on any given day. In choosing what information to publish, the media are in effect telling people what to think about and, by omission, what not to think about.(1) The lack of communication channels between the two linguistic communities and the importance of The Gazette to the Anglophone population for news and information about the world in which they live made the gatekeeping function of the media even more important in the case of The Gazette. As we shall see, the weak political representation of English-speaking Quebec, the

1. The Newspaper and Public Affairs, Volume 7, Research Publications, Royal Commission on Newspapers, Ottawa, Supply and Services Canada, 1981, p. 15.

lack of 'community' spokespersons and the failure of the Anglophone population to organize politically in the 1970's increased the importance of The Gazette as an agenda-setter between the Anglophone population and the Quebec government. Overall, The Gazette was put into a rather unique position of responsibility, for a newspaper, as one of the few mechanisms of communication and mediation between the Anglophones and Francophones of the province and between the Anglophones and the Government of Quebec. In Chapter Five we will examine how The Gazette handled itself in this role.

Prior to 1960, communication across the linguistic barrier between the Anglophone and francophone segments was relatively unnecessary in that each group was, relatively speaking, institutionally complete. Though inhabitants of the same province the two groups inhabited different spheres of activity, as indicated by the high degree of segmentation. Francophone Quebec was on the whole a self-contained society.⁽²⁾ The Anglophone population, as we have seen, was increasingly heterogeneous, highly integrated into English-Canada and North America as a whole and only incidentally members of the Quebec society.

The economic and social institutions of the English-speaking population were self-supporting in that they were financed, run and administered by the English for the non-

2. Among the many works on this subject, see Marcel Rioux, Les Québécois, Paris, Le Seuil, 1974; McRoberts and Pasgate, Développement et modernisation; Daniel Latouche, Le manuel de la Parole, volume 3, Montréal, Boreal Express, 1979; Guy Rocher, Le Québec en mutation, Montréal, Éditions Hurtubise, 1973.

Francophone segment of the population.(3) An important exception to this general rule were English-Catholic institutions which were grouped under the French-Catholic system yet which enjoyed a large measure of autonomy. As explained by Michael Stein, political relations between the two linguistic groups were handled mainly through the mechanism of elite accommodation.

"Dans le sphere politico-administrative, les anglophones du Québec comptaient surtout sur la pression discrète de l'élite a l'endroit des dirigeants administratifs et gouvernementaux du Québec pour obtenir des faveurs politiques. Cette pression s'exerçait principalement par des contacts directs ou téléphoniques entre, d'une part, les dirigeants des collectivités et des entreprises anglophones et, d'autre part, les ministres et les hauts fonctionnaires francophones souvent par l'intermédiaire de quelques députés pivots d'expression anglaise."

(4)

~~English-Catholics~~ (the 'cultural middlemen') and the Federal government also played a mediatory role in the relationship between the two groups.

The Anglophone population did not perceive itself as being dependent on provincial, Francophone-dominated politi-

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3. Separate institutions were originally established on the basis of religion and not language. The coincidence of the language and religious cleavages eventually led to the identification of the Protestant system as Anglophone and the Catholic system as Francophone. Within the Catholic system, however, was a large contingent of Anglophones, many of Irish and Scottish descent.
 4. Michael Stein, "Changements dans la perception de soi des Anglo-Québécois," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell, op cit., p. 115.

cal institutions even though it had no political organization of its own. On the contrary, the Anglophone population had a low level of group consciousness and identified themselves as being part of the North American community. Hence, Stein hypothesizes, they were a part of the majority and their loyalty belonged to Canada and the Government of Canada.

"On constate également une identification avec la 'majorité politique' anglophone au niveau national, et avec le gouvernement fédéral qui en est la manifestation tangible. Les anglophones du Québec tendaient à considérer que c'était le gouvernement fédéral, plutôt que le gouvernement provincial, qui constituait à la fois l'instrument de leur pouvoir et la source de leur protection. Ils cherchaient de l'appui et des sympathies auprès des autres anglophones du Canada dès qu'ils sentaient que leurs 'droits' étaient attaqués."(5)

The Francophone community was viewed as the minority even though they were a numerical majority in the province. The Anglophone, by living their lives on the 'national' level and by being entirely independent from the French-speaking population through self-sufficient social and economic institutions, required little or no information or contact with French-Quebec. Since the 'normative solutions to life's problems' could be found within the wide-ranging system of economic, political, social and cultural institutions of English-Quebec, English-Canada and the United States, the Anglophones displayed little interest in and even less knowledge of French-Canadian society. The established pattern of

5. Ibid, p. 114.

integration was not one of anglophone integration into a Quebec polity, but rather, integration into English-Canada. For French-speaking Quebec, integration was also maintained on the group level, but, in this case, on the level of French-Canada. In both cases there was an identification with the over-arching community, that being the Canadian nation and, on the whole, the structure of interaction appeared to be satisfactory to all. Linguistic group conflict, which at times such as during the conscription crisis was intense, was otherwise kept to a manageable level. Such was the conclusion reached by Hubert Guindon:

"Historically ethnic accommodation has been constructed successfully in Quebec on the basis of mutually desired self-segregated institutions. In the fields of education, religion, welfare, leisure, and residence, institutional self-segregation has been total. The only two areas of societal living where inter-ethnic contact has been institutionalized are those of work and politics ... This led to a mutually satisfying pattern of self-segregated institutions. The English could live in Quebec as autonomous and separate communities, with their own churches, hospitals, schools, and ethnic neighborhoods ... The pattern of self-segregation conditioned the social setting of inter-ethnic contact, which was held to a minimum." (6)

Up until the Quiet Revolution the two linguistic communities lived in relative harmony, side by side but with little interaction between them. The Anglophones thought of

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6. Hubert Guindon, "Two Cultures: An Essay on Nationalism, Class, and Ethnic Tension in Contemporary Canada," in Orest M. Kruhlak et al., The Canadian Political Process, Toronto, Holt, Rinehart and Winston; 1970, p. 91-92.

themselves as English-Canadians and as part of the majority in Canada. On the other hand, the Francophones of Quebec were French-Canadian and constituted the largest part of the French-speaking minority of the country. Although nationalistic, French Canadian nationalism in Quebec was defensive and was aimed at fortifying the French language and culture within the province as a defence against the assimilationist force of English-speaking North America.

The Quiet Revolution of the 1960's set in motion a transformation of Quebec society and politics which challenged the segmentation of the province and the existing pattern of relationships between Anglophones and Francophones and between Anglophones and the Quebec government. Anglophone resistance to any change in their status in the province resulted in conflict between the two major linguistic groups, and was manifested in English-speaking opposition to, and confrontation with, a provincial government elected and supported by the majority of the French-speaking population. Through an intense self-examination and self-redefinition the Francophone community in Quebec forced the Anglophone population into an equally intense and difficult period of psychological, economic and political readjustment to the reality of their new position in the province. In effect the anglophone population became increasingly dependent on the francophone majority for their well-being yet at the same time became alienated from the provincial decision-making process.

A number of factors both internal to the anglophone population and external to the English-speaking group account

for their increasing dependence on the majority of the population during the 1960's and 1970's. These factors are four-fold: (1) the Quiet Revolution and the modernization of the Quebec state, (2) the series of language legislation, (3) the loss of economic power in the form of corporate head-office movement out of the province, and (4) the weakened federal power of intervention due to the growth of separatist sentiment in Quebec; and the election of the Parti Québécois. Each of these factors had an impact on the degree of internal cohesiveness, the identification and loyalties of the English-speaking populace and the degree of legitimacy they accorded to the political institutions of Quebec.

(1) The Quiet Revolution and Political Modernization

The Quiet Revolution of the 1960's, as argued by Posgate and McRoberts, was first and foremost a revolution in the self-definition of the Francophone community in Quebec.

"On saisit mieux la popularité de cette formule [Révolution tranquille] si l'on examine non pas les structures politiques mais les idéologies, c'est-à-dire l'ensemble des idées sur la nature et la finalité de la société ou de la politique. Dans cette perspective, on note en effet des changements profonds et considérables. Au début des années 1960, les idées qui avaient dominé pendant plus d'un siècle étaient remises en cause, sinon carrément rejetées par l'ensemble des intellectuels et pas seulement par des groupes nationalistes marginaux. C'est ce rejet de l'ancienne idéologie dominante qui caractérise le mieux La Révolution tranquille et qui lui confère son caractère exceptionnel."(7)

7. McRoberts and Posgate, op cit., p. 116.

One of the most fundamental changes to take place was a transformation of the French-Canadian identity. From understanding themselves as a French-speaking minority in Canada they began to see themselves as the French-speaking majority in Quebec. They were no longer simply French-Canadians but began to identify themselves as the Quebecois. By 1978 38.7% of the French-speakers in the province thought themselves Quebecers first while only 41% considered themselves to be Canadians first and foremost.(8) Out of this new identity emerged the powerful concept of being one of the two founding peoples of the country and hence of equal status with English Canada.(9)

The 'new aggressiveness' and the 'new nationalism' of the Quebecois was summed up in the Quebec Liberal Party campaign slogan, "maîtres chez nous" and meant a state-led modernization of the social, political and economic structures of the province. At the end of the 1960's Hubert Guindon argued that these changes would have an important impact on the existing pattern of segmentation in the province.

"The traditional ethnic division of labor is under attack ... With the postwar emergence of the new middle class, a new

8. "Quebecers satisfied with government," Canadian News Facts, 24 September 1978, p. 2013.

9. Edward McWhinney, Quebec and the Constitution, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1979, see chapters 3-4; see also "Les positions traditionnelles du Québec sur le partage des pouvoirs," Ministère des Affaires inter-gouvernementales, Québec, Éditeur officiel du Québec, 1978.

ers in ethnic accommodation is being sought by the French-Canadian new middle class under the impetus of reformist nationalism ... That in its search for resources to expand its bases the new middle class will seek to change traditional institutional arrangements in these areas [education, welfare, and health and differentials in income] is a foregone conclusion."(10)

The initial changes to the traditional institutional arrangements came in the form of educational and social services reform and the regrouping of municipalities.(11) The creation of regional and metropolitan structures brought these institutions under the control of an ever-increasing provincial administration. In effect the Anglophone population no longer exerted exclusive control over its own destiny. Previously left, to a large extent, to finance and administer its own affairs, the autonomy of Anglophone institutions was gradually eroded as the Quebec government began to exercise its jurisdictional powers.

The lack of Anglophone interest in Quebec and the population's traditional reliance on elite accommodation meant that as the provincial government became increasingly interventionist and as the bureaucracy swelled in number, the destiny of the Anglophone population was becoming increasingly subject to the control of the Francophone majority. David

10. Hubert Guindon, op cit., p. 92-93.

11. To list only a few of the many important reforms of the 1960's: Bill 60, Loi instituant le ministere de l'Education et le Conseil superieur de l'Education; Bill 71, Loi modifiant la Loi des subventions aux commissions scolaires; Bill 65, Loi sur les institutions charitables.

Allnut, in a recently completed study of anglophone participation in the civil service, found that, historically, the number of English-speaking civil servants has remained constant although the bureaucracy itself has grown at a phenomenal rate. Consequently the proportion of Anglophones has declined from around 7% during the 1950's to 0.7% in 1979.(12) The English-speaking population in that year accounted for 13% of the total Quebec population. A 1979 study by the Conseil de la langue française found that of 73,185 part time and full time government employees, in the group of non-Quebec francophones, French nationals (798) outnumbered English Quebecers (521).(13) Of these 521 only 21 were at the level of 'haut-fonctionnaires' (including deputy ministers), 110 were professionals and 370 were blue collar workers.

Over a period of twenty years a fundamental change took place in the nature of the relationship between the two linguistic groups and between the Anglophone population and the Government of Quebec. Francophones had become more confident, more assertive and willing to engage in a battle for their rights as the linguistic majority in the province and as one of the two founding peoples of Canada. The provincial government became the principle tool for 'modernizing' the institutions of Quebec society. Yet the English-speaking population did little to involve itself in this transformation even when they could no longer afford to take their

12. David Allnut, "La fonction publique quebecoise," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell (eds), op cit., p. 235-245.

13. Ibid.

privileged position in the province for granted.

Of even greater importance was the disequilibrium developing in the identities and loyalties of the two groups. Anglophones retained their strong attachment and loyalty to Canada while Francophones developed a strong loyalty to Quebec and experienced a weakening of their ties to the nation.

(2) The Loss of Economic Power

The Anglophone population was not only losing a great deal of its autonomy and independence through the actions of the new secular, Francophone elite but also through changes in the Quebec economy. From the end of World War Two economic power had gradually been moving to Toronto and the corporate head offices which adorned Montreal began to follow suit. The process was a gradual one, that accelerated during the mid 1970's. A 1978 report by the Economic Council of Canada concluded that Montreal was failing as a major economic centre, a trend that was likely to continue as more of its activities were lost to Toronto and Vancouver.(14) Similarly, a study by the Liberal party opposition, corroborated by the Conseil du Patronat, claimed that, over a three year period, 42 companies, including Sun Life Assurance Company, Cadbury-Schweppes Powell Limited and Royal Trust, had either moved

14. "Montreal losing as business centre," Canadian News Facts, 12 October 1978, p. 2023.

part or all of their operations out of the city.(15) As more and more decisions were being made in Toronto and later on in Western Canada and the United States the English-speaking population lost the levers of control over the economy of the province.(16)

(3) The Language Legislation

The significance of the reforms introduced during the 'language era' lies, perhaps, not only in the fact that the state was directly attacking the existing social structure of segmentation but that it signaled the adherence of the Francophone population to the principles of majority rule.(17) Legislation regarding the use of the French language in Quebec has its roots in the social and economic inequalities bolstered by the predominance of the English language in the province. In an effort to preserve the French language and to turn around the trend towards an increasing anglicization of immigrants to the province, the justification for the legislation was based on the principle of the rights of the majority, on majority rule. The adoption of

15. "Thousands of jobs lost to Quebec," Canadian News Facts, 27 November 1978, p. 2044; "Royal Trust moves control to Ottawa," Canadian News Facts, 8 November 1978, p. 2038; "More firms said leaving Quebec," 20 December 1978, p. 2060.

16. Eric Waddell, "Des gens et des lieux," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell (eds), op cit., p. 51.

17. Donald V. Smiley, "French-English Relations in Canada and Consociational Democracy," in Milton J. Esmen (ed), op cit., p. 198.

majoritarianism became explicit in Bill 101, La charte de la langue française. The objectives of Bill 101 were clearly set forth by Camille Laurin when he introduced the new legislation to the National Assembly.

"Le Québec que nous voulons construire sera essentiellement français. Le fait que la majorité de sa population est française y sera enfin nettement visible: dans le travail, dans les communications, dans le paysage. C'est aussi un pays où serait modifié l'équilibre traditionnel des pouvoirs, particulièrement pour ce qui concerne l'économie: l'usage du français ne sera pas simplement généralisé pour masquer la prédominance de puissances étrangères aux francophones; cet usage accompagnera, symbolisera, favorisera une reconquête par la majorité francophone du Québec de l'emprise qui lui revient sur les leviers de l'économie. Pour tout dire, le Québec dont le portrait d'ensemble est déjà esquissé dans la Charte [de la langue française] est une société de langue française."
(18)

Although the era of language legislation began with the introduction of Bill 63 in 1969 the dominance of the English language did not come under direct attack until the introduction of Bill 22, La loi sur la langue officielle. Bill 22 legislated bilingualism in the public sector, required signs and company names to be in both official languages, provided for a greater usage of French in the workplace and required that all children whose mother-tongue was other than English be educated in French. Although it re-

18. "La politique québécoise de la langue française," Presentation by Camille Laurin to the National Assembly of Québec, March 1977, p. 36-37.

remained possible to live entirely in English, Bill 22 provided for increased French instruction in English schools and greater exposure to the French language in daily life.

The introduction of Bill 101 marked the end of official bilingualism in Quebec.⁽¹⁹⁾ The Charte de la langue française made French the official language of Quebec not simply in words but in practice. As the principle language of communication all public and para-public institutions were required to use French in both internal and external communications, the provincial administration would operate in French and no longer could knowledge of the English language be a criterion of employment. Some of the other provisions in the Bill required professionals to offer services in the majority language and, in order to assure that they were able to do so, professionals issuing forth from Anglophone learning institutions would have to obtain a certificate of proficiency in the French language. All contracts and communications with employees, were thenceforth required to be in French but an additional language was permitted upon the agreement of the parties involved. The provisions of the Bill considered to be the most controversial were those pertaining to interior and exterior signs, to publicity and to education. Signs and publicity were to be in French only and in the field of education, subject to certain exceptions,

19. The provisions regarding the exclusive use of French in the legislature and the courts were later ruled unconstitutional in a 1980 judgement rendered by the Supreme Court of Canada.

all children who did not have at least one parent educated in English in Quebec, would be educated in the French language.

An expanded Office de la langue française, (20) francisation committees in companies with more than 100 employees and a Commission generale de surveillance pour la langue française were charged with ensuring the implementation of the provisions of the French Language Charter.

If it was not clear by the introduction of Bill 22 it has become painfully clear (to the anglophone population) by the introduction of Bill 101 that the English-speaking population was a minority in the province of Quebec, although still part of the majority of Canada as a whole, and thereby subject to the will of the majority Francophone population. (21) As such the era of the language legislation and the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976 forced Anglophones to examine their loyalties and to decide whether to stay in Quebec and carve out a new relationship with the French-speaking majority and the Quebec government or whether to make their home elsewhere in North America. This anglophone "identity crisis" will be examined further in Chapter Five.

(4) Nationalism and the Parti Québécois

The election of the Parti Québécois in November 1976 signaled the end of Anglophone representation in the govern-

20. The animosity and opposition of the Anglophone population to Bill 101 is apparant in the nicknames they use to refer to the Office de la langue française: the 'language police' and the language watchdog.

21. Michael Stein, op cit.

ing party. The virtual absence of English-speaking representatives among the ranks of the Parti Québécois in addition to the party's perceived hostility to big business brought an end to the traditionally close relationship between anglophone-dominated business and government in Quebec. The effect of the 1976 election, argued Michael Stein, was that "la collectivité Anglophone semblait complètement isolée et, pour la première fois dans l'histoire du Québec, elle était non seulement déphasée, mais également impotente politiquement."(22)

From the time of the inception of the Parti Québécois in 1968, Quebec Anglophones did little to hide their feelings of animosity and hostility toward the new political party. The party being the epitome of Quebec nationalism it represented the ultimate threat: the spectre of Quebec separatism or at least the renegotiation of the terms of the Canadian federation.(23)

The election of the Parti Québécois also put an end to peaceful accommodation between the federal government and the government of Quebec and English-Quebec began to envision the loss of its protector should Quebec actually separate from the rest of English-Canada. As the jurisdictional disputes and the disputes over the benefits of Confederation between the province and the federal government became more vitriolic and as the disputes with the other provinces over

22. Ibid, p. 118.

23. Ibid.

Quebec's status in the country intensified(24), "the support of English Quebec by English Canada became less effective. That the anglophone population was becoming increasingly dependent on the Francophone elected government of Quebec and that they would have to take action in 'defence' of their 'rights' became abundantly clear when Ottawa refused to use the federal power of disallowance against Bill 101.(25)

Throughout the 1970's then, both the number and effectiveness of the mechanism of conflict resolution were in decline. In recognizing that the French language was the language of the majority and in legislating its increased usage, both Bill 22 and Bill 101 were the first indications of a shift away from consociationalism to a political system based on majoritarian principles.

24. For example, 1978 was characterized by disputes between the Federal government and Quebec in the areas of constitutional reform; Quebec's status in foreign affairs such as the relationship of Quebec and France and in particular separate Quebec representation at the Franco-African conference; the sales tax dispute; gas exports to the United States; federal communications policy with respect to Pay T.V.; disputes over the benefits of Confederation to Quebec; Bill 101; and the Prime Minister's derogatory comments on Quebec nationalism and the Parti Quebecois. Although the provincial premiers did come to some agreement in principle on minority education rights throughout Canada, the Levesque government rejected the possibility of any changes in Bill 101. The only good news that year appears to have been the signing of a water purification agreement and a tourism pact between Quebec and the federal government and the unanimous rejection of Prime Minister Trudeau's constitutional reform proposals by the provincial governments. See Canadian News Facts, 1978.

25. Ottawa did continue to finance court challenges to Bill 101 launched by Anglophone Quebecers. "Ottawa would aid challenges to Bill 101," Canadian News Facts, 10 March 1978, p. 1913.

The lack of community spokespeople, partially due to the increasing pluralism of the Anglophone population, and the historic absence of any separate political organizations, led to the creation of a number of political action groups whose main objective was to defend Canadian federalism during the period of debate over the provincial government's proposal of sovereignty-association. The Positive Action Committee, the Quebec-Canada Movement, The Council for Canadian Unity and the Pro-Canada Committee counted among the most important of these organizations. Yet aside from the Positive Action Committee these organizations were composed of both francophones and Anglophones and, in some cases, of representatives of the federal government. In the final analysis, argues Michael Stein, they did not succeed in becoming spokespeople for the Anglophone population.

"Les efforts dans le domaine de la participation politique et de l'intégration culturelle des Anglophones ne se sont pas, jusqu'à maintenant [1979], révélés très fructueux ... une approche beaucoup plus sensée consisterait à développer un leadership politique indigène plus fort, capable de maximiser l'apport de la communauté minoritaire au processus politique. Il est cependant très difficile de construire un tel cadre de leadership pendant une période de déclin démographique et d'instabilité."(26)

Hence the burden fell on the Anglophone media to provide a vital link between the English-speaking population of Quebec and the provincial government. The media simul-

26. Michael Stein, op cit., p. 126.

taneously became one of the only and perhaps the most important sources, for non-Francophones, for information on the activities of the government and, as demonstrated in the previous chapter, for information on the Francophone majority.

CHAPTER FIVE

A CRISIS OF IDENTITY:

THE REACTION OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING QUEBEC

The changes brought about by the Quiet Revolution -- the loss of economic power, the weakened influence of the federal government and of the other English-speaking provinces, the election of the Parti Quebecois and the regulation of language use, forced the English-speaking population during the 1970's to come to terms with their changing status. By radically redefining their own identity during the 1960's, Quebec Francophones forced the Anglophones of Quebec into, what has been called, a crisis of identity. Chapter Five begins with a brief discussion of the nature of this identity crisis and then moves on to describe the portrait of the province and of the two linguistic groups which emerges from the pages of The Gazette. It concludes with an assessment of the impact of this portrait on Anglophone identity formation.

Michael Stein has identified three distinct phases through which the Anglophone population has passed since the end of the Second World War. (1) The first phase, which he has described as having been characterized by a self-

1. Michael Stein, op cit., p. 111-130. This section on the Anglophone identity crisis is largely based on Michael Stein's pioneering work on the subject.

confidence arising from a sense of belonging to the majority, lasted roughly until towards the end of the 1960's. The attitude of "majorité minoritaire" grew out of the identification, referred to earlier, with the English-speaking political majority of Canada, the federal government and with the United States. On an English-speaking continent the French majority of Quebec was considered to have majority group status.

The second phase, which began during the reforms of the Quiet Revolution, and became apparent during the debate over Bill 22, was that of growing cognitive dissonance. The anglophones experienced an initial refusal and final acceptance, (with the election of the Parti Québécois) that while remaining part of the Canadian majority the Anglophone population was in fact a numerical minority in Quebec.

During the second phase of adaptation the first tentative steps toward organizing for political action, as described in the previous chapter, were taken.

"La seconde étape dans le processus de réévaluation appelait une tentative de définir et de mettre en action un nouveau rôle politique plus positif pour les anglophones du Québec. Il était d'abord nécessaire de construire des ponts entre les différents groupes ethniques composant la communauté linguistique minoritaire et d'établir un ensemble plus unifié de structures communautaires, puis de faire fonctionner ces nouvelles structures en harmonie politique avec les structures correspondantes de la communauté francophone majoritaire." (2)

2. Ibid., p. 122.

The third phase, at the end of the 1970's, was characterized by the development of a self-awareness and the initiation of positive action.

Describing the process of coming to terms with their minority status, Stein uses a psychological parallel. Faced with extensive social and political changes the Anglophones reacted in a defensive manner. An initial reaction of panic was followed by denial, anger and finally acceptance.(3) It was in acceptance that the Anglophones finally came to terms with the reality of their position and began to organize in defence of their interests.

Yet having identified so strongly with the pluralism of North America and having had no prior need to undertake joint action, the realities of the changing composition of the Anglophone population only became apparent to them with the acceptance of their minority group status. The pluralism of English Quebec hampered the development of a common identity and impeded them from taking a coherent, unified and constructive stand in the conflict.

In a study of the appellation used by Anglophones to identify themselves Edouard Cloutier found little agreement on what Anglophones are called. "De façon générale, ces résultats montrent que l'on ne perçoit pas de consensus ... quant à l'appelatif qu'emploient les anglophones du Québec

3. When speaking of a collective response it must necessarily be at a high level of generalization and descriptive of the overall mood rather than the mood of all Anglophones in Quebec.

pour se désigner."(4) Yet younger Anglophones, as opposed to their elders, tend to consider themselves to be Quebec anglophones. "Les réponses fournies par des sujets plus âgés indiqueraient une répartition très différente de l'identité et des appellatifs qu'ils s'attribuent, étant donné les modèles de socialization différent qui avaient cours au Québec avant les années 1960 au chapitre des appellatifs rattachés au groupe ethnique et à la langue."(5)

In a 1978 brief to the Federal Task Force on Canadian Unity on the integration of some English-speakers into the French-speaking community Sheila Arnopoulos underlined the lack of loyalty within the Anglophone population and the first signs of integration into a 'national' Quebec community.

"The study examines the integration process of professional, managerial and academic Montrealers who have chosen to work in completely French work milieu. Most of these people fall into the one-third of the English-speaking community who are of non-British origins. It is this group which appears at this time to be most capable of becoming integrated into the French-speaking community. The study shows that although many of these Anglophones are the product of Montreal institutions, they do not have unshakable loyalties to the English."(6)

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4. Edouard Cloutier, "Les groupes du Québec et leurs appellatifs," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell (eds), op cit., p. 140.
 5. Ibid., p. 145.
 6. Sheila McCloud Arnopoulos, Brief presented to the Federal Task Force on Canadian Unity, Proceedings, Montreal, January 1978.

At the same hearings the Association of English-Catholic Teachers and Administrators stated that "no solid and united English-speaking community exists in Quebec ... We deplore the tendency to view the English-speaking minority as a unified and cohesive group which has deliberately, even arrogantly held itself apart from the mainstream of Quebec life."(7) The Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers argued that "We are the forgotten people of Canada and within Quebec are too often perceived as a homogeneous group. Our very heterogeneity is a significant element in the new Quebec and the new Canada as is our determination to evolve."(8)

Yet the portrait of the English-speaking population which emerged from the pages of The Gazette, as we shall see below, was certainly that of a homogeneous, staunchly federalist community whose concerns and interests with regard to Quebec did not extend any further than to the linguistic "rights" of Anglophones and to the economic consequences of political change. Little interest was expressed in the problems and aspirations of the Francophones of Quebec and little energy appears to have been expended in an attempt to negotiate, resolve or diffuse the growing conflict between the two linguistic groups. The Anglophone population came across as being hard-line on the major issues of contention.

7. Brief presented by the Association of English-Catholic Teachers and Administrators, Task Force on Unity, op cit., p.2.

8. Brief presented by the Provincial Association of Protestant Teachers of Quebec, Task Force on Unity, Summary, op cit.

An examination of The Gazette over a two week period in October 1978 and again for the same period in 1980(9) revealed a preoccupation with Quebec's stand in the constitutional negotiations, reports of Anglophone institutions, groups or individuals calling for reform of Bill 101 and descriptions of the negative effects of Bill 101 on the economy of the province. The entertainment section carried few reviews, if any, of French language plays, books and movies, and the business section was devoid of articles on Quebec business and economy. Even the society events column was focussed solely on English-speaking institutions. A day's sampling on Tuesday, 14 October 1980 turned up events such as the McGill Book Fair, a reception for the Consul-General of Austria, a meeting of the Home and School Association of the Jewish People's Schools, Peretz Schools and Dialik High School, a fund raising event for the Ottawa Branch of the Canadian Save the Children Fund, a meeting of the Montreal Branch of the Royal Commonwealth Society and the attendance of the Governor-General of Canada at a reception of the

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9. The month of October was chosen partly at random. Given that it was desirable to avoid special circumstances, the Spring of 1980 was ruled out due to the referendum on sovereignty-association held in May 1980. In order to guard against seasonal variations in political activity the same month was chosen for both years. Rather than restrict our inquiry to the front page and editorial page content, the entire newspaper was perused for coverage of Québec society and politics. Identity is not simply a function of familiarity with the political system but with society and culture as well. For a penetrating discussion of this question see John Meisel, "Political Culture and the Politics of Culture," Canadian Journal of Political Science, Volume 7, 1974, p. 601-615.

Canadian Polish Congress.(10)

If the newspaper was totally silent on the Franco-phone community in Quebec, the coverage of Anglophone Quebec was not much better. In October 1980 the only articles to appear on the Anglophone population of Quebec was a series entitled "Montreal speaks in 40 languages: Politics and Business cater to growing ethnic groups." (11) Over the same period in 1978 there were no articles on events, news or happenings within the English-speaking population. As one Gazette reporter commented to the Royal Commission on Newspapers:

"We look good, alright, but if you read the paper carefully, you'll see we're not doing a job of covering our own community ... If you want the latest ... on Afghanistan, read The Gazette, but if you want to know what's happening in Verdun, you'd better get Le Journal de Montréal." (12)

As an omnibus newspaper the style of The Gazette was to simply report on events as they occurred whether they be in the province, in the other provinces, in the nation, in the United States or elsewhere in the world. Quebec news was not treated any differently in that The Gazette carried about as many background articles on French language, culture and history as it did for news emanating from any of these other

10. The Gazette, Tuesday, 14 October 1980, Montreal, p. 46.

11. "Montreal speaks in 40 languages: Politics and Business cater to growing ethnic groups," a six part series carried in The Gazette, 11-18 October 1980, Montreal, p. 1.

12. An anonymous Gazette reporter quoted in Fulford et al., op cit., p. 93.

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locations.(13) Quebec news was treated differently in that the negative reaction of the English-speaking population was reported on extensively, the menace to the Anglophone population and to the Canadian nation, of Quebec nationalism and the Parti Québécois sought out. The coverage of the aftermath of the 1976 election campaign and the publication of a Gazette memo during the referendum campaign, described below, are good illustrations of this practice.

Two days prior to the 1976 provincial election The Gazette took the unusual step of printing an editorial on the front page of the newspaper. The editorial warned of the possible victory of the Parti Québécois and accused the Parti Québécois of "subterfuge" by lying about their intention to hold a referendum.(14) On the same day there appeared a declaration signed by thirty-six Gazette journalists divorcing themselves from the views expressed in the editorial and pointing out that the issue in the campaign was not the independence of Quebec but, rather, good government.(15)

Yet the result of the 1976 election came as a shock to the non-Francophone population, the first reaction being, in Stein's eyes, disbelief, followed by panic:

13. In fact during the weeks examined in both 1978 and 1980 The Gazette carried more news in each category, national, U.S. and international, than it did for the provincial and local categories.

14. David Thomas, "La presse anglophone des années 1970: coupable d'un complot ou d'incompétence?" in Caldwell and Waddell (eds), op cit., p. 361; "An Editorial", The Gazette, Saturday, 13 November 1976, p. 1.

15. Ibid., p. 362-363.

"La victoire étonnante du Parti québécois provoqua chez de nombreux Québécois anglophones une sorte de paralysie, marquée d'incrédulité, d'étonnement et d'anxiété. À Montréal les affaires furent pour un moment suspendues pendant que les Anglophones, qui dominaient les secteurs industriel et commercial, étudiaient la situation. On rapporta à la une que d'importants comptes d'épargne avaient quitté le Québec et que les contenus de plusieurs coffres de sécurité des banques se retrouvaient dans les banques des régions adjacentes au Québec. On ne cessait de se poser des questions sur le nouveau gouvernement du Parti québécois sous l'égide de René Lévesque, sur l'avenir de la province et du pays et, surtout, sur sa propre place à l'intérieur ou à l'extérieur du Québec."(16)

The Gazette did at least try to quash such rumours.

The day following the election an article appeared on page three in which a number of spokespeople from the major banks reported that withdrawals were up only slightly.(17)

A second illustration is that of the publication of an internal Gazette memo outlining possible story ideas for back-up articles on the referendum and on sovereignty-association. Passions flared over the fairness and accuracy of The Gazette's treatment of Quebec nationalism, the provincial government and the Francophone community as a whole. One editorial writer described the story memo as an insult to the Quebec people and saw in it the seeds of ethnic warfare.

"Préant connaissance, au cours de la même fin de semaine, de la note du 'city

16. Michael Stein, op cit., p. 118-119.

17. "Only a trickle of money leaving province", The Gazette, 17 November 1976, p. 3.

editor' du quotidien The Gazette, Monsieur J. Robert Walker, qui propose un plan référendaire pour le journal, on se dit que voilà un 'speak white' fort insultant pour la majorité francophone ... l'attitude de M. Walker amène ses concitoyens et lecteurs à s'exclure du débat, à présumer qu'ils possèdent la vérité, et à pointer du doigt la communauté francophone en la rendant par avance responsable, si elle avait le 'malheur' de voter OUI malgré ses questions, d'une série de catastrophes impensables. C'est ainsi que naissent les guerres ethniques ... S'il n'y avait pas un large consensus, chez ceux qui publient ce grand quotidien anglophone du Québec, autour de plusieurs des préjugés grossiers de ce monsieur, on peut présumer qu'il ne resterait pas longtemps en place ... L'incident est pourtant énorme. Il jette une ombre lourde sur la crédibilité d'un journal, qui prétend être le défenseur inconditionnel d'une cause."(18)

Lysiane Gagnon, a journalist with La Presse was equally critical of the 'Walker memo,' and accused The Gazette of spreading propaganda. Although the comments are rather lengthy they are of great enough import to be reproduced in large part.

"Touchant La Gazette, deux autres événements sont bien plus graves que cette affaire de mémo: l'automne dernier, le journal a versé \$25,000 à Pro Canada, et dans son édition de samedi, La Gazette annonçait sans pudeur qu'elle distribuera sur demande le livre partisan du sénateur Lamontagne [The Double Deal: A Response to the Parti Québécois's White Paper on Sovereignty - Association] ... La bonne information est un processus qui s'étale sur des années, et qui devait se faire - et qui a parfois, ici et là, été fait -

18. Lise Bissonnette, editorial entitled "Les Leçons de tolérance," Le Devoir, 1 April 1980, p. 8.

avant le gros déferlement des machines de propagande, qui ne viendront que renforcer les préjugés déjà existants. Ceux qui ont semé dans leur public de fausses informations et des images biaisées n'ont plus le temps de se racheter d'ici au jour du référendum ... Ainsi ceux qui ayant l'audience du Canada anglais, ont détruite la réputation des Québécois francophones en décrivant le gouvernement qu'une majorité d'entre eux avait élu comme un gouvernement raciste, la loi 101 comme une loi injuste et la communauté anglo-québécoise comme une minorité opprimée, le mal qu'ils ont fait, il est irréparable."(19)

On March 29, 1980 in a presentation to the Fédération professionnelle des Journalistes entitled "Les Quotidiens Québécois et Le Référendum" Yves Gagnon publicly accused The Gazette of fostering ethnic conflict in the province.

"Les attitudes et comportements de la Gazette constituent à mon avis, une menace important à l'endroit de la stabilité sociale du Québec. La polarisation excessive de la communauté anglophone, alliée à un ton souvent méprisant à l'endroit du nationalisme francophone, risque d'entraîner des affrontements douloureux."(20).

Another 1976 study of Canadian newspaper coverage devoted to national integration issues found that the editorials of the English press in Quebec on linguistic group issues were so negative as to be classified as

19. Lysianne Gagnon, column entitled "Le mal irréparable," La Press, Tuesday, 1 April 1980.

20. Yves Gagnon, "Les Quotidiens Québécois et le Référendum," presentation to the Fédération professionnelle des Journalistes, 29 March 1980, p. 15.

'disintegrative.'(21)

Overall, the impact on linguistic group relations was divisive in that it did not provide the Anglophone population with insight into Francophone culture and society but, rather, reinforced those divisions by continuing to reflect the English-Canadian and North American identity of anglo-Quebec.

"... there was quite general agreement that the paper [The Gazette] is weak in reporting on the province and the French-language community to its readers. Political coverage of the province was considered strong ... There was substantial agreement that 'the English community is informed of what's happening in Quebec politically and economically, but not in terms of social changes and conditions.' The general feeling about The Gazette's coverage of the province was summed up as a philosophy 'that all provincial news is provincial government news' and that 'the world ends at Pointe aux Trembles and starts again at Ste. Foy.' This ties in with the pretty much unanimous view that The Gazette does a poor job of bridging the two solitudes."(22)

By not paying sufficient attention to social and political developments within the French community and communicating that information to their audiences, the Anglophone population was ill-prepared to deal with the changes that were to affect the extent of their independence and autonomy from the linguistic majority of the province.

21. Walter C. Soderlund et al., "Output and Feedback: Canadian Newspapers and Political Integration," in Journalism Quarterly, 57(Summer), p. 320.

22. The Community and The News, op cit., p. 64.

"...beaucoup de journalistes, et je suis du nombre, soutiennent qu'en ce qui concerne la plupart des questions vitales pour le Québec, les grands media d'information anglophone de la province ... n'ont pas su, au cours de vingt dernières années, préparer convenablement leur public aux changements qui se produisaient. Loin de réduire les tensions qu'entraîne la répétition des chocs, ils ont souvent accentué la difficulté du public à identifier les changements et à s'y adapter."
(23)

In reflecting the dominant reactions of English-speaking Quebec The Gazette contributed to the hardening of positions on both sides which hampered a constructive search for new forms of accommodation between the two groups.

23. David Waters, "Les media de langue anglaise et le Québec nouveau," in Gary Caldwell and Eric Waddell (eds), op cit., p. 321.

CONCLUSION

According to most of the literature on the integrative role of the media, as outlined in Chapter One of this work, a strong Canadian identity is essential to the political unity of the Canadian nation. Linguistic, cultural, regional and other identities are implicitly, if not always explicitly, considered to have a divisive impact on political and societal cohesion. Yet recent studies of consociational democracy and societal cohesion in segmented societies have found that given sufficient mechanisms for the resolution of conflict between disparate linguistic and cultural groups, the existence of multiple identities does not necessarily threaten the cohesion or political unity of the nation. Research into ethnonationalism has indicated that in bringing these disparate groups into closer contact, conflict may arise by making each group aware of their 'differentness' from one another. Hence the mere existence of the 'two solitudes' in Quebec is not sufficient cause to try to bridge the gap between them.

Yet given the changes which have taken place in the province over the past twenty years, bridging the gap between the Anglophone and Francophone populations has become essential. The emergence of an activist provincial government, the increasing erosion of Anglophone control over English-speaking institutions and the identity shift on the part of French-speaking Quebecers profoundly changed the nature of the relationship between Anglophones and Francophones and

between Anglophones and the increasing number of common institutions. Between the two linguistic groups, the relationship became one of a French-speaking majority to an English-speaking minority within the province of Quebec as opposed to the previous relationship of an English-speaking majority to a French-speaking minority within Canada. On the political level the relationship became increasingly one of majoritarianism as opposed to elite accommodation.

The major repercussions of these transformations were two-fold: (1) the Anglophone population could no longer afford to ignore the French-speaking majority or Quebec politics and (2) the Anglophone population was being forced to organize themselves as a minority in order to defend their interests. Knowledge of French Quebec was becoming essential for the community to be able to defend its interests yet in order for the community to be able to defend its interests it had to organize politically. Such political organization necessitated, first of all, a 'prise de conscience' or an identity as a minority linguistic community. At this point, however, it became clear that the English-speaking population did not constitute a community at all but, rather, that it was a pluralist society within the segmented structure of the province.

Given this context an integrative media would be one which provided information on both the Anglophone and Franco-phone populations thereby helping to forge an anglo-Quebec identity. Our findings indicate, however, that this is not

the role played by The Gazette. On the contrary, the evidence strongly suggests that The Gazette was an institution of the Anglophone population and had the same general outlook, values, attitudes and identity. In covering the community it served the newspaper mirrored the Anglophone reactions of shock, paralysis and anger to the multitude of changes taking place particularly with regard to their status in the province. By not adequately covering Francophone history, society and culture the paper did little to help the Anglophone population understand the motivations and aspirations of French Quebec thereby, it would appear, contributing to the conflict.

As government watchdog The Gazette portrayed to English-speaking Québec a government which, in its nationalism, in its quest for sovereignty-association and in its anti-business stance, was anti-English, insensitive to and uncaring about the 'rights' of the Anglophone population. In its role as community spokesman The Gazette portrayed to the provincial government a staunchly federalist, uncompromising and unyielding Anglophone population. By providing better coverage of Canada, the United States and the World than it did of the province The Gazette portrayed a community of little interest in Quebec. The positions of both sides of the conflict appeared hard and fast with little common ground between them.

Our study also indicates that the importance of The Gazette increased significantly due to the changes taking place in the socio-political context. The lack of Anglophone

spokesmen, the closing of the Montreal Star, the large number of Anglophones reliant on the daily press for news and information, the alienation of the population from the political process and the failure of informal mechanisms of conflict resolution such as the mediation of the federal government and the English-speaking provinces placed The Gazette in a rather unique position as one of the few mediums of communication between the two linguistic groups.

The findings of this study would appear to confirm the hypotheses presented in Chapter Two and lend credence to the proposition that both the role and impact of a segmented media in a segmented society are a function of the socio-political context. In this case the relevant contextual factors were the lessening of the segmentation of the society, the increasing instability of linguistic group identities and the lack of effective mechanisms of linguistic group conflict resolution. These findings, however, are preliminary. A content analysis of The Gazette was not within the scope of this thesis although a close scrutiny of the newspaper over the twenty year period in question would greatly improve on the validity of these results.

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