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La *Revue d'études des Cantons-de-l'Est* (RECE) est une revue scientifique, arbitrée par des pairs et publiée par le Centre de ressources pour l'étude des Cantons-de-l'Est (CRCE). Les articles parus dans la RECE sont répertoriés dans l'*Index des périodiques canadiens, Canadian Index* et *CBCA*. La revue peut être consultée dans la base de données *CBCA Fulltext* de Micromedia, dans celle de *l'Index des périodiques canadiens* de la société Information Access Company et dans la collection *America: History & Life with Full Text* d'EBSCO Publishing. Nous invitons les chercheurs et chercheuses de toutes les disciplines des sciences et sciences humaines à nous soumettre des articles portant sur les Cantons-de-l'Est. Nous acceptons des textes, en français ou en anglais, de 2 000 à 7 000 mots et présentés selon les normes de publication de la discipline de spécialisation. La RECE peut accepter des articles plus volumineux avec l'approbation de la rédactrice en chef. Les articles et les bilans doivent être accompagnés d'un résumé d'une centaine de mots en français et en anglais. Veuillez faire parvenir vos articles en format Word à l'adresse courriel suivante : *ccharpen@ubishops.ca*.

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Editors' Note

New Research on Quebec

This special issue of the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* (JETS) showcases a range of new, rich interdisciplinary research focused on Quebec. Enclosed you will find four decidedly topical scholarly articles, and a pair of contributions from talented undergraduate students. This collective body of work emerged – following formal presentations, extended discussion, and multiple academic peer review – from the second annual Bishop's University-State University of New York College at Plattsburgh student-faculty "International and Domestic Colloquium on Quebec Studies." The colloquium, jointly organized and convened by the Eastern Townships Resource Centre (Bishop's) and the Institute on Quebec Studies (SUNY Plattsburgh), was held on the Bishop's campus March 28-29, 2014, and featured thirteen essays, all committed to a fresh examination of Quebec issues.

Scholars and undergraduate students, drawn from Bishop's, SUNY Plattsburgh, Concordia and McGill Universities and the University of York, presented their work and received carefully crafted evaluative commentaries, the purpose of which was to constructively assist each and every colloquium participant in sharpening the focus of their final effort.

We are enormously pleased to now present, in this issue of JETS, the very best professional scholarship and undergraduate papers from the colloquium.

The initial contribution in this volume focuses on issues of central concern in Quebec to academics, practitioners, and the general public alike. Researched and written by Dr. Cheryl Gosselin and Ms. Amanda Pichette, this article examines and explains the pathways chosen by new immigrants seeking to successfully integrate into the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). Utilizing what the authors identify as "multicultural common spaces," this research study effectively demonstrates that the ESCQ – through a shared commitment of institutions and individual community leaders – facilitate the availability of these spaces by Anglophones in the province; spaces that are indeed crucial to nurturing and promoting Quebec identity and civic awareness. The ethnographic basis underpinning this study, based in part on direct interviews, squarely illustrates – given the prevailing challenges that newcomers encounter – the distinct need for multicultural common spaces.

Dr. Paul Zanazanian, in "*History is a Treasure Chest*: Theorizing a Metaphorical Tool for Initiating Teachers to History and Opening up

Possibilities of Change for English-Speaking Youth in Quebec," presents his work with English-speaking youth in the history classrooms of Quebec schools. He explores the important, but often unanswered, question of how to instill a sense of civic engagement and individual pride in youth from minority populations. He has developed the pedagogical device of history as a *treasure chest* which he illustrates can be used by teachers to help Anglophone students understand their place in Quebec's past and future society. Through the lens of a *treasure chest* metaphor, teachers can assist students in developing a critical and imaginative approach to history and perhaps foster intergroup dialogue between the two founding groups in Quebec.

Dr. Christopher Kirkey and Ms. Tierney Braden have embarked on an extensive study of a much loved, yet little researched (from an academic, as opposed to a journalistic perspective) Quebec product – ice cider. For approximately a year, the authors have been collecting studies and conducting interviews with producers, distributers and regulators of the industry. Their article entitled, "An Introduction to Ice Cider in Quebec: A Preliminary Overview," examines the development and production of ice cider in Quebec and as well as a profile of the industry. This review is part of the authors' forthcoming book in 2015, an effort that promises to be the most comprehensive scholarly examination yet conducted on Quebec ice cider.

Maxime Pelletier's contribution to this volume of JETS offers a superb examination of (real and attempted) municipal political finance reform efforts in Quebec. Have smaller, more rational-sized political donations – designed to prevent the undue influence of large money contributions impacting electoral outcomes, and potentially the preferences, policies and decisions of elected officials – to candidates (and a few political parties), at a local level in the province, been realized? As Pelletier aptly demonstrates – drawing on a deep reservoir of insightful quantitative data on recent financial contributions – the real issue at stake is not legislative efforts designed to regulate the flow and amount of funding, but instead the stark reality that a statistically insignificant number of Quebecers (less than 1% of voters) actually contribute to municipal electoral races. Why is this the case? "Popular finance is plagued," Pelletier argues (drawing on the scholarly literature on collective action), "by the fact that it's very objective – that no single contribution can have a significant impact on the electoral process – creates a strong disincentive for voters to contribute."

This special issue, we are pleased to note, also features two excellent papers from undergraduate students: Maigan Newson, who is currently a Sociology Honours student at Bishop's University, and Donald Clermont, who is enrolled at State University of New York in Plattsburgh (SUNY). In "Homeless in the Streets of Montréal: A Division of Capital and *Habitus*," Ms. Newson delves into the subject of homelessness in Quebec's largest city; Montréal. She examines the number of people who live on the streets, their material conditions and Montréal's commitment to providing shelter and services to the homeless population. The author then explains why certain individuals are likely to be homeless from the perspective of Pierre Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus', social and cultural capital. Ms. Newson argues that differences in habitus and capital, which are ways of living from the group perspective, the surrounding physical environment, access to cultural resources, availability of support networks and social status, determine the fate of a homeless individual and whether or not that person is able to successfully re-integrate into society.

Meanwhile, Mr. Clermont explores what is, perhaps, one of the most effervescence times in the history and politics of Quebec: the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. The author, in his paper titled, "Literary Influences of Negritude and of Decolonization on Quebec during the Nineteen-Sixties," focuses his lens on two global intellectual and social movements during this time which were negritude and decolonization. Through the selected works of Michèle Lalonde, Paul Chamberland, and Gaston Miron, who draw on these movements to articulate their own literary directions, Mr. Clermont illustrates how these two influences motivated Quebecers to assert their national pride and forge a new identity based on their French language and culture.

As guest editors, we trust that you will thoroughly enjoy these scholarly research articles and undergraduate essays. The breadth and scope of original research is especially compelling. Support for the colloquium and this special issue of JETS – which also features a research note from ETRC Archivist, Jody Robinson – was generously provided by the Eastern Townships Resource Centre, the Institute on Quebec Studies, the Quebec Ministry of International Relations and La Francophonie, and the United States Department of Education. Our next Bishop's-SUNY Plattsburgh student-faculty colloquium is scheduled for late March 2015; the best works from that forum will be brought to you next fall.

Christopher Kirkey
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MULTICULTURAL COMMON SPACES AND THE NEGOTIATION OF BELONGING: THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING COMMUNITIES OF QUEBEC AND THE INTEGRATION OF NEWCOMERS

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Abstract

This paper uses the conceptual framework of multicultural common spaces to explore the integration processes of immigrants into the English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ). These multicultural common spaces seek to simultaneously promote and secure two related goals: to increase the overall collective vitality of English-speaking communities and allow the Anglophone population to be a bridge for newcomers seeking to fully integrate into Quebec's French culture and society. We argue that the institutional base of the ESCQ, along with personnel and community leaders, enable Anglophones to offer a multicultural common space for a diversity of newcomers to build a sense of attachment and belonging to Quebec. Our ethnographic study highlights the processes whereby immigrants negotiate their sense of identity and belonging within the multicultural common space of the ESCQ.

Résumé

Cet article utilise le cadre conceptuel des espaces communs multiculturels pour explorer les processus d'intégration des immigrants dans les communautés d'expression anglaise du Québec (CEAQ). Ces espaces communs multiculturels visent à favoriser et réaliser simultanément deux objectifs interreliés : augmenter la vitalité collective des communautés d'expression anglaise dans leur ensemble et permettre à la population anglophone d'être un pont pour les nouveaux arrivants qui cherchent à s'intégrer dans la culture et la société francophones du Québec. Nous soutenons que la base institutionnelle des CEAQ, avec les leaders individuels et communautaires, permet aux Anglophones d'offrir un espace commun multiculturel aux nouveaux arrivants de divers horizons afin que ces derniers puissent bâtir un sentiment d'attachement et d'appartenance au Québec. Notre étude ethnographique met en lumière les processus par lesquels les immigrants négocient leur sentiment d'identité et d'appartenance à l'intérieur de l'espace commun multiculturel offert par les CEAQ.

Introduction

The English-speaking communities of Quebec (ESCQ) have maintained their historical presence for more than two centuries, allowing them to contribute meaningfully to the shaping of modern Quebec society. The ESCQ are an inclusive community of communities composed of diverse linguistic, ethno-cultural and religious groups scattered throughout the province. Beginning in the 1970s a number of state-sponsored integration and assimilationist policies, such as the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101), led to the demographic decline of the ESCQ and the erosion of much of their institutional base thereby reducing the status of the Anglophone population to a linguistic minority (Corbeil, Chavez and Pereira, 2010; Jedwab, 2004). After forty years and the exodus of half of its population, the English-speakers that remain must look to the integration of immigrants as a source of renewal for their communities. Today, as a linguistic minority living in a French majority, the ESCQ are more bilingual and strive to maintain their own network of formal and informal institutions along with community organizations and grassroots groups, although this network varies in size depending on whether one lives in urban Montréal or in the rural parts of Quebec. Many immigrants coming to the province share the same minority status as the ESCQ and it is these mutual experiences of marginalization that help newcomers identify closely with the English-speaking population and its institutions. In this paper, we argue that the institutional base of the ESCQ, along with personnel and community leaders, enable Anglophones to offer a multicultural common space for a diversity of newcomers to develop feelings of attachment and belonging. The incorporation of immigrants into the ESCQ achieves two goals: it increases the overall collective vitality of their communities and allows the Anglophone population to be a bridge for newcomers seeking to fully integrate into Quebec's French culture and society.

We begin by outlining the conceptual framework of a multicultural common space drawing from the scholarly literature on immigration, identity and belonging. We then offer a profile of the ESCQ which includes situating their minority status and highlights of the cultural, ethnic and religious diversity of English-speaking communities followed by an exploration of the institutional support mechanisms for this population. As well, we explore what factors and dynamics influence immigrants' sense of identity and belonging as they negotiate, influence and create new social space within the ESCQ. It is crucial to understand and maintain sensitivity toward important nuances in the language and concepts we readily employ when speaking of and conceptualizing immigrants, such as "integration."

At the micro level of our analysis, we provide some preliminary content from our ethnography projects with the experiences newcomers face arriving in Quebec. The ethnographic knowledge was generated from our semi-structured interviews with participants from two different geographical areas of the province. Sherbrooke is an urban area surrounded by rural communities while Montréal and its suburbs are considered to be Quebec's major metropolitan region. Participants were found through the authors' professional contacts with the ESCQ community organizations and their directors and staff. We are particularly interested in discovering how immigrants build a biography in a new place and form attachments in social spaces. Questions we explore include: who do they rely on for support; what organizations do they seek out to help in the integration process; and, what kinds of cultural capital do they accumulate to construct a sense of belonging. We conclude with some propositions for further work on the multicultural common spaces among the ESCQ and their ability to act as a bridge to immigrant integration.

The Production of Multicultural Common Spaces and the Context of Choice

Henri Lefebvre in *The Production of Space* (1991) contends that space is socially produced by people and their modes of production. The process of producing a social space is the outcome of a three-part dialectic between everyday practices and perceptions (*le perçu*), representations of space (*le conçu*) and the spatial imaginary of the time (*le vécu*) (Lefebvre, 1991). He argues that socially constructed spaces are made productive through social relations and practices located in a specific place and time. For Lefebvre, social spaces are characterized by their multiple, contradictory and conflictual nature. Ultimately, the production of space is highly contested and about power and dominance (Lefebvre, 1991).

The case of Quebec illustrates that it has been able to produce a social space in which the French language is spoken by the majority. As French is subject to assimilative pressures from the English national and continental majority, Quebec has formally legislated the use of French as the sole language of the public face of the province. Bill 22, adopted by the Liberal Government in 1974, made French the official language of Quebec while Bill 101, passed in 1977 by the Parti Québécois government, ensured French to be the language of communication in the domains of the courts, civil administration, business, labor relations, the workplace, education and throughout the physical landscape. Since the passing of Bill 101, the Anglophone minority has been steadfastly vigilant as it has worked to protect its historically acquired rights. According to Weinstock (2011), "given the context of French in Canada and North America, it is easy to see why French-speaking Quebecers intent upon making French a chief pillar would *want* to make French mandatory by enshrining it in an official language law such as Bill 101." [original emphasis]

At the same time, Quebec is committed to cultural pluralism through its own immigration system. Quebec's Ministry of Immigration selects newcomers based on the socio-economic needs of the province and the state allows certain legal accommodations for ethno-cultural groups based on the recognition that they constitute socio-political entities within the province's public institutions (Iacovino and Sevigny, 2011). Newcomers integrate into a "context of choice" (Weinstock, 2011) where they are provided with the means to learn and speak French (through education), allowed certain accommodations in public institutions and, in the private realm, given the choice to maintain ethno-cultural identities. The private sphere can contain various places for cultural identity production and religious observances, including the home, community organizations, places of worship or private schools. The cumulative effect is what Kymlicka (1995) calls "societal cultures" in which members of a society are given a full range of choices across a full range of fields of human endeavor, that individuals are capable of choosing one thing over another. This social production of space is, as Lefebvre (1991) notes, produced through the interactions of various social actors in their negotiations and is often conflict-ridden and contentious. In the case of Quebec the production of social space is the outcome of the relations between the French majority and the linguistic, ethno-cultural minorities.[1]

For the purpose of our research, we observe that multicultural common spaces have been produced as locations in time and place where individuals from various ethno-cultural and religious groups and other Canadians can meet, interact and develop a shared sense of belonging (Dib, Donaldson and Turcotte, 2008). These multicultural common spaces then are an integral part of the "context of choice" for immigrants coming to Quebec. Some will gravitate toward and choose those spaces designed to integrate immediately into the French majority population. These spaces contain government recognized settlement service provisions. Other newcomers seek out the English communities as a more secure space to build a feeling of welcome. Thus, the ESCQ's institutions and organizations (informal or not recognized by the government of Quebec) serve as common spaces where newcomers are provided with reassurance as they begin to participate in the processes of "identity work" necessary to building a sense of belonging in their new homeland. This identity work can be enhanced or impeded by many factors such as gender, small or large numbers, hyper-visibility as an ethno-cultural minority or marginalization in the labour force (Creese, 2011). By providing multicultural common spaces, the ESCQ are able to bridge the social distance between newcomers and the wider social context, with the goal of full integration and shared citizenship among all Quebecers. In addition to this, as Urtnowski, O'Donnell, Shragge, Robineau and Forgues (2012) observe, diverse linguistic and ethno-cultural minority groups within the province share common concerns of social justice, demographic challenges and employment equity.

While it is imperative to be cognizant of the phenomena and dynamics of integration and belonging, it is equally important to ask how do immigrants develop feelings of attachment in their everyday encounters with the ESCQ? How do they negotiate new social space and use/participate in institutions of the ESCQ? In order to situate our investigation of these multicultural common spaces at the local level, we employ Appadurai's (1996) concepts of "locality" and "neighbourhood." Discovering how individuals form a sense of attachment and belonging to a particular locale, neighbourhood or community, can be aided through our understanding of "situated communities." An individual's locality is embodied in the social relations and social contexts in which she/he interacts with others, where sites of identity and belonging are enacted. Often in local neighbourhoods individuals from various ethno-cultural and religious groups as well as newcomers and other Canadians meet and come together and develop a shared sense of belonging. Appadurai delineates "locality" as primarily relational and contextual because individuals at the local level, within their neighbourhoods, are empowered to act socially as they go about their daily interactions in their ordinary lives. He posits that neighbourhoods have a very personal feeling that take on meaning when people exchange ideas through communication.

Appadurai's work on the nature of locality and situated community sets up an interesting point of departure for analyzing the cultural, ethnic and religious diversity that is establishing itself as the norm in large multicultural centers like Montréal. Our world is continuously globalizing and made up of individuals with multiple identities who speak two, three, four languages in their daily lives. People must negotiate the relation between both the global context and their local contexts in everyday life. Globalization is partly about the convergence of cultures, decreasing space between countries and people that used to be more separated by borders and space. If we are to understand institutional and socio-structural realities in a society, we must begin by understanding how social practices are engaged at the local, grassroots level of community involvement.

In contemporary Quebec, we see emerging cultures and integration as a fluid, evolving process of communal exchanges and interpersonal interactions in spaces, such as neighbourhoods (Hebert *et al*, 2008). The intersectional nature of belonging represents divergent cultures that are hybrid and multifaceted.

The English-Speaking Communities of Quebec: Connecting Multicultural Common Spaces

Changing demographic characteristics in the ESCQ limit the relevance of existing theories that concentrate on "community" for language minorities. Measuring community as "locality" in a globalizing world has become increasingly difficult as societies become more heterogeneous and social cohesion is more fragmented (Appadurai,1996; Lash and Urry, 1994). In Quebec, the "Anglophone community" is currently undergoing a process of redefinition (Stevenson, 1999; Urtnowski *et al*, 2012) characterized by diverse mobilities due to outmigration factors, an aging population, and increased immigration and bilingualism. Strong communal ties no longer provide the basis of community "collective identity" rooted in a common language, culture and historical experience (Bourhis (ed.), 2008; Scowen, 1991). The population is more diffuse and multicultural as notions of belonging cut across linguistic and ethnic lines of identity and inclusion (Jedwab, 2004). This trend opens up a space for ethnographic inquiry that explores how we can *reconceptualize* "community" considering the evolving makeup and composition of the English-speaking community in Montréal.

At the same time, the wider Quebec context poses particular challenges for its linguistic minorities. The traditional *two solitudes* (MacLellan, 1945) cultural theory constructs a longstanding *us-them* relationship. Today, successive legislative and administrative measures protect the distinct French language and culture. Protecting these serves as the rationale for an *intercultural* civic model and the societal project of *francization* that ensures the primacy of the French language and culture in civic society (Juteau, 2002; McAndrew and Janssens, 2004). These policies impose French on language minorities in the public space, despite the fact that English is also widely used in Montréal. The needs of minorities, such as providing essential English-language services to members of the ESCQ, are secondary to the objectives of the Francophone majority (Jedwab, 2007).

Community organizations provide many essential English-language services to the ESCQ. They serve as sites of mobilization and association for coordinated efforts to advance the legitimacy of using the English language in public life (Caldwell, 1994; Jedwab, 2007). As such, they are key sites of investigation into the evolving nature and workings of English-speaking "community." By viewing the community as a resource, we can create new genres for sharing the sources of knowledge among diverse community actors in the school as well as in community organizations. Many Anglophone community organizations reflect this trend toward increased diversity as these organizations include the participation of bilingual and other ethnocultural groups around the interests they share (COCo, 2012). Within education, newcomers and their children bring with them different kinds of cultural knowledge from which students and teachers can benefit greatly.

Understanding *who* exactly still identifies with the ESCQ is crucial to determining how such diversity affects representation and governance within its institutions and community organizations (Jedwab, 2010). Given the increasing level of diversity and multiple identities, we must problematize what it means to be part of an "Anglophone community" in Quebec. Many community organizations of the ESCQ adapt differently, opting for a *rapprochement* with the broader Francophone community (Oakes and Warren, 2007; QCGN, 2012). The ESCQ possess social and economic capital useful in facilitating newcomer integration, "bridging" immigrants to the Francophone community (Vatz Laaroussi and Liboy, 2010). Linguistic and cultural identity become more fluid and plural, no longer confined to rigid and mutually exclusive categories.

The ESCQ largely define themselves through their particular way of interacting with the dominant Francophone community, not being incorporated or subsumed within it and not wanting to dominate it. Rather, English-speakers have developed a *rapprochement* (Oakes *et al.*, 2007; QCGN, 2012) with the wider collective and these "strategic ambiguities" (Burke, 1955) can serve as a site of awareness and investigation to understand more clearly how belonging is negotiated and fostered in Quebec. The case of Quebec is particular in that complex socio-political antagonisms are situated against these interactions in the "glocal spaces" (Hébert, Wilkinson, Ahmad and Temitop, 2008) of Montréal's diverse neighbourhoods.

In recent years, especially since the Charter of the French Language in 1976, the English-speaking population has witnessed a massive outmigration among its communities. Today, the ESCQ represent 13% of the province's population. Almost a third (32%) of the English-speaking population is composed of immigrants (Corbeil *et al*, 2010). In this way, the ESCQ rely heavily on global migrants for their demographic renewal.[2]

Ethno-cultural diversity has always been a feature of the ESCQ with British, Scottish, Irish, Jewish (76% of the Jewish community of Quebec are English-speaking) and others who have long ago made Quebec their home. Eighty-five percent of Quebec's Sikhs and 6% of Muslims belong to the ESCQ (Quebec Community Groups Network, 2013). A more recent trend is the rising proportion of visible minorities among the English-speaking immigrant population. Blacks of various origins, Arabs, West Asians, South Asians and Koreans make up this group (Corbeil *et al*, 2010). According to the National Household Survey of 2011, 52.3% of Quebec's foreign born population was able to converse in English and French while 25.9% only knew French and 17.4% only knew English (Statistics Canada, NHS 2014).

Given these numbers there is no one way to define the culture, ethnicity or religion of the English-speaking population. The ESCQ have always been composed of a diverse array of identities with different historical, ethno-cultural and mobility patterns. However, these communities do share two aspects of belonging: the English-language as a common vehicle for communication and their minority status. The institutional base of the ESCQ works as a multicultural, and often multilingual, common space which functions as the setting for the maintenance of inter-ethno cultural and religious relations and the fostering of a collective sense of belonging and integration across diversity and language.

As we have previously examined (Pichette and Gosselin, 2013), the institutional and organizational support and control of the ESCQ differ depending on demographic and geographic factors. Overall, the ESCQ have strong institutional support and control in education, health and social services, community organizations and a variety of cultural and media outlets; however, in areas of employment and economic development few programs exist to offer services in English (Jedwab and Maynard, 2008, in Pichette and Gosselin, 2013). The ESCQ's institutional base can be divided into needs-based institutions such as schools, hospitals, social services and economic development corporations as well as interest-based organizations like drama and language arts. Although no official inventory of services offered to immigrants currently exists,[3] many of the ESCQ institutions and organizations do aid newcomers who feel more at ease communicating in English rather than French. In the urban areas of the province, such as Montréal where the ESCQ institutional and organization support and control are the strongest and where many newcomers seek residence, integration services exist for newcomers. Organizations such as the Centre for Community Organizations (COCo) and the Immigrant Workers Centre in Montréal help with the processes of settlement, service referrals and support networks for employment. In the Sherbrooke area, which has a high concentration of refugees (many speak English as their second language), churches and schools help with integration needs and the English School Board offers free English-language conversation classes to newcomers.[4]

The institutions and organizations of the ESCQ connect English-speaking Quebecers with immigrants from diverse backgrounds and languages in one common space. This common space offers formal and informal services and provides both material and less quantifiable forms of support. These organizations and their offerings provide a place for immigrants to work at developing a personal sense of belonging as well as participate in the processes of community building. These processes that operate at the individual and collective levels exist within the framework of Quebec's interculturalism. As a world view and accompanying set of policies, interculturalism places the primacy of the French language and culture above all other languages and cultures in the province (Ghosh, 2004). Given the minority status of the English-speaking community, full integration of newcomers can only happen at the majority level. The ESCQ do, however, play a role in acting as a bridge or gateway to the wider French community for immigrants. The ESCQ institutions and organizations can, and do, provide the supports for building multiple and simultaneous spaces of belonging because of their multilingual and multicultural nature. This pathway from ESCQ to the larger French culture and society can ease some of the burdens of migration for those newcomers with a better grasp of English than French and ultimately mean their full retention in Quebec or dispersal to another destination in Canada.

Narratives of Belonging

In 2011, Sherbrooke welcomed approximately 1000 newcomers from 54 different countries. The following two narratives delineate the settlement experiences of women who came to the Sherbrooke area in 2005 and 2011 respectively. Participant #1, originally from Mexico, lives with her three children and was, at the time of the interview, separated from her *Québécois* husband. Participant #2 and her family came from Columbia only one month before the interview took place and was living in Sherbrooke with her two children and husband. Both subjects used the settlement services of the Service d'aide aux Néo-Canadiens (SANC). This organization receives funding from the provincial government to help with the integration of newcomers to the region. As participant #1 recounts, she immediately sought out the services of SANC for help with communication:

> The first thing I needed upon arrival in Quebec was help with French. I speak English a little and understand but everyone only wanted to talk to me in French at the bank, at the store so I needed someone to come along with me and translate.

When asked if she worked outside the home in remunerated work she explained:

> Not right now because I have to learn more French. Once I learn French I would like to teach young children in school.

Participant #2 was also eager to find employment once she had learned French:

> I cannot work now even though I was studying to be a pediatrician in my country. I must learn more French. But I know the textbooks are in English so why can't I study in English?

It appears that both women are more comfortable with navigating the complexities of their integration process in English. This is normal as English is the global language so most countries of origin for newcomers would have knowledge, and use, of English for education and everyday socio-economic practices.

When asked if they would stay in the Sherbrooke area and why, the two participants both cited the city as an immigrant-friendly area where they saw a future for themselves and, especially, their children. Both imagined their attachment to place as being through the second generation and seemed to be located in both Francophone and Anglophone communities. Participant #1 said:

> I like this area, people have been kind to us and make us feel at home here. I see a future for my children because of the education system, especially the English schools in the area like Champlain (College) and Bishop's University. They will get a good education because of this.

For participant #2, her sense of belonging and locality appears to include a co-existence of languages, religions and cultures:

> *It's so nice, my children play with friends from all over the world here (Sherbrooke), I have access to English and French churches, community organizations, I want to know about the English university (Bishop's) and if I can continue my studies there. I want to stay here because I can give my children choices to grow up in.*

The two participants appear to navigate their sense of belonging by situating their identity production in both the Francophone and Anglophone worlds. They straddle both realities but use the English-speaking community infrastructure as a bridge to achieve their ultimate goal which is integration into Quebec society. For the participants in this study, the English-speaking community infrastructure includes needs-based organizations like schools, service organizations as well as interest-based groups such as churches and cultural groups. This narrative data collected in the Sherbrooke region reveals how newcomers use their locality as a multicultural common space to build a sense of belonging that incorporates both Francophone and Anglophone communities.

To explore how immigrants can belong to, participate in and contribute to their communities within the ESCQ, we now look at two recent immigrants and their experience in Montréal. We interviewed two Muslim women and discussed the challenges they face with belonging in Quebec and the attachments they have to the English-speaking institutions they currently work in. This preliminary research data suggests that Muslim women, as a vulnerable minority, desire to integrate into Quebec society but experience more difficulty for various reasons than other immigrants.[5] The two Muslim women's prospects for participation and integration have been limited by the social discourse in the wider Quebec community on the proposed Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism (Charter of State Secularism), Bill 60.[6] These interviews provide valuable insight into their feelings of belonging and the "limits of integration" in the current social and political context. Although multicultural common spaces in the ESCQ offer a space for identity formation, the politics of identity currently impede this particular minority group's efforts at integration into Quebec society. The following sentiments focus on certain facets of the lives of the two Muslim women as they articulate a space for belonging in their local contexts and the realities they face while attempting to feel "integrated" in and contribute to society.

For participant #3, a Moroccan-born Muslim who immigrated to Quebec in 2011, the process of integration has been tenuous at best. She is trilingual, speaking fluent French, Arabic and English. Now a permanent resident in Quebec, she speaks about her feelings of belonging to the social space in Montréal. Initially, she was very optimistic and excited about the prospect of belonging to a society that embraced notions of diversity in which multiple cultures live together in peace, respecting one another's individual values and ways of life but her recent experiences finding work demonstrate the difficulties of integration:

> I applied for the STM (Société de transport de *Montréal)* and they asked me to come for the interview. I could see they were impressed with my abilities...then asked me to take the blood tests and I thought I would

> start on July 20, 2013. I received a call from management soon after I had completed the requirements for the position. They said, "You can try next year because we found someone else for this position"... I am really good in finance and I wanted to continue in this field. I am a Muslim and a woman, that's the reality here. So I had to think about changing careers. I know I can find a job easily in Morocco with my hijab and my qualifications.

Beginning with the introduction of the proposed Charter of State Secularism in August of 2013, and lasting until the defeat of the Parti Québécois in 2014, the social climate in Quebec became increasingly hostile toward immigrants and Muslim women in particular (Scott, 2013). Muslim women's social interactions and daily life were increasingly characterized by discrimination and fear on the part of fellow citizens. This is a visceral experience for her and touches the very heart of her identity. She still identifies with her homeland as a Muslim and has not felt able to fully embrace her Quebec or Canadian identity.

Her experiences have not, however, been uniformly bad. She has found a more welcoming and accommodating reception from the Anglophone community in the borough of Notre-Dame-de-Grace (NDG) where she currently lives. NDG is exemplary of how the Anglophone community is being transformed into a multicultural community whose members feel at home in multiple cultural contexts and languages. Here, almost 30% of the population are immigrants (Urtnowski *et al*, 2012). In this neighbourhood, she works as an educator at Big Step Daycare center, a social space that has helped her feel included, to which she can contribute and participate, and in which she can grow as she builds her new identity in Quebec.

The multicultural common space within the daycare center allows members to come together, collaborate and share a common goal, that of caring for the children. She has been working there since October 2013. In an Anglo milieu, she has found the parents, staff and fellow educators to be the most accepting and open, and this has helped her connect with the broader NDG community. Her initial feeling of acceptance occurred during her interview with the director of the daycare. The director asked, "What can you do for the children?" This simple question gave her the agency to connect with this local community borough and feel a sense of belonging based entirely on her merit and not on her cultural/religious background. Attachment to locality has become an "inclusive" space where ethnically and religiously diverse people come together. This local context is the most significant space of belonging she has experienced in Quebec up to now.

Participant #4 relates a very different experience as an international student currently working on her Ph.D. at Concordia University. She is an Anglophone Danish Muslim woman who arrived in Quebec in 2011 and wants to obtain permanent residency. She wears the traditional Islamic dress consisting of a full hijab (the entire modest dress of a Muslim woman). She describes her personal pathway as a Muslim woman, an academic, a Danish citizen and the contribution she is currently making to Quebec society. She relates that the local affiliations that Muslims are involved in everyday are often overlooked by the wider community. Regarding integration, she asks, "How can I integrate into something that I already belong to (or feel that I belong to)?"

Abstract notions like "Muslim community" in Montréal manifest themselves differently in the lives of young Muslim women who express their identities in a multitude of ways depending on the social situation they find themselves in at any given moment. Participant #4 describes Concordia University as a more inclusive space in which she feels valued and appreciated for her efforts and contributions to Quebec society. She has a prayer room at the university, her network of friends and associations usually offer positive interactions, and she has friends both inside and outside her faith (Muslim and non-Muslim affiliations). She lives in a predominantly English-speaking milieu where she participates in and attends social events in English. Through her daily social interactions, she now sees community as a place where the agency involved in carving out individual identities is made up of layered experiences, the university representing a multicultural space of belonging where networks are created. Here, Muslim students in particular feel uninhibited to participate in and interact with the wider community through this institutional base:

> Young people are resilient, the majority are English and being part of Concordia, as an inclusive institution,the Muslims here feel good inclusion, there's a library, a prayer space--one of the best in Montreal, an MSA office... they have resources to feel comfortable in this very secular environment. They belong here and I feel there is no taboo telling my colleagues, "I am going to go pray, I'll be right back". I feel this across the board [in each social interaction] I think maybe this helps them keep their resilience, at least in their everyday life they are included there is this inclusion they don't feel weird, there is a space for them. So when they do go out to the rest of society and listen to the media [for example], they can be highly critical without it phasing them in their everyday life.

The identities of both these women and the lives they lead in Montréal are very different. Although both are Muslim women, they experience their social realities in vastly different ways. Participant #3 relates that her strongest attachments remain with her Muslim/ Moroccan community in NDG. This connection safeguards her integrity and spirit while offering support in the face of current adversity, whereas participant #4 has a network of friends and support within the more inclusive university environment. Interestingly, both participants relate that Anglo-Quebecers seem to be more open and accepting towards immigrants than the Francophone community.

Until the electoral defeat of the Parti Qu*ébé*cois in 2014, the Charter of State Secularism did, however, have a marked impact on the realities of the two respondents. Unfortunately, both related that if Bill 60 were to pass and the ban on religious dress were to become law, they would depart. Participant #4 describes:

> Having a voice is different. I don't know if they do [Muslim women]. The frustration of your voice not being heard is because you are a minority… And if you are Anglophone you are a minority within a minority and if you are an ethnically visible minority that is worse: they feel it on a triple level: you are English and also visible as well because you choose to wear the hijab or your skin colour is a little darker than others. I think it is complex, I hate saying that but it really is.

Conclusion: ESCQ as a Bridge to Immigrants

An initial conclusion of this research is that immigrants wish to participate. They want to belong to the ESCQ in a variety of ways and forms, with many already having contributed to the ESCQ's vitality. Depending on the level of "integration" or "incorporation," which influences to what extent immigrants feel that they belong to and identify with the ESCQ, they will naturally desire to have a positive impact on a community to which they are essentially contributing and to organizations that provide support and represent their interests.

As we argue, *multicultural common spaces* represent a useful unit of analysis in understanding the production of new social spaces. Immigrants interact on a day-to-day level with Anglophones and other members of the ESCQ as they go about their new lives, settling in various ways. They become involved in communities and neighbourhoods at the local/micro-level, and rely on services from the ESCQ in this process. Communities offer a site for exploration because they have the potential for local, diverse forms of engagement through their practices and communal interactions. This research seeks to understand the relationships built among Francophones, Anglophones and Allophones that makeup an increasingly large portion of the English-speaking community sector in institutions and grassroots organizations located in diverse Montréal neighborhoods as well as in the Sherbrooke area. By highlighting locality-based relationships, we can examine the conflicts and tensions through material issues at the local level.

Furthermore, this preliminary investigation demonstrates that the ESCQ can continue to play a critical role in acting as a bridge between immigrants and the wider Francophone population at the State-level. Our presupposition is that immigrants and newcomers adapt to the wider Quebec context by first anchoring/bridging their sense of belonging to the English-speaking community context. The theoretical framework used in this paper comprises an approach to reconceptualizing community by analyzing the English-speaking organizations and institutions that respond to the needs of newcomers and immigrants.

Further Research Linking "Integration" with "Citizenship"

We suggest that further research is needed to link notions of belonging with "integration" and "citizenship." We need a deeper understanding of how the ESCQ and their organizations apply local meanings to referencing their constituents according to political language such as "integration" within the context of the ESCQ, immigration and the Quebec majority. As our work progresses, we will situate these insights on immigrant integration into the broader socio-political discourses of the Francophone majority. We will show the conflictual relations or tensions around the common notions and expectations of how immigrants must "integrate," how they must do it and on whose terms, in order to become legitimate and acceptable "citizens." As was highlighted by the two Montréal-based participants in our study, this discourse is reductionist and exclusionary. By reducing integration to a fixed, monolithic identity, it essentializes who can be deemed legitimate in Quebec's national imaginary. Next, we will explore how newcomers develop their locality into a sense of belonging through the ESCQ's bridge work and how notions of citizenship play into the politics of identity.

ENDNOTES

1 The dominant French population often sees itself besieged by the enemies within (Anglos and immigrants). For example the Parti Québécois government proposed in 2013 a Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism, Bill 60, to outlaw the display of religious symbols in public, and Bill 14 to strengthen provisions of the French language charter. The current Liberal Government has expressed more openness to bilingualism and has promised to produce its own version of a values charter in the near future.

2 Among the Francophone population, immigrants represent 7.6% of the majority group.

3 See Pichette and Gosselin, 2013. This work is part of the Institutional Vitality Research Project (IVRP) contracted by the Quebec Community Groups Network (QCGN). The IVRP includes an inventory of ESCQ institutions and organizations as well as their activities. In addition, interviews with executive directors of different organizations were conducted. The article by Pichette and Gosselin (2013) provides an analysis of the findings by the IVRP using an institutional vitality model from the literature on group vitality indicators. See especially Bourhis and Landry (2008).

4 Cheryl Gosselin's (2010). Author's personal conversation with a volunteer at the English School Board's Adult Learning Centre in Sherbrooke, QC.

5 This preliminary research data represents our initial findings and is part of a larger pool of interviews currently being conducted by the authors. We anticipate the findings from our expanded study to be consistent with this finding.

6 Although the defeat of the Parti Qu*ébé*cois brought about the end of their form of the Charter of Quebec values and although the centrality of this topic in the social discourse declined after the electoral victory of the Quebec Liberal Party in 2014, issues of religion and secularism nonetheless remain important within the current social discourse in Quebec. The Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism is also called the Charter of Quebec Values, in French: *Charte de la laïcité* or *Charte des valeurs québécoises*.

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HISTORY IS A TREASURE CHEST: THEORIZING A METAPHORICAL TOOL FOR INITIATING TEACHERS TO HISTORY AND OPENING UP POSSIBILITIES OF CHANGE FOR ENGLISH-SPEAKING YOUTH IN QUEBEC

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Abstract

An open use of history lends to imagining new tomorrows and improving the quality of the future. In informing attitudes, history can help raise awareness of possibilities of change for making a positive difference in peoples' lives. As a pedagogical device for enabling Quebec teachers to help English-speaking youth overcome sentiments of group exclusion, to foster civic engagement, and to strengthen Anglo Quebec vitality, this article theorizes the usefulness of viewing and teaching about history through the lens of a *Treasure Chest* metaphor. Metaphor is beneficial for grasping history's workings and developing autonomous critical and conscientious thinking for embracing change.

Résumé

Un usage ouvert de l'histoire peut servir à imaginer des nouveaux lendemains et à améliorer l'avenir. En éclairant les attitudes, l'histoire peut sensibiliser les individus aux possibilités de transformations potentielles afin de favoriser des différences positives dans leur vie. Comme outil pédagogique pour permettre aux enseignants québécois d'aider les jeunes Anglophones à surmonter des sentiments d'exclusion, à encourager l'engagement citoyen et à renforcer la vitalité de la communauté anglo-québécoise, cet article théorise sur l'utilité de visualiser et d'enseigner l'histoire à travers le prisme de la métaphore du coffre à trésor. Les métaphores sont bénéfiques pour saisir le fonctionnement de l'histoire et pour développer la pensée critique et consciencieuse autonomes afin d'être capable d'accepter les transformations.

Introduction

Teaching national history to English-speaking youth in Quebec constitutes a challenge, especially when it comes to their integration into larger society.[1] Various socio-political and pedagogical factors contribute to the neglect of their community's diverse realities and experiences in the province's history curriculum, which lend to impeding their full civic commitment to the state and to even further complicating attempts at strengthening Anglo Quebec's dwindling vitality. Feeling excluded from the program's implicit master narrative that largely depicts their group in simplistic and antagonistic terms, English-speaking youth seem to not only question their role and place in society, but also their relevance and sense of self-worth as members of a rightful historic community that has in many ways contributed positively to Quebec's development (QCGN 2009; Standing Senate Committee 2011). The challenge of integrating English-speaking youth stems from the days of the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s when the restructuring of power dynamics between Quebec's two language groups resulted in the French-Canadian majority establishing its educational authority over all Quebec citizens and not just members of its own community (McAndrew 2003; Zanazanian 2008; Lamarre 2008).[2]

As new history programs were developed in subsequent years, central Francophone realities and experiences were configured as the guiding narrative for cementing students' general sense of national belonging, whereas those of English-speakers were largely ignored (Zanazanian 2008; McAndrew 2010; Jedwab and Perrone 2012). Seeking to remain nonetheless open to Quebec's narrative diversity, program developers have since then faced the difficult task of adequately balancing the transmission of a Franco-centric national storyline with that of the workings of the historical method, as one means of complicating reified historical perspectives. In light of the province's ongoing identity politics, the ensuing tension till this day lies on how Francophones, as a historic community and a recent dominant majority in the province, can remain true to and promote their own collective experiences for integrating social diversity, including Anglo Quebec, while also making room for minority viewpoints of the past that may differ from the main markers of the state's master narrative.

While Quebec's current History and Citizenship Education program encourages the promotion of differing historical perspectives, albeit well-reasoned and evidence-based ones developed through applied historical thinking skills, questions arise whether such an emphasis is sufficient for catering to the needs of English-speaking youth. As the program seeks to reinforce students' capacity to critically navigate the state's master narrative to acquire civic mindfulness and commonality with other Quebecers, the lack of well-defined and properly integrated Anglophone perspectives leads to believe that the Franco-Québécois storyline still permeates the program and continues to offer a limited treatment of Anglo Quebec (Commins 2009; Zanazanian 2008, 2011; Jedwab and Perrone 2012; Russell 2012). Based on the central markers of the Francophone majority's collective memory – ones that encapsulate historical memories of often-unequal intergroup power relations with the "Anglophone other" – English-speakers continue to run the risk of being cast as the antagonists to Quebec's national ambitions (Létourneau 2006, 2014; *Bulletin d'histoire politique* 2007; Zanazanian 2012; Lévesque *et al.* 2013). Consequently, young Anglophones' adherence to Quebec's societal projects is jeopardized, as are the chances of overcoming lingering group differences between English and French speakers. To address these challenges, the province's history program has yet to develop successful schemes that promote a sense of group identity and belonging to the province for English-speaking students while encouraging their Francophone counterparts to accept and embrace them as important members of Quebec society, despite their differences. While the capacity of history teachers to treat their mandated subject matter judiciously is central to clarifying pre-given understandings of the historical record, it is the ability and motivation of English-speaking students to regenerate their group as an official Canadian language minority community that is at stake.

As a discursive essay, this article attends to the need of fostering civic engagement among English-speaking youth in Quebec and in the process seeks to address their community's call for strengthening its vitality. It attempts to tackle the current situation where English-speaking students are faced with learning a history program that excludes their diverse realities and experiences and that implicitly transmits a master narrative that inadvertently *others* (i.e. differentiates and distances) them and impedes them from feeling like they belong to the collective "We." As its main objective, this article seeks to particularly introduce and discuss the idea of metaphor for helping teachers understand the workings of history and its relevance and benefits for opening up possibilities of change in such situations of group exclusion. Given their responsibility for socializing students into the manners and norms of the state, Quebec history teachers are of central importance in this equation. Prone to relying on *what they already know*, including personal values, beliefs, and goals, for teaching about narrative diversity in the history classroom, they would greatly gain from the use of metaphor for helping make a positive difference in their English-speaking students' sense of identity, belonging, and accepted inclusion (Zanazanian and Moisan 2012).

In what follows, I theorize the idea and usefulness of the "History is a Treasure Chest" metaphor that I have developed as a means to assist teachers in articulating their social posture (i.e. their beliefs and positioning regarding society) and sense of agency (i.e. their capacity to think and act) in their important public role as history educators and thus integrators of English-speaking youth. Within a historical consciousness mindset that appreciates historical epistemology (i.e. how historical knowledge is constructed) as it relates to making sense of and acting in social reality, the objective is to provide a metaphor that highlights the usefulness of history for living life, for opening possibilities of change, and for improving the quality of Quebec's common future. In like manner, this article seeks to lay the initial foundations of a pedagogical tool for fostering civic engagement among Anglophone youth through the teaching of history.

The Teaching of History and Bringing Change to Quebec

Given Franco-Québécois sensitivities regarding their perceived negative historical experiences at the hands of the "Anglophone other," writing about English-speakers in Quebec regarding historical identity and agency is both controversial and political. It requires avoiding generalizations while paying attention to details. The difficulty stems from trying to respect the main markers of Francophones' collective memory that enable them to know and narrate themselves and give meaning to their group's potential future trajectories, while also trying to revitalize a present day community that increasingly identifies itself as English-speaking, culturally diverse, and Québécois, but whose linguistic presence is viewed by certain politicians and interest groups as a key threat to Quebec's French character. What lies at the core of this difficulty is mediating between a generalized historical consciousness that largely confines Anglophones to an exclusive and timeless category of *otherness* and the need to accept the actual changing realities of a former dominant minority that is increasingly subordinate but still widely viewed as a privileged community (Létourneau and Moisan 2004; Létourneau 2006, 2014; Bourhis 2008; Zanazanian 2008, 2012; Standing Senate Committee 2011).[3] Today, while the Franco-Québécois yearn to consolidate their demographic and linguistic hold over the province's resources and institutions, their imperatives of cultural renewal as a French-speaking society in North America coincide with Anglophone concerns for survival as an English-speaking community in Quebec.

With regards to history teaching, despite the fact that both language groups have shared historical challenges in defining a common civic project, Quebec teachers can play an important role in integrating Anglo youth and building bridges between the two language communities. They hold a strong potential for influencing these students' outlook regarding their future roles and contributions to society. By addressing issues of identity, inclusion, and belonging, teachers can cultivate a motivation for civic engagement by way of helping their English-speaking students develop a stronger understanding and appreciation of their own community's past, present and potential future in the province. In strengthening their sense of group cohesion and highlighting points of commonality with their French-speaking peers, Anglo youth would come to feel that they are a recognized, accepted, and welcomed minority by Francophone Quebec (Quebec Community Groups Network 2009; Standing Senate Committee 2011).

Promoting the teaching of Anglo Quebec in the province's national history classrooms, however, faces significant challenges. These vary from technical and political aspects of teachers' work environments to their familiarity with and application of historical content matter and its disciplinary underpinnings through their pedagogical practices. It would seem that teachers' discomfort with historical epistemology and its methodological workings generally hinder them from fully sharing emergent knowledge-skills and from transmitting differing perspectives on the past, including those of English-speakers (Zanazanian and Moisan 2012). Access to a clearly structured narrative that configures the historical content knowledge of Anglo Quebec's diverse historical adventures and contributions to the province is further wanting, one where English-speakers in all their diversity are the protagonists of the offered story. While key for Anglo Quebec's vibrancy, such a narrative would surely foster an attachment to larger Quebec society. Other obstacles also exist, but are exterior to teachers' own historical capacities and pedagogical beliefs. These include the lack of reliable resources regarding nuanced details of English-speaking realities and experiences, along with teachers' necessary time, motivation, and skills to obtain such information on their own (Zanazanian 2011). Properly allocated curricular time to cover Anglophone Quebec is also lacking, coupled with both the implicit aims of the end-of-year ministerial exam whose Franco-centric framework continues to inadvertently reinforce the *othering* of Anglophones and the increased pressure from nationalist leaning interest groups to have teachers transmit a traditional Francophone storyline on the province's past.

While the promise of history teachers to bridge Anglophone youth with larger Quebec society is not that straightforward, it is nonetheless possible inasmuch as they are given the necessary tools or mindset for doing so. One should not expect teachers to promote one concrete vision over another in their teachings. It is not a question of indoctrinating them (and students) or of replacing one ideology dogmatically with another. In respecting their right to their personal perspectives, we should aim at developing their capacity to justify the decisions that underlie their social posture in fulfilling their public role in informed and well-reasoned ways. The intention thus would be to help teachers articulate their voice and vision regarding historical and educational matters that they deem necessary – be it in terms of the nature, origins, finalities, and changes regarding history, history teaching, Quebec society, and Anglo Quebec vitality – and to act accordingly, while being fully aware of the existence of other viable options for influencing their views and guiding their actions. It is thus a question of broadening and refining teachers' conceptual lenses for understanding, explaining, and mediating what once was and what could be with how such interactions affect who they are, what they do, and how they go about doing so. It is the widening of horizons, the appreciation of the diversity of viewpoints, and the understanding of the consequences of their choices to then have them autonomously decide for themselves on the right course of action that are at play, with the hopes that they would foster openness to the *other* as well as to intergroup dialogue and mutual comprehension.

Such a capacity, however, requires the attainment of a particular mindset, one that would permit teachers to critically and conscientiously take a stance on both their personal and professional sense of identity and agency. It involves garnering a predisposition that would permit them to problematize pre-given understandings of the (historical) past and question their own (historical) thinking patterns, values, and ideals that already inform their personal understandings and practices for transmitting the national history program to their students. One important step in this direction would be to offer teachers a usable opportunity to appreciate the wonders and workings of history, not only in terms of its epistemology and methodology, but also regarding its limits and potentials for opening up possibilities of change (for common life purposes) or at the very least for making a positive difference in their students' lives.

Using Metaphor to Integrate English-Speaking Youth in Quebec

In consideration of such challenges and goals, questions arise: how can history teachers go about integrating English-speaking youth in Quebec in light of an exclusionary curriculum? How can teachers transfer important historical knowledge so that young Francophones can appreciate and welcome English-speakers as contributing members of a common, democratic, and inclusive society? How can teachers encourage such uses of history without imposing a certain way of seeing and employing the past? Similar to their own potential capacities, how can teachers help students understand the different promises of history, including benefits and drawbacks, that influence their positionality (i.e. their sense of knowing and acting) as individuals and future citizens? And, finally, how can they generate a habit of mind that would motivate them to critically and conscientiously appropriate history for guidance, while also being answerable to their decisions regarding attitudes and consequent behaviours?

To address these questions, I offer a pedagogical device in the form of metaphor. In illuminating history's many possibilities, the relevance of metaphor is manifold and can help teachers clarify and improve their concrete pedagogical practices for effectuating positive change. Metaphor can offer them a way of discovering and reflecting on various opportunities for communicating the many uses of history and history teaching. Since teachers may sometimes feel uncomfortable to problematize and divert from what they know or what they believe they are expected to know and transmit as historical information, using metaphor can help develop mindsets for gaining self-confidence, knowledge, and skills for recognizing the legitimacy in freeing themselves from pre-conceived and imposed historical notions and expectations without feelings of guilt. It can help them acknowledge the possibility and in certain circumstances even the necessity of deviating from the main elements of the Franco-Québécois master narrative that differentiate and distance English-speakers and from conventional ways of appropriating historical content-knowledge and skills as well as teaching habits and practices that may have come to be solidified and taken for granted. In enabling them to assist students to question thought processes, values, and beliefs, and to interpret the past differently, employing metaphor can help teachers and students comprehend that it is okay to interpret the past non-traditionally and to appropriate it in one's own way for knowing and acting in reality. In initiating students to the ethical, practical, and political dimensions of history in society, teachers may thereby help them realize the importance of resorting to the use of multiple perspectives for informing their historical consciousness and for imagining new ways of seeing oneself as part of and enriching understandings of the nation.

Metaphor and its Workings

For cultivating a habit of mind that benefits fully from history's possibilities, metaphors should be understood as conceptual tools (i.e. tools of the mind). Individuals think metaphorically when reflecting on and making sense of life occurrences (Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Cook-Sather 2006). Metaphors help give meaning to general or abstract ideas that individuals use for going about their daily affairs and offer a frame of reference for signifying their experiences and sense of insertion in time (Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Cook-Sather 2006). Orientations for agency result from meanings inferred from the metaphors that they use and that are based on everyday experiences. Of interest here, under the right circumstances, metaphors can help organize and better grasp new ideas and ways of thinking and seeing the world (Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Badley and Van Brummelen 2012). They can enable individuals to understand abstract and difficult life concepts, such as history, and to develop their own voice and vision in this regard (Lakoff and Johnson 2003). The educational properties of metaphors thus become clear, pointing to their potential exploitation for purposes of impacting (and altering) how learners construct knowledge and act consequentially.

In concrete terms, metaphors bring two wholly separate semantic spaces or spaces of meaning together, which permits creating a coherent understanding of an abstract idea or notion (Cook-Sather 2006). New meaning is made through the interaction of the concepts that are brought into the equation (Cook-Sather 2006). At its core, metaphor works following a principle of inference where understanding and experiencing one form of a given life concept or semantic space is done through understanding and experiencing that of another. In this process, both concepts do not necessarily need to be related to each other and can possess different meanings. The perceptual structures that emerge from one concept, such as the *treasure chest*, however, lead to reflecting and concluding on the workings of the other, such as *history* (Lakoff and Johnson 2003). In uniting and relating at least two different domains of knowing and acting, metaphors not only provide new understandings of the target domain, but also of both terms as a result (Lakoff and Johnson 2003; Cook-Sather 2006).

Metaphor as an Educational Tool

One central value of metaphor is its capacity to function as an important educational tool for questioning pre-given notions of knowing and acting and for re-thinking them to the ends of imagining new tomorrows (Cook-Sather 2006; Martinez *et al.* 2001; Badley and Van Brummelen 2012). Metaphors work to enhance, refine, clarify, and even alter understanding. They lend to effectuating (positive) change at a conceptual and even a concrete life level. Through fostering imaginative and visual depictions, concepts that are challenging, hard, abstract, problematic, and even novel can come to be understood.

The wonders of metaphor for teachers and for history teaching are thus manifold as they are very powerful and encompassing. In coming up with metaphors to picture their future teaching responsibilities and practices, teachers can acquire visual representations that could help clarify complex phenomena related to their professional work and development (Bullough and Stokes 1994; Martinez *et al.* 2001; Badley and Van Brummelen 2012). A sense of their professional ideals and mandates, self-worth, identity, and agency can be fostered, as can firmer understandings of social reality and the subject matter they will be teaching. Of significance, these same competencies can be transferred to their students, particularly when employing metaphor to illuminate the workings of history and its impact on negotiations of positionality. It is, however, in viewing education as a transformative life experience that metaphors can clarify the functioning of various educational and pedagogical processes and can lend to opening up possibilities of change. Metaphors can specifically help raise teachers' and students' consciousness and lead them to activate and articulate their notions of right and wrong when making important pedagogical or life decisions, each depending on the context the metaphor is used for, by whom, and to what ends. Metaphors can help users question, unmask, and rethink what is already known or taken for granted or reified, thereby dislodging or complicating personal and social preconceived notions and means of knowing and doing (Cook-Sather 2006; Martinez *et al.* 2001; Badley and Van Brummelen 2012).

History for Opening up Possibilities of Change

To visualize its usefulness for opening up possibilities of change, an understanding of history within a historical consciousness mindset is required, particularly through the lens of the "genetic ideal-type tendency" of historical sense making, inspired by the ideas of Jörn Rüsen (2005), which is what the "History is a Treasure Chest" is all about. To clarify, historical consciousness constitutes an individual's capacity to employ understandings of the past – both content matter and the interpretive filters used to make sense of the past – for making necessary moral decisions to guide oneself in given social relationships (Rüsen 2005). In following this logic, history specifically pertains to human quests for living life (Rüsen 2005; Zanazanian 2010, 2012). As a process of ordering time's (absurd) flow and one's insertion in it in a meaningful and sense-bearing way, history amounts to human configurations of temporal change that serve to make sense of individual and collective pasts, presents, and futures, and that lend to determining understandings of identity and agency in the larger scheme of things. For purposes of giving meaning to reality and living life, history provides guidance for knowing and doing in time, enabling sense-making of who one is, where one fits, how one should act, and what one's destiny should be (in light of the past).

In following Rüsen (2005), four interrelated criteria underlie a genetic approach to appreciating the usefulness of history when negotiating one's knowing and acting in social reality.[4] These include recognizing that human life is complex, that human forms of thought are located and change in time, and that time itself is variable. It also involves possessing a recurring need to improve meanings given to the past. In espousing such a habit of mind, individuals may come to acknowledge that one's moral obligations to the past not only vary according to time, space, and context, and thus can be constantly adjusted, but also require sincere openness to differing viewpoints if a more complete vision of reality is to be attained. In this vein, I posit that social actors who continuously tend to demonstrate a "genetic-type" outlook when regularly engaging with the past would be greatly prone to considering diverging viewpoints, realities, and experiences when developing one's own historical perspectives. In garnering a reflex to always seek fuller understandings of the past, they may come to free themselves from visions developed by those in positions of power and influence and may open up new ways for narrating the past and apprehending social reality.

The genetic ideal-type tendency's transformational virtues offer great opportunities for exercising one's historical imagination, fostering attitudes of openness to differing perspectives, and consequently seeking fuller comprehensions of what once was (Zanazanian 2010, 2012). If teachers were to develop an inquisitive habit of mind when looking to the past, their chances of unpacking and moving beyond imposed pre-given means of knowing and doing would increase. They would be well-prepared to understand the processes involved in historical meaning-making especially when they come to see that they themselves negotiate such understandings through their own means of knowing and doing. By recognizing the value of seeking fuller understandings of past reality and of grasping the underlying politics and workings of history, they could effectively consider alternative possibilities for narrating the past and for articulating its relevance for constructing and living in social reality. Power relations involved in the manipulation of pre-given historical realities by those in positions of influence would be grasped, as would the interpretive filters used for reading these realities, and the underlying workings of history as a form of knowledge. Equipped with this information and used as deemed necessary, teachers would either consciously promote already established narratives or eventually even recite new ones that re-visualize the relevance of history according to both the complexity involved in such processes and their updated ethical considerations. It is within a genetic mindset when engaging with history that teachers would be able to problematize and deconstruct as well as consciously adapt, change, and transform purposes, understandings, and meaning-making processes of metaphors. They would also continuously seek new opportunities and wider horizons for giving meaning to complex reality and for opening up to the other, unless they refuse to do so for practical, ethical, and political reasons.

History is a Treasure Chest: Epistemological Considerations

At an epistemological level, I am creating a metaphor to be inserted into the language teachers use everyday and that will help them gain a better understanding of the relevance of history for engaging with the world and for opening up possibilities of change. I visualize history as a "treasure chest" to illustrate its processes and potentials for living life. As an open-ended metaphor, the notion of treasure chest presents users with a relatable point of departure for appreciating history's wonders and for particularly reflecting on their sense of right or wrong when engaging with the past for defining their sense of knowing and acting and for solving life problems of a historical nature. Metaphor here lends to encouraging critical thought and promoting a transformation of pre-conceived notions regarding the workings of social reality to the ends of improving the quality of future life.

The "History is a Treasure Chest" metaphor's intended aim is twofold: first, for teachers to acknowledge their embeddedness in reality as moral and historical actors who, inserted in time and in employing personal ideas of right or wrong for signifying existence and guiding their lives, contribute to the making of history; and, second, for individuals to consequently appreciate the impact that their actions can have, no matter the extent, on changing the course of daily, national, and world events. While not seeking to impose any particular means of engagement, but rather to create an open and secure space for questioning, contesting, complicating, and transforming their practices and those of others (learners, peers, fellow citizens), the "History is a Treasure Chest" metaphor emphasizes the ethical, political, or practical implications of interacting with the historical past. It is through taking the different options that exist for knowing and acting into account that important moments of dialogue and exchange may arise.

In this mindset, I believe that the more teachers grasp the workings of history and its potential for re-thinking the world, the more they may be capable of benefitting from its various opportunities for bettering current conditions. The aim would be for teachers to autonomously imagine and construct personal perspectives of the uses and practicality of history in critical, conscientious, and well-reasoned ways. As a result, they may be able to justify the implications behind their choices and may come to appreciate the socio-political consequences of complicating and problematizing their historical understandings and uses of the past. They may moreover be able to defend their reasons for adapting elements of these understandings to changing social, political, educational, and pedagogical circumstances.

In bringing these intentions together with metaphor's transformative potentials, the underlying practicality of "History is a Treasure Chest" emerges. This metaphor particularly permits examining the workings and processes of metaphor when using it to construct and act in reality, and especially so at a pedagogical level. Because of its open-endedness, it offers teachers the opportunity to problematize, deconstruct, and build upon its very purpose, upon the many understandings that can be inferred from it, and upon the very processes of users' engagement with it for creating meaning. By sharing these objectives with teachers, the treasure chest metaphor aims to: facilitate abstract thinking and the understanding of complex notions; ensure that teachers are engaged enough to be motivated and encouraged to use it; and offer a starting point for critical analysis of its impact on their sense of professional identity and agency as well as of its formulation and knowledge claims (for a better understanding of the workings of history for living life). In recognizing the treasure chest as a metaphor that possesses many metaphorical meanings and opportunities, its impact will have the potential to keep open spaces of imagination and their consequent actions (Cook-Sather 2006).

How History is a Treasure Chest: Functional Workings

In creating the "History is a Treasure Chest" metaphor, I am building upon the logic of history constituting a storehouse of wealth of information and know-how that when exploited can permit grasping history's potential for possibilities of change. So much that has happened in the past can help contextualize and assess present realities and conditions as well as permit negotiating informed decisions for guiding actions and practice. This is what brings the metaphor to life and provides it as a source of inspiration and personal agency.

To illustrate its functionality, it would suffice to imagine popular/cultural understandings of treasure chests. Embodying such a constitution, history can be perceived as something that is discovered either intentionally or unintentionally, and that is full of great and not-so-great surprises. Metaphorically, history can offer us beautiful and not-so-beautiful items, or even the strangest things that we never even thought of ever finding. We could be in awe of history and inspired by it to dream, act, create, and transform. The treasures within the history chest can make us creative, humane, generous, and greedy. They can make us behave in detrimental or amoral ways. They can drive us crazy or make us drunk with envy. If used wisely, history, just as treasures within a chest, can help us attain our goals. If used foolishly, it could only lead us into disarray. In some instances, it can lead to question what we value and why. In others, it can lead us to imagine how all this wealth was used in the past, present, and future. Or it can help us imagine what we want and can do tomorrow with or without this wealth.

In transitioning from such metaphorical connections to concrete historiographical and methodological ones, history understood through the wonders of treasure chests can increase our chances of grasping historical content knowledge, skills, mindsets, images, symbols, ideas, ideals, and stories, including important dates, events, knowledge on historical actors, notions of territorial as well as environmental change, and citizenship ideals. The list is endless, which in and of itself is the main underlying intention of the metaphor. Conceived as a treasure chest, I believe history is prone to empowering individuals to either improve or impede the fulfillment of personal and professional life ambitions, while helping them to account for political, ethical, and practical considerations when constructing and acting in social reality.

Relevance of the History is a Treasure Chest Metaphor for Teachers

The treasure chest metaphor is designed to stir teachers' curiosity and imagination, and to make them feel comfortable with the idea of doing history and to see it as a relatable subject. As a general result, the metaphor aims to motivate teachers to tackle and learn the many different facets of history and to make these relevant for them throughout their lives. In raising awareness and understanding of the workings of history and their concrete interactions with it, the metaphor can inform teachers' sense of personal and professional identity and agency, their grasp of historical content-knowledge and methodology, and their pedagogical practices for teaching the subject matter to students. It moreover contributes to comprehending the uses of history for articulating, practicing, and promoting civic mindfulness.

Some Final Thoughts: Implications for the Teaching of History and Anglo Quebec

Having theorized the underlying logic and the practical functions of my metaphor, I will end with some final thoughts on how it should be employed for strengthening Anglo Quebec vitality and better integrating its youth into larger society. In its capacity to assist Anglophones with their regeneration as an autonomous, distinct, and contributing community in Quebec, the availability of the treasure chest metaphor pertains to its significance in enabling history teachers to shape a sense of identity, belonging, and accepted inclusion among English-speaking youth in the province. With a national history program that offers them a limited understanding of the realities and experiences of their diverse communities, students face a particularly challenging task in attaining these end goals. Portrayed in binary and simplistic terms, the national history program requires that English-speaking educators and students cultivate a particular mindset to appropriate the past differently and to imagine and strive for possible tomorrows.

Three basic requirements will permit them to do so. First, similar to many history teachers in other societal contexts, English-speaking educators would need help to appropriate the epistemological, methodological, political, and life workings of history in order to expand their interaction with the past in informed and well-reasoned ways. Second, in appreciating history as a rich source of information and inspiration, they would also need to comprehend the necessity of always seeking fuller understandings of the past, especially because the ones that are offered to them are always limited perspectives or reified ideological manipulations of complex social realities at best. Third, in recognizing their existence in the larger scheme of things as moral and historical actors who in and of themselves, and like other humans on this planet, are inserted in and confined to biological lifespans, they would come to understand that they too do contribute to the makings of history in their own way and, as such, are legitimate inheritors of time who are entitled to worthwhile futures. They would thus come to not feel guilty for adapting pre-given means of knowing and acting according to current needs and standards. In realizing that they, just as others, are entitled to possessing their own historical viewpoints and on how these pertain to living life, they would hopefully come to also respect the importance of being able to justify their historical positions in well thought out ways that are always open to change in order to keep up with evolving times.

In following these requirements, the treasure chest metaphor constitutes a springboard that facilitates the mandated task of teachers to introduce students to the relevance of history, its content knowledge, and the main dimensions of its disciplinary workings. By grasping the different uses of history, Quebec students would increase their understanding of the weight of the limited master narrative offered to them. They would come to respect the main markers of the Francophone majority's collective memory, and realize that such an identity storyline cannot be easily altered or removed overnight, and nor that it should be. They would come to realize that this generalized master narrative is but one means that a given historical community in one point in time has slowly developed to the ends of preserving a sense of coherency and connectedness in light of perceived threats to their existence as a group. They would come to understand the logics of history and how it has further created generalized notions of the "Anglophone other." They would come to grasp that such historical understandings usually develop lives of their own and persist in time despite the changing realities of socio-political dynamics on the ground and new historiographical accounts and interpretations of past realities. And they would recognize that the transformation of the master narrative to make it more inclusive of Anglophones (or other minority groups) constitutes a politically sensitive issue. In following this logic, the relevance and value of my metaphor emerges. Not only can it help complement Quebec's master narrative and, if used properly, lend to putting it into socio-historical and political context, but it could also assist students in coming to appreciate that they too are entitled to give meaning to the historical adventures of their own various communities, including their many experiences and contributions. In further acknowledging the intricacies involved in developing well-researched and reasoned accounts of the past, students would realize the limits of their endeavours and understand the necessity of seeking fuller comprehensions of the past, thereby paying attention to and analyzing differing viewpoints. In helping students to attain such understandings, the treasure chest metaphor aims to empower teachers in their quest for fostering a sense of self-worth and self-confidence among their students to be different, to seek different perspectives on their community's past, and to develop a commitment to regenerating their group's vitality, while also reaching out to others and accepting their experiences.

Finally, in terms of *rapprochement* with Francophones, the treasure chest metaphor can serve to promote intergroup dialogue and mutual comprehension. If Francophone teachers were to also appropriate the use of this metaphor, the chances of overcoming group differences would in all probability increase because they too would discover more of history's life workings and come to appreciate their capacity to criticize and adapt pre-conceived notions of knowing and doing to current changing intergroup realities. They may moreover come to want to better attain a fuller picture of the story of their nation, and may thereby come to appreciate Anglo Quebec's presence and contributions. In such a process of reciprocity, English-speakers may come to feel like a respected and welcomed minority, while Francophones may become motivated to be inclusive of the latter in their imagined conceptions of the collective "We." Despite all sorts of impediments, the appropriation of the metaphor as a reflex or mentality for doing history would surely lend to enabling Francophone students to see that Quebec Anglophones do not constitute an imminent threat to their sense of national security and regeneration. And, in turn, it may also help Anglophones to not feel guilty for being different or for being the inherited descendants of the "ones who conquered."

While relevant to different contexts for history teachers of all levels of schooling, it is important that the treasure chest metaphor be employed to the ends of investigating into how the many uses of history can be clarified, criticized, adapted, and mobilized for making sense of and acting in reality and for particularly promoting knowledge of historical content and methodology. Teachers could use it not only to discover what students know and ignite their curiosity, imagination, and appreciation of history, but also to develop a common itinerary for broaching the many historical themes and ideas that they will be touching upon in the upcoming year. In serving as a good start for discussing the "why history question" and for introducing the historical method along with the various dimensions of historical thinking, the metaphor can open up spaces of communication, questioning, and self-reflection. It can also help initiate a conversation between students and teachers for discussing issues of one's place and role in society and in even the world at large. Through grasping and re-imagining the possible influences of history on students' negotiations of civic engagement, new prospects for change could thus potentially be opened up. Anglo Quebec's vitality could be strengthened and bridges with Francophone Quebec could be built. While providing a clear understanding of the uses and benefits of history as well as a sense of empowerment and a strong voice to those who may find that their communities' contributions have been largely ignored, it can furthermore instigate feelings of generosity and pride, particularly among French-speakers, leading them to want to share their common space they like to call home.

ENDNOTES

1 For my purposes here, “English-speaker,” “Anglophone,” and “Anglo-Québécois” refer to Quebec citizens who self-identify as such, including those of either French or English descent and those who identify with both Anglophone and Francophone communities (Quebec Community Groups Network, 2009, p.8). Such an understanding goes beyond referring to Québécois of British heritage or others assimilated by this group and makes room for Anglo Quebec’s growing ethno-cultural and religious diversity as well as for its increasing embrace of bilingualism. In turn, I view “French-speaking,” “Francophone,” and “Franco-Québécois” as denoting Quebec citizens of French-Canadian descent. While these understandings do not fully cover the rich cultural diversity of both language communities, they nonetheless generally reflect what is understood as “Anglophone” or “Francophone” for most people living in the province.

2 In 1998, Quebec’s education system was restructured along ethno-linguistic lines between the province’s historic Francophone and Anglophone communities. Since the British North America Act of 1867, which established Canada’s current constitutional foundations, Quebec’s school boards were separated according to confessional allegiances, with Roman Catholic school boards catering largely to the province’s French-speaking group and Protestant ones to its increasingly diverse English-speaking communities. It was with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s that the provincial government centralized its control over education and developed a common province-wide school curriculum, one that was destined for both its French and English language communities. Prior to that period, two different historical narratives were transmitted to Francophone and Anglophone students, both greatly reflecting the collective memories of each group. In general, Francophones were taught *la survivance* or the preservation of their French heritage and Catholic religion with its accompanying morals and values, while Anglophones were taught the redemptory magnificence and virtues of the British Empire. With the creation of a common provincial curriculum, a common national history program was developed for all members of Quebec society, including English-speakers, irrespective of the education system’s confessional separation that was already in place.

3 In the 1960s, prior to the restructuring of the power balance with the province’s numeric Anglophone minority, Francophones constituted a weak or subordinate majority in Quebec in terms of demography and strength. With the changes of the Quiet Revolution, which ushered in a period of great socio-political change and a process of modernization and secularization that brought with it institutional transformations and the creation of

a Francophone national welfare state, French-speakers eventually constituted the core of the new Québécois nation and their sociological standing increasingly transformed into that of a more dominant majority – which today can be understood as a fragile one given the predominance of English in North America. In contrast, English-speakers' status in Quebec gradually shifted as well from part of an Anglo-Canadian majority to that of a provincial linguistic minority. In this process, the Anglo-Québécois, a formerly dominant minority that is increasingly heterogeneous in its ethnic make-up and that still possesses some economic clout and institutional completeness, has come to be caught up in a sort of identity politics with Quebec Francophones, where both groups still compete with each other over their respective regeneration and linguistic reproduction. Both groups seem to be held hostage to the other's yearning for self-fulfillment, but are also deeply bound to the contours of their own understandings of the potential hindrances that the Other presents to the Self. Each seems to believe that the solution lies with the other's willingness to make concessions. Adapting to their ever-growing minority status, Anglophones are still coping with all the decried losses and fears that their change in dominance prompted and are now tackling obstacles to their vitality: their capacity to regenerate as an autonomous and distinct Quebec community.

4 The genetic ideal-type tendency emerges from one type of Rüsen's fourfold typology of how individuals interact with temporal change for knowing and acting in life. It touches upon the transformational virtue of history, and once interiorized as a mindset can help appreciate history as offering a plethora of opportunities for change. Influenced by Rüsen's definitions of each type, the present author's repertory of parallel and equal ideal-type tendencies of historical consciousness reconceptualises his typology. It offers four homogenized and accentuated ideational standards with which to compare how social actors interact with the past for knowing and acting in time, with the reality of the impact of their historical consciousness ultimately existing within the cracks between them (Rüsen, 2005; Zanazanian, 2010, 2012).

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AN INTRODUCTION TO ICE CIDER IN QUEBEC: A PRELIMINARY OVERVIEW

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Abstract

The development, production and promotion of Quebec ice cider is, as a subject of scholarly inquiry, a much underappreciated and undervalued topic. Quebec ice cider, at its very best, offers a truly world class experience: a golden-amber apple-based liquid, produced by either cryo-concentration or cryo-extraction methods, that can be on par with, and indeed surpass, the world's finest dessert wines. This article, drawn from the first comprehensive reference study undertaken on Quebec ice cider, briefly addresses the development of ice cider in Quebec, examines governmental regulations for the industry, identifies a broad range of actors associated with Quebec ice cider, and assesses the current state of the industry. The larger reference catalogue will include a definitive ice cider producer profile for all producers in Quebec, and an examination of marketing practices for Quebec ice cider.

Résumé

Le développement, la production et la promotion du cidre de glace québécois est un sujet de recherche scientifique sous-apprécié et sous-valorisé. À son meilleur, le cidre de glace québécois offre une expérience de dégustation qui se compare à ce qui se fait de mieux à l'échelle internationale. Breuvage de couleur ambrée créé à partir de pommes, produit par cryoconcentration ou cryoextraction, il se compare favorablement et peut même surpasser les meilleurs vins de dessert produits dans le monde. Cet article, tiré de la première recherche exhaustive sur le cidre de glace québécois, offre un survol du développement du cidre de glace au Québec, étudie la règlementation québécoise qui s'adresse à l'industrie, identifie une vaste gamme d'acteurs associés au cidre de glace québécois et évalue l'état de l'industrie. Le catalogue de référence inclura un profil complet de chacun des producteurs de cidre de glace au Québec et une étude des pratiques de commercialisation pour le cidre de glace du Québec.

*** The structure and focus of this essay was developed by Christopher Kirkey; research was jointly undertaken by Kirkey and Braden; the initial narrative of the essay was written by Braden, with further writing and overall editing by Kirkey. The structure and content of the forthcoming book volume, including the construction and template for ice cider producer files and listings, are designed by Kirkey; primary and secondary research for the reference catalogue, including interviews, are conducted by Kirkey and/or Braden; and, the written analysis will reflect the writing of both Kirkey and Braden.

Introduction

This essay, focused on ice cider producers and production in Quebec, is an initial report on a forthcoming book volume. To date, coverage of the development, production, and quality issues related to ice cider in Quebec have been the subject of episodic newspaper and magazine articles, and brief coverage in trade books. In addition, no complete listing of all ice cider producers exists. Finally and most crucially, there is no exhaustive profile of all Quebec ice cider producers. The ultimate purpose of this research project, conducted by scholars – not journalists or individuals in any way connected with the ice cider industry – is designed to produce the authoritative, detailed Quebec ice cider reference book.[1]

This contribution to the *Journal of Eastern Townships Studies* utilizes all currently available primary and secondary sources. In addition to referencing all published materials on the subject, intensive on-site interviews (more than fifty) were conducted from January-September 2014 with a variety of constituents across Quebec, most notably ice cider owners/producers. For the specific purposes of this research note, we now turn to address two preliminary tasks: a discussion of the development and production of ice cider in Quebec; and, a profile of the ice cider industry in Quebec.

The Development of Ice Cider in Quebec

Following a short-lived prohibition in 1919, alcohol was officially legalized in the province of Quebec in 1921. While this gave the state monopoly, *Commission des liqueurs de Québec*, the right to sell alcohol, alcoholic apple cider in the province was prohibited for another fifty years. It was not until 1970 that cider was officially legalized and became a leading product on the Quebec market.[2] In 1988, the first artisanal cider production permit was granted to the Demoy Family of Cidrerie du Minot in Hemmingford, Quebec. The ciderie was thus a leader for Quebec cider making, and their light, sparkling cider Crémant de pomme was also the first cider to be sold at the Société des alcools du Québec (SAQ).[3] Of the three major and distinct cider categories, i.e., still cider, sparkling cider and ice cider, the focus of this research project is standard ice cider, or *cidre de glace* in French. Being first produced in the early 1990s, ice cider is a high-end product made almost exclusively in Quebec due to the province's cold winter climate where temperatures have the potential to drop well below zero, and the large abundance of quality apples.[4]

Inspired by ice wine, this decidedly sweet and sugary product is a Quebec invented dessert or aperitif beverage that has an alcohol content of between 7 and 13 percent and uses the frozen, fermented juice of apples to create its unique and signature taste. Quebec's naturally cold winter months increase the concentration of sugars and flavor within the apple, permitting a fermentation process to take place. The two methods that producers utilize in the making of this product is cryo-concentration and cryo-extraction (to be discussed later in this paper), and most often use McIntosh, Cortland, Empire and Spartan as the fundamental apple varietals in their ice cider blends.[5]

It is also important to identify the two types of licenses that are given to ice cider distributors. The first is artisanal, which permits the producer to sell at his/her place of production, the SAQ, and if the product meets eligibility criteria, at public markets, events and fairs, restaurants, hotels and for export. According to the Cidriculteurs artisans du Québec or CAQ (Artisan Cider Producers of Quebec), an artisan is "a recognized agricultural grower, the apples must be harvested from the permit holder's farmed land, has a minimum of one hectare of bearing apples and all production stages must take place on site at the ciderie facility." The second is an industrial license, which allows the producer to sell at the SAQ as well as grocery stores that sell products containing less than 7% of alcohol,[6] at farmers' markets and fairs, restaurants, hotels and for export. The industrial producer "follows pre-determined conditions applied by the Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux du Québec or RACJ (Quebec Alcohol, Racing and Gaming Board), at least 50% of its apples must come from the producer's own harvest, and contact pressing of the apples is allowed but the product must undergo a complete traceability process from raw materials to finished product."[7]

Although ice cider has become Quebec's signature creation, it is still seen as a relatively new product on the market with a young and captivating history. Although many pioneers began experimenting with ice cider in the late 1980s and early 1990s, ice cider was first developed by winemaker Christian Barthomeuf in the winter of 1989 in the town of Dunham, Quebec, just north of the Quebec-Vermont border, on a small vineyard named *Le Domaine des Côtes d'Ardoise*. Generally recognized and acknowledged as the "father of ice cider," Barthomeuf originally migrated from the small village of Cantal, France to Canada in the 1970s. He became one of the first makers of ice wine in Quebec and was thus a pioneer of Quebec's small wine industry during the 1980s.[8] Barthomeuf decided one day to pursue the idea of using the frozen juice of apples in place of grapes to create a new, unique product; it was at this point in time that Quebec ice cider was born.

Barthomeuf first selected Cortland, Empire, McIntosh and Spartan apples from his neighbor's orchard as the ones he would use to create his ice cider. Originally utilizing both methods of production (cyro-concentration and cyro-extraction), Barthomeuf decided that he favored cryo-extraction and continued to use this approach in the production of his ice cider. "I used cryo-extraction and cryo-concentration, both of them," notes Barthomeuf. "I froze the apples in the barn and froze the juice outside. And the juice outdoors was nice, but I preferred the outdoor apples."[9] In 1990, the cider maker continued by producing five separate varieties, again using Empire, McIntosh, Cortland and Spartan. The first bottling was done that year under the label *Pomelière*. Regulation authorities refused to use the name "ice cider," fearing the name would be confused with other cider-based products. Barthomeuf continued to produce his own ice cider over the next several years until collaborating with two other cideries, La Face Cachée de la Pomme from 1992 to 1996, and Domaine Pinnacle from 1996 to 2008. In 2002, Barthomeuf purchased his own orchard named Clos Saragnat in Frelighsburg, Quebec, where he currently produces his own line of ice cider products, *L'Original* and *Avalanche*. In 2007 Barthomeuf was presented an award by the Fundacion de la Sidra and Museo de la Sidra from Spain for his creation of ice cider.[10]

Barthomeuf worked alongside La Face Cachée de la Pomme owner, previous film and music video producer, François Pouliot for several years during the early 1990s, showing him the processes and steps for making ice cider. Pouliot describes Barthomeuf as highly innovative, a friend and mentor throughout his early years of producing ice cider. "He learned everything by himself," says Pouliot. "That's Christian. He's a really creative person, he's an, *autodidacte;* he's a real artist." After seeing, tasting and envisioning a fruitful future with the exceptional and unique product, Pouliot abandoned his plans to produce ice wine in Quebec. From 1994 to 1998 the ice cider producer brought his product to Parisian restaurants overseas and shared it with friends and colleagues until securing a permit to sell it in Quebec at weekend markets in 1997.[11]

By this time, other apple orchards throughout Quebec slowly began to develop and experiment with the production of ice cider. Fellow pioneers included Pierre Lafond and Patricia Daigneault of Cidrerie St-Nicolas in St-Nicolas, Quebec, who began researching ice cider in 1994 after studying ice wine techniques that were being conducted in Germany. Their first commercialized ice cider was produced in 1999.[12] After seeing the steady expansion of the ice cider industry throughout the province, Pouliot dedicated his time to producing ice cider and opened La Face Cachée de la Pomme in Hemmingford, Quebec. The orchard has become one of the leading producers of ice cider in Quebec, and exports its *Neige* ice cider products to various countries around the world. “Today we sell in some twenty odd countries and have twenty-two employees,” says Pouliot. “It is the most sold ice cider in Quebec.”[13] In 2007, La Face Cachée de la Pomme also received an award from the Fundacion de la Sidra in Spain for contributing to the development of ice cider and for introducing it to Quebec’s marketplace.[14]

One of the largest producers of ice cider in Quebec, Domaine Pinnacle was also among the first cideries to begin producing ice cider in Quebec. The Frelighsburgh orchard was bought in 2000 by Charles Crawford, who among others saw the local and international potential of the product. Before buying the property, Crawford knew he would focus the orchard’s attention on the production of ice cider.[15] With the assistance of Christian Barthomeuf, Domaine Pinnacle bottled its first ice cider in 2000 and began producing ice cider on a large scale; their product was found in SAQs throughout Quebec by 2002.[16] According to Crawford, Domaine Pinnacle has helped build the ice cider industry while also marketing the category as well as the brand. He also maintains that the emergence of ice cider has improved the economy and industry in Quebec.[17] Domaine Pinnacle has received universal recognition, distributes its ice cider products to more than 60 countries worldwide, and has received over 100 medals from international contests since its first bottling in 2000.[18]

Although Christian Barthomeuf first created ice cider in the year 1989, it was not until July 1998 that ice cider was officially acknowledged as the product it is today. Between 1995 and 1998, Lafond and Daigneault of La Cidrerie St-Nicholas conducted technical testing of their own ice cider, supervised by the National Research Council of Canada, the Research Branch of the Ministry of Agriculture and Université Laval. Following the results of these tests, La Cidrerie St-Nicholas was the first producer to be granted an ice cider designation by the RACJ and SAQ. The trademark “Cidre de glace” therefore first appeared with their 1998 vintage bottled in 1999.[19] Lafond’s original production method solely involved using frozen apples, but it was soon widely accepted to use frozen juice in the product’s preparation as well. After this official recognition of ice cider in 1999, the product gained world-wide recognition as a unique and superior beverage; it is currently sold at premium prices and is produced at cideries throughout Quebec and also in some northern regions of the eastern United States.[20] The emergence of ice cider has also influenced applebreeding programs to create apples that possess the rare quality of staying on the trees in the winter for the purpose of crafting ice cider via the cryo-extraction method.[21] According to the CAQ, a reserved designation of “Ice Cider of Québec” will be coming soon, to establish the beverage as a Quebec made and signature product.[22]

The Production of Ice Cider

In terms of production techniques, there are two methods utilized for making ice cider. Although many cideries including Cidrerie Cryo, Château de Cartes, La Face Cachée de la Pomme, Les Vergers Lafrance and Union Libre utilize both methods of production, the first and most commonly used method is called cryo-concentration or “cold-freeze concentration;” this method makes up 95 percent of all ice cider production in Quebec. With cryo-concentration, ripe apples are picked in the autumn months and then placed in cold storage until December or January.[23] Once the outdoor temperatures become cold enough (around -15 degrees Celsius or 5 degrees Fahrenheit), the fruit is pressed and the juice is placed outside in large plastic containers in order to freeze. Upon freezing, the water in the juice will move to the top while the more concentrated and sugary liquid (the “must”) will sink to the bottom of the container. The bottom 20 or 25 percent is then taken and fermented at low temperatures for about six to eight months. This process creates a liquid with a high sugar concentration and high concentrations of malic acid, an acid that balances out the finished product.[24]

The second technique called cryo-extraction or “cold-press extraction,” makes up only 5 percent of all ice cider production in Quebec.[25] Although the majority of ice cider producers utilize the cryo-concentration method, cryo-extraction is used by some including Christian Barthomeuf at Clos Saragnat, Robert McKeown at Cidrerie Leduc-Piedimonte and Emmanuel Maniadakis at Verger Biologique Maniadakis. With this method, producers purposely opt to leave the apples on the trees throughout the autumn months in order to allow the apples to “freeze;” the apples are then hand harvested once temperatures have reached several consecutive days between -6 to -12 degree Celsius.[26] The apples, while physically attached to the tree, undergo a distinct, immediately recognizable physiological transformation – with the fruit dehydrating in the sun and the sugars naturally concentrating. In short, the apple becomes “cooked.”[27] Once picked, these frozen, shriveled apples are pressed for several hours until all the juice is squeezed from them. The syrupy, high sugar concentrated juice that is squeezed from the apples is then placed into fermentation tanks to undergo about a year of fermentation.[28] Another and more common way that the cryo-extraction method is conducted is to harvest the apples during the autumn months, place them in cold storage until outdoor temperatures reach freezing, and then place the apples in bins outside to freeze.[29] Upon using this method, the ice cider often tastes more complex and aromatic, which has led to the designations of "reserve," "cuvee" or "special" vintage, by some producers.

Cryo-extraction is used less frequently in comparison to cryo-concentration because it is more difficult, more expensive and involves significantly more risk (e.g., weather conditions, pest and disease issues). This method is dependent on the identification and cultivation of apples that will actually remain on the trees throughout the autumn and early winter months; freezing temperatures must arrive before the apples have had time to ripen in order for them to remain on the trees.[30] This method also relies solely on the weather and is consequently uncontrolled and unpredictable: some seasons may not provide the proper conditions to produce a crop that can be used to make ice cider. Also, it is not possible when utilizing this method to initially "control the sugar concentration of the juice;" under these circumstances, further steps must be taken to concentrate the juice, or the existing juice is simply fermented in its natural state (under which circumstances, it cannot be used as ice cider).[31] With cryo-concentration as opposed to cryo-extraction, the producer has more control over, and typically greater direct engagement in the process of making his or her ice cider.

2008 Government Regulations

Beginning in 2008, the Quebec government set forth regulations in an effort to standardize and regulate the processes of making ice cider, as well as protect the ice cider name and product from lower-quality imitations.[32] The Quebec legislature passed the *Règlement sur le cidre et les autres boissons alcooliques à base de pommes (*Regulation respecting cider and other apple-based alcoholic beverages) in December 2008 which details the rules and regulations for the production of various ciders in Quebec. In terms of ice cider, it has provided the following definition:

> Ice Cider, cider obtained by the fermentation of juice of apples that has a pre-fermentation sugar content of not less than 30º Brix achieved solely by natural cold, producing a finished product with a residual sugar content of not less than 130 grams per liter and an actual alcoholic strength of more than 7% by volume but not more than 13% by volume (Règlement sur le cidre et les autres boissons alcooliques à base de pommes).[33]

The legislation also prohibited the use of artificial freezing, artificial flavorings or colorings, placed a ban on the adding of alcohol or sugar and identified the conditions of bottling and label making. In 2012, the Quebec government revised the regulations, mandating that commercially distributing ice cider producers in the province follow these regulations. The restrictions are listed as the following:

1. No capitalization.
2. No added alcohol.
3. During the production of the ice cider, the use of artificial cooling is only permitted for purposes of malic precipitation and only if the temperature is not lower than -4°C.
4. No artificial flavors or colors.
5. Ice cider producers must cultivate the apples required for the production of this alcoholic drink. However, holders of a manufacturer's license can produce ice cider using a maximum of 50% of apples that they did not grow.
6. Ice cider can be infused artificially with carbon dioxide provided that the volume of dissolved carbon dioxide per volume of finished product is 1.5 to 2.5 or 3.5 to 5.5.
7. The present regulation came into effect on December 4, 2008.[34]

Associations/Government Departments/Agencies

Within the ice cider industry, there are several associations, government departments and agencies that assist in the regulation and promotion of ice cider to consumers and wholesalers as well as in the protection of producer interests. These associations include:

- **Le Cidriculteurs artisans du Québec (The Artisans Cider Producers of Québec or CAQ):** Formed in 1992, this association seeks to promote cider producers' common interests, develops and promotes Quebec ciders, and fosters activities that achieve the common goals of its cider producers. It consists of 48 volunteer members, a management board of 7 members selected annually, and one employee. To be considered an artisan cider producer, one must be an agricultural producer, must produce cider from apples growing and harvested from one's own orchard(s), and must produce ice cider onsite. The associate is currently comprised of 46 artisanal cideries and represents 76 percent of all permit-holding artisanal cideries in Quebec.[35]
- **L'association des producteurs de cidre de glace du Québec (Association of Ice Cider Producers of Quebec or APCG):** created in June 2010 and affiliated with the CTAC (Conseil de la transformation agroalimentaire et des produits de consommation), this association is composed of members from the category "Transformer" whose

president sits on the Board of Directors of the CTAC. It combines three major producers: La Face Cachée de la Pomme, Clos Saragnat and Domaine Pinnacle, whose products make up 75 percent of ice cider production and 90 percent of ice cider exportations.[36] Its members meet to ensure effective representation of ice cider in the SAQ.[37]

- **Conseil des appellations réservées et des termes valorisants (Reserved Designations and Added-Value Board or CARTV):** created by the Quebec government in 2006, this council seeks to protect the authenticity of products and terms used to describe and promote them through product certifications.[38] The CARTV is also working to finalize the specifications of the term "Quebec Ice Cider" in order to obtain a protected geographical indication for ice cider.[39]
- **La Fédération des producteurs de pommes du Québec (Federation of Quebec Apple Producers or FPPQ):** this federation sends to all artisanal cider producers an annual joint plan and declaration of production for each commercial season. These declarations allow the CAQ to carry out its mission of promoting the collective interests of cider producers and develop and promote artisanal cider throughout Quebec.[40]
- **Le ministère de l'Agriculture, des Pêcheries et de l'Alimentation du Québec (Quebec Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food or MAPAQ):** this government department operates programs focusing on animal and vegetable production, fishing and commercial aquaculture, food processing and distribution and storage and retail.[41] It manages the support program related to the artisanal alcoholic drink sector,[42] generally promotes ice cider, has aided in the adoption of a designation reserved for ice cider and has carried out the exploratory mission in Switzerland and France with a financial assistance program to support artisanal alcoholic beverages.[43]
- **Le ministère des Finances (Ministry of Finance):** this government department specifically aims "to foster economic development and advise the government on financial matters, while advising the Minister and the government in the budgetary, fiscal, economic, financial and accounting fields."[44] The ministry stipulates conditions for ice cider production, oversees regulation on ice cider and other alcoholic apple based products, has contributed to the designation of the product and also contributed to the carrying out of the exploratory mission in Switzerland and France for the development of this sector.[45]

- **La Régie des alcools, des courses et des jeux du Québec (Quebec Alcohol, Racing and Gaming Board or RACJ):** This government board issues the production permits to ice cider distributors and also provides access to the laws and regulations regarding the production and distribution of ice cider products.[46]
- **La Société des alcools du Québec (Quebec Alcohol Corporation or SAQ):** this government run corporation is responsible for and exercises provincial control over the distribution of alcoholic drinks in the province of Quebec.[47]
- **Union des producteurs agricoles (Agricultural Producers Union or UPA):** this union represents about 43,000 agricultural producers in Quebec. It acts as the official voice that speaks on behalf of all Quebec farmers.[48] The union has supported the different approaches made by the CAQ concerning cider regulations and the renewal of marketing directives on artisanal alcoholic beverages of the RACJ.[49]

Size of the Industry/Statistics

In Quebec today, there are some fifty-two cideries producing and selling ice cider.[50] Most of these producers are found in the Montérégie, and Estrie regions, while some are also located in the Laurentian, Outaouais and Quebec City regions, as far north as L'Isle-aux-Coudres. Although the Quebec cider market is still relatively new and very small in size, ice cider continues to become a recognized product on the Quebec market. Approximately 500,000 bottles are produced annually in the province, while the product leads sales in the cider category. In 2011 alone, ice cider sales at the SAQ were estimated at $6.7 million.[51] It was a leading cider product sold in Quebec in 2012, up 65 percent followed by sparkling cider at 25 percent and still cider at 10 percent.[52]

Markets worldwide have also begun to demonstrate a sustained interest in the product, as it is now exported to more than sixty countries in Europe, Asia and to the United States. Due to current regulations implemented by the SAQ and limited shelf space, smaller and family owned producers have found it difficult to get their products into the stores. They are therefore finding more success in international markets.

Future Research

The findings in this essay are specifically designed to support, and serve as an integral part, of our forthcoming book volume *Ice Cider in Quebec: A Reference Catalogue*. It is worth underscoring what this work *will not* focus on or engage in: the history of cider; other types of cider (e.g., still, sparkling); a numerical rating or detailed evaluative classification guide to individual products; an exercise in culinary matchmaking;

or, orchard management issues – i.e., ranging from planting trees, grafting, pruning, weed, pest and disease control, and the harvesting and storage of apples. Our reference book will instead feature the following sections: a discussion of the development and production of ice cider in Quebec; an overview of key factors associated with the quality of ice cider; a review and listing of the ice cider industry in Quebec; a comprehensive ice cider producer profile for all producers in Quebec; and an examination of marketing practices for Quebec ice cider.

ENDNOTES

1 Our forthcoming book (2015) is designed to be the most comprehensive examination yet conducted – in English or French – on Quebec ice cider. The study is concerned with producing the definitive catalog of all Quebec ice cider producers.

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27 Brown and Bradshaw, *World's best ciders: taste, tradition and terroir*, 214.

28 Robert Galbraith, “Christian Barthomeuf Ice Cider Pioneer in Quebec.”

29 Jolicoeur, *The new cider maker's handbook: a comprehensive guide for craft producers*, 281.

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MUNICIPAL POLITICAL REFORM IN QUEBEC: THE MYTH OF "POPULAR FINANCE"

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Abstract
This paper discusses the ongoing municipal political finance legislative reforms in Quebec. In light of recent political finance and corruption scandals at both the provincial and municipal levels, the province adopted more stringent rules which reduced the cap on political contributions, and the reforms currently being considered would compensate lost revenues with even more generous public subsidies. Similar reforms have also been implemented at the provincial level in the past few years, always with virtually no opposition. The rationale underlying those reforms is that smaller donations are more compatible with the ideal of "popular finance," according to which political parties should be financed by a large amount of relatively small donations so that no contribution has a significant impact in itself. This paper argues that these reforms are unlikely to bring us any closer to the ideal of "popular finance" since the issue with municipal political finance is not only the size of the contributions but also the very small number of contributors. To illustrate that point, financial reports from municipal and provincial parties are analysed. Less than 1% of voters contribute to municipal political parties or candidates, which challenges the idea that they are actually "popularly financed." I explain this low figure from the perspective of the theory of public goods and Olson's logic of collective action: while the mainstream discourse treats political finance as a private good, I argue that services offered by political parties are in fact public goods. As such, they are plagued by the same free-riding issues as any privately funded public good, which explains why so few voters make contributions. Sharp ideological division between candidates can help overcome the free-riding incentives but ideological divisions are very weak at the municipal level. The paper ends with a discussion of the challenges that the reforms face and suggests that a deeper policy paradigm shift may be necessary to solve the current problems.

Résumé

Cet article traite des réformes du financement politique municipal au Québec. À la lumière des récents scandales liés au financement politique et à la corruption tant au provincial qu'au municipal, la province a adopté des règles plus strictes qui réduisent le plafond des contributions politiques. Les réformes à l'étude compenseraient les pertes de revenus par des subventions publiques plus généreuses. Des réformes similaires avaient déjà été adoptées au provincial au cours des dernières années, presque toujours sans opposition. Ces réformes partent du principe que des dons plus petits sont plus compatibles avec l'idéal de « financement populaire » selon lequel les partis politiques devraient être financés par un grand nombre de dons relativement minimes afin qu'aucun don ne puisse avoir un impact important à lui seul. Cet article soutient qu'il est peu probable que ces réformes nous rapprochent de cet idéal, car le problème du financement politique municipal ne provient pas seulement de la grosseur des contributions mais aussi du très petit nombre de donateurs. Pour illustrer ce point, les rapports financiers des partis politiques municipaux et provinciaux sont analysés. Moins de 1 % des électeurs contribuent au financement de partis ou de candidats à l'échelle municipale, ce qui remet en question l'idée qu'ils soient réellement « financés par la population ». J'explique ce bas taux à partir de la perspective de la théorie des biens publics et la logique de l'action collective d'Olson : alors que le discours dominant traite de financement politique comme d'un bien privé, je soutiens que les services offerts par les partis politiques sont en fait des biens publics. À ce titre, ils sont confrontés aux mêmes enjeux d'opportunisme que tous les biens publics qui reçoivent du financement privé, ce qui explique pourquoi si peu de dons proviennent d'électeurs. Les profondes divisions idéologiques entre les candidats peuvent parfois surmonter ces projets opportunistes mais les divisions idéologiques sont très peu présentes à l'échelle municipale. L'article conclut par une discussion sur les défis de la réforme et suggère qu'un changement profond de paradigme est nécessaire pour résoudre les problèmes actuels.

I. Introduction

In 1973, three years before forming the province of Quebec's government for the first time, the Parti Québécois (PQ) released a television advertisement featuring the founder and then leader of the party, René Lévesque. In the minimalist one-minute segment, Lévesque stares at the camera and asks his supporters to contribute to the electoral fund of his party.

> With the Parti Québécois, as you know, it is the first time in North America that citizens are asked to provide for a political party. It does not grant us an astronomical budget such as those of our adversaries, but it allows us to retain our freedom, first as a party and, soon, we are

> confident, as a government – a government that will never have to make gifts to friends using public money because, for the first time in politics, its electoral fund will truly be a popular fund" (author's translation)[1].

A narrator then invites the viewers to donate to "the clean fund" (*la caisse propre*).

Lévesque's party won a majority in the 1976 election and quickly moved to regulate political funding at the provincial level. The regulation involved a complete ban on contributions by firms, labour unions and other moral entities, an annual limit on the amount citizens could contribute and public subsidies to political parties. While such measures are quite frequent in established liberal democracies today, they were revolutionary at the time, setting an international precedent (Bherer & Collin, 2009; 5). The spirit of the reform is greatly captured by Lévesque's quote: the goal was to create a system of popular political finance in which contributions from citizens complemented by financial help from the State would replace contributions from corporations and interests groups as the main source of income for political parties. The same principles guided the regulation of political funding at the municipal level, which were first implemented in 1978.

In recent years, however, a constant flow of scandals has revealed that the actual practices of political finance in Quebec in the last decade often deviated severely from the ideal of popular finance, when they were not outright corrupt. For instance, the Directeur général des élections du Québec (DGEQ), the independent organization in charge of the enforcement of the rules of party finance, announced in 2013 that an investigation it conducted found that between 2006 and 2011 the employees of 534 firms in specific sectors of activity (law, accountancy, engineering-consulting and construction) contributed to provincial and municipal parties in a manner which suggests that the contributions had been orchestrated at the firm level, something that is forbidden by provincial regulation (DGEQ, 2013A).

As a response to the many scandals surrounding political finance, regulations have been modified multiple times at both the provincial and municipal level since 2010. For the 2013 municipal elections (municipal elections in Quebec occur simultaneously in all municipalities every four years), the provincial government adopted a temporary regime which established a maximum amount of $300 that any individual voter could contribute to a municipal party or independent candidate, (it had previously been $1,000). In fall 2013, the PQ minority government presented Bill 53 to the National Assembly, which envisioned contributions limited to $100 annually (but $200 in electoral years). The bill died on the floor when the provincial general election was called in March 2014. As of November 2014, the new Liberal government has yet to announce its intentions on that matter. While the significant reduction of the contribution ceiling and the increase in state subsidies to parties and candidates which is being implemented to compensate for the lost income may seem like important modifications to the rules of political finance, this article argues that the core principles guiding the reforms are the same as those that inspired the legislators in the 1970s. Indeed, the reforms pursued since 2010 by both the Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ) and the PQ are still guided by the idea that political parties can and should be financed by "modest and diversified [contributions] to prevent elected officials from being controlled by financial power" (Bordeleau, 2003; 25; author's translation).

It appears that elected political officials are still fully committed to the ideal of popular finance: every piece of legislation on party finance since 2010 has, for example, been adopted by a unanimous vote in the National Assembly. Yet, when one takes a close look at how political finance actually operates at the municipal level, it is hard to conclude that municipal parties and independent candidates are funded by "modest and diversified" contributions. As this article demonstrates, municipal politics has so far been funded by a small amount of relatively important contributions and public subsidies. The current reforms fail to acknowledge that the problem is not only that some of the contributions are too large, but also that there are simply too few of them: ordinary citizens have little motivations to contribute financially to local politicians' electoral funds, and there is nothing in the recent reforms to change that fact. Accordingly, it might be time for Quebec to start reflecting on the possibility that the nature of local politics is not fit for the same regulatory framework that governs provincial party finance.

The balance of the article is divided into four sections. Section II will briefly summarize the history of the regulation of provincial and municipal political finance in Quebec, with an emphasis on how new provincial regulations were eventually applied to the municipal level with few modifications. Section III will examine reports from provincial and political parties and demonstrate that even in larger cities, where the political scene is more polarized than in smaller towns, the amount of voters who contribute to political parties is below the 1% mark. Section IV will look at the nature of local politics in the province and argue that the mostly administrative character attached to the work of city councils, coupled with the problems of collective action inherent to party finance in general, create little incentives to contribute, except for those who expect a specific kickback from the parties or candidates. Finally, Section V of this article will discuss whether the current reforms are an adequate answer to the problems described.

II. A Short History of the Regulation of the Sources of Political Funding in Quebec

Bordeleau (2003) produced a comprehensive historical review of the history of political finance regulation in Quebec. While political finance regulation covers many aspects such as the regulation of the sources of income, electoral expenses and transparency, the focus here will be on the sources of income since it is the most important aspect of the "popular finance" principle.

Bordeleau explains that while the first measures to regulate political finance at the provincial level were adopted as far back as 1895, they were progressively phased out between 1903 and 1936. Before modern regulatory initiatives were introduced, political parties financed themselves almost exclusively from corporations and large interest groups. That was done either through the exchange of government licenses and permits for campaign contributions or through artificially increasing the value of governmental contracts given to political contributors. Obviously, the governing party found itself in an advantageous position. A series of articles published in *Le Devoir* by reporter Pierre Laporte revealed that during the 1956 provincial campaign the National Union party, which had been in power without interruption since 1944, spent at least eight times as much as the main opposition party, the PLQ (Bordeleau, 2003; 6–7).

The PLQ promised to reform the system if it was elected, and it did so in 1963 with the adoption of Quebec's Election Act. The bill did not regulate the sources of funding but it did include state subsidies to political parties in the form of electoral expenses reimbursement. The bill also introduced a cap on electoral expenses. At the same time, reforms were being implemented within the province's public administration with the aim of making the allocation of governmental contracts more transparent, which would help reduce the occurrence of clientelism (*idem*; 9–10). Yet, secret electoral coffers were still a reality and the influence of firms, pressure groups and unions induced by their political contributions was still a source of worry. In 1970, the PQ' congress adopted a resolution that called for more transparency and increased state subsidies to political parties, the explicit goal of such policies being to prevent the elimination of "recognition debt," i.e. debt owed by the party to generous political contributors (*idem*, 10–11). By diversifying the sources of income of parties and preventing large contributions from moral entities, it was hoped that each political contribution would not be significant enough to be used to extract favors from parties.

Regulation of contributing sources was established in 1977. Political contributions were limited to $3,000 annually and contributions from moral entities were entirely forbidden. To compensate for the lost revenues, a public subsidy to political parties of $0.25 per voter was introduced. In 1978, very similar rules were introduced at the municipal level, though contributions were capped at $1,000 and public subsidies limited to electoral expenses reimbursement. The measures only applied to municipalities of more than 100,000 citizens at first, but the threshold was successfully lowered to 20,000 citizens in 1979, to 10,000 citizens in 1998, and to 5,000 citizens in 1999. Contributions from moral entities were finally banned in municipalities of less than 5,000 citizens in 2009.

The most recent wave of reforms regarding the cap on contributions of political funding also hit the provincial level first. The cap on provincial contributions was first reduced from $3,000 to $1,000 in 2010 (Bill 113), and then again to $100 in 2012 (Bill 2). It is only once these changes had been adopted that the government turned to the municipal level and began harmonizing the two legislations, a process which is still ongoing at the time of writing.

Bordeleau notes that "the Act respecting elections and referendums in municipalities [1978] has been elaborated with the harmonization of the provincial and municipal legislations in mind" (*idem*, 25, author's translation). The idea was that if the guiding principles of the regulation – equity, transparency and "popular finance" – are the same for both the provincial and the municipal levels, then surely it makes sense for the resulting legislation to be quite similar as well. Such reasoning, however, neglects the fact that the reality of political life at the two levels is quite different, as the next section shall illustrate.

III. How Popular Really is Municipal Political Finance?

Was the regulatory framework aimed at creating popularly financed municipal parties successful? This remains a difficult question to answer definitively. Media reports in the last year and testimonies heard at the ongoing Commission of Inquiry on the Awarding and Management of Public Contracts in the Construction Industry (CEIC) made it clear that official reports by municipal political parties are often falsified and do not represent adequately the real sources of income and electoral expenses of the municipal parties. Parties and candidates often collect cash money and use it to pay for some electoral expenses without leaving a trace in official documents (CEIC, 2013). An official report containing only legal contributions and corresponding expenses is then submitted to the DGEQ. With its limited resources, the DGEQ cannot afford to intensively track the use of cash money.

This creates an obvious problem for scholars interested in political finance. With the real income and expenses of political parties and candidates impossible to obtain and official data unreliable, there is not much to work with. To circumvent this problem, the argument made here will rely on an "even if" logic. A priori, there is no reason for genuine contributions made by citizens in accordance with the spirit of the regulation not to be registered. Hence, it will be assumed that the official reports, while they may not constitute a wholly reliable account of the overall income and expenses of parties and candidates, are at least a representation of the capacity of parties to fund themselves through contributions which respect the annual cap on political contributions by citizens. Accordingly, studying official reports while assuming that no illegal practices took place in that particular municipality can reveal if the ideal of popular finance could be met if the double accountability problem was somehow solved. In other words, if the standards of popular finance are not met **even if** one pretends for a moment that all political contributions are legally reported, then it can be said that the system is failing to meet its objectives.

Note that while all unregistered contributions are illegal, the reverse is not true. The DGEQ investigation on sectorial finance mentioned above revealed that more than $13 million dollars were given by firms using their employees as front. The DGEQ obtained this result by crossing official party reports with data from the government on employment relationship, which means that all $13 million was accounted for in the parties' official reports. The illegality of contributions made by multiple employees of the same firm is hard to prove since the contribution is only illegal if it is being reimbursed by the employer.

Provincial Parties

For the purpose of comparisons, it is useful to first have a look at the details of political contributions at the provincial level. Table 1 shows the data for the years 2006 to 2010 and Table 2 for the years 2011–2012. When more stringent regulation came into force in 2011, contributions were capped at $1,000 and the distinction between contributions of more and less than $200 became irrelevant, so the DGEQ stopped compiling them.

The column "% of contributions to total voters" is obtained by dividing the amount of contributions to a political party by the number of voters eligible to make contributions. This enables one to estimate which percentage of the eligible voters made a contribution

Table 1: Political Contributions to Provincial Parties, 2006–2010

Party	Contri-butions	% of contributions of more than $200	% of total contributions value from contributions of more than $200	Average value of contributions of more than $200	% of contri-butions to total voters
2006					
PLQ	26,710	34%	88%	$809	0.48%
PQ	28,945	22%	71%	$461	0.52%
ADQ	2,278	25%	68%	$524	0.04%
ARP	61,642	27%	81%	$653	1.10%
2007					
PLQ	17,520	42%	90%	$871	0.31%
PQ	30,926	24%	73%	$495	0.55%
ADQ	9,197	36%	86%	$883	0.16%
ARP	62,972	30%	82%	$709	1.11%
2008					
PLQ	22,442	42%	90%	$876	0.39%
PQ	34,982	24%	71%	$497	0.61%
ADQ	7,052	38%	79%	$618	0.12%
ARP	69,974	31%	81%	$678	1.22%
2009					
PLQ	19,487	42%	87%	$772	0.34%
PQ	21,764	25%	71%	$470	0.38%
ADQ	2,004	29%	73%	$561	0.03%
ARP	45,839	32%	81%	$640	0.79%
2010					
PLQ	16,178	40%	85%	$651	0.28%
PQ	20,709	26%	71%	$418	0.36%
ADQ	2,112	13%	63%	$494	0.04%
ARP	42,655	30%	78%	$536	0.73%

Source: DGEQ (2007; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2011)

PLQ = Quebec Liberal Party;
PQ = Parti Québécois;
ADQ = Action démocratique du Québec;
ARP = All Registered Parties

to a political party during a year. For instance, in 2007, the PLQ received 17,520 contributions from the 5,630,637 eligible voters, which means that the ratio of contributions to the total number of voters, expressed as a percentage, was of 0.31%. That same year, all eligible parties combined received 62,972 contributions, which sets the ratio of contributions to voters at 1.11%.

Such a statistic should be considered with caution for two reasons. First, the DGEQ reports the number of contributions and not the number of contributors. It is possible that the same contributor is counted twice if she donated to two different parties in the same year. Second, the number of eligible voters is only available for the electoral years 2003, 2007, 2008 and 2012, so the number of voters for the other years must be estimated[2].

These small distortions, however, are not a major issue since the goal of this statistical analysis is not to precisely track small variations over time, but rather to provide a general idea of the proportion of citizens who contribute to political parties. At the provincial level, we can see that the number of citizens who contributed to any political party barely exceeded the 1% mark at its peak within the observed period, in 2008. It dropped abruptly from 1.22% in 2008 to .79% in 2009 and to only 0.73% in 2010. These numbers could partially be explained by the DGEQ's findings that sectorial finance was reduced by 40% between 2008 and 2009 and by a further 75% between 2009 and 2010 (DGEQ, 2013C), most likely as a result of all the public attention corrupt political finance practices attracted beginning in 2009. The ratio of contributions to voters increased slightly in 2012, but since it was an electoral year, such an increase was to be expected.

It must be highlighted that during the 2006–2010 period, before contributions were capped at $1,000, the contributions exceeding $200 made up a large majority – up to 90% for the Liberals – of the total amount in contributions received by parties, severely outweighing small contributions of less than $200. If properly enforced, lowering the cap on contributions to $100 would at least help to bring the system closer to the ideal of political equality by reducing sharply the disparity between the rich contributors who could afford contributions of $1,000 or more and the other contributors who contributed smaller amounts.

Table 2: Political Contributions to Provincial Parties, 2011–2012

Party	# of contri-butions	Average value of contributions	% of contributions to total voters
2011			
Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ)	16,814	$224	0.29%
Parti Québécois (PQ)	16,985	$147	0.29%
ADQ + Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ)	3,436	$143	0.06%
All Registered Parties	43,508	$173	0.74%
2012			
Quebec Liberal Party (PLQ)	12,113	$254	0.20%
Parti Québécois (PQ)	23,795	$157	0.40%
Coalition Avenir Québec (CAQ)	8,734	$227	0.15%
All Registered Parties	54,854	$186	0.93%

Source: DGEQ (2012; 2013B)

Municipal Parties

Table 3 shows the data from the official reports for the main political parties in Montréal from 2010 to 2013. The year 2013 was an electoral year, while 2010–2012 were not. Since the metropolis has by far the most organized political party system in the province, it could be expected that the parties also have the greatest capacity to gather contributions. Yet, the total amount of contributions made to all political parties in Montréal did not exceed 1,600 in non-electoral years, despite the city having an estimated 1,110,000 eligible voters at the time. This translates into an extremely low ratio of contributions to voters. In the most staggering case, in 2010, only 0.02% of Montréal eligible voters contributed to Union Montréal, the party whose mayoral candidate Gérald Tremblay won the election the year before. In non-electoral years, the ratio of contributions to voters in Montréal did not exceed 0.14%, while at the provincial level that number did not go below 0.73%.

As should be expected, the number of contributions increased substantially in 2013 due to the election. Nevertheless, the ratio of contributions to political parties to voters remained under 1%, with the highest party (the party led by the elected mayor, Denis Coderre) receiving contributions from no more than 0.23% of all voters. Vrai Changement pour Montréal, whose mayoral candidate Mélanie Joly finished second, managed to run quite a successful campaign despite receiving contributions from only 0.04% of eligible voters.

Since the $300 ceiling on municipal contributions came into force in the middle of the 2013 fiscal year, it is not yet possible to fully assess the legislation impact on the funding of local political parties. What we can derive from the data, however, is that lowering the ceiling to $100 annually as the PQ government intended to would seriously impair Montréal's political parties' capacity to gather funds, as the contributions they received in 2013 were on average more than twice as large as that contemplated limit.

Table 4 shows the political contributions data for 2012 and 2013 for a sample composed of all of Quebec's cities whose population is higher than 90,000 citizens and of other smaller cities randomly selected[3]. As in Montréal, 2012 was not an electoral year while general

Table 3: Political contributions in Montréal, 2010–2013

Party	# of contributions	Total value of contributions	Average value of contributions	% of contributions to voters*
2010				
Projet Montréal	602	$81,102	$135	0.05%
Vision Montréal	661	$128,289	$194	0.06%
Union Montréal	174	$78,919	$454	0.02%
All Registered Parties	1,475	$300,903	$204	0.13%
2011				
Projet Montréal	637	$101,643	$160	0.06%
Vision Montréal	415	$107,809	$260	0.04%
Union Montréal	536	$142,541	$266	0.05%
All Registered Parties	1,595	$356,718	$224	0.14%
2012				
Projet Montréal	557	$118,772	$213	0.05%
Vision Montréal	491	$111,110	$226	0.04%
Union Montréal	526	$96,245	$183	0.05%
All Registered Parties	1,589	$331,842	$209	0.14%
2013				
Projet Montréal	1,236	$326,089	$264	0.11%
Coalition Montréal–Marcel Côté + Vision Montréal	1,759	$370,659	$211	0.16%
Équipe Denis Coderre pour Montréal	2,528	$453,743	$179	0.23%
Vrai changement pour Montréal–Équipe Mélanie Joly	463	$132,122	$285	0.04%
All Registered Parties	6,673	$1,434,199	$215	0.61%

Source: DGEQ 2011, 2012, 2013D, 2014

**The estimated number of voters used to calculate the ratio is 1,101,102 and is the average of the number of registered voters at the 2009 and 2013 municipal elections, respectively 1,100,206 and 1,101,998.*

Table 4: Political Contributions to some Municipal Parties in 2012–2013

Municipality	Population	Registered parties	Parties with at least one contribution	Contributions	Total value of contributions	Average value of contributions	% of contributions to total voters*
2012							
Beloeil	21,330	3	1	17	$4,500	$265	0.10%
Candiac	20,290	2	1	11	$9,000	$818	n/a
Delson	7,572	1	1	11	$1,740	$158	n/a
Gatineau	270,599	1	1	78	$18,960	$243	0.04%
Joliette	19,958	1	0	0	$0	n/a	0.00%
Lac-Beauport	7,456	1	1	7	$2,412	$345	0.13%
Laval	409,528	3	3	306	$169,128	$553	0.10%
Lévis	140,931	2	2	47	$15,648	$333	0.04%
Longueuil	234,517	2	2	193	$76,811	$398	0.11%
Marieville	10,406	1	0	0	$0	n/a	0.00%
Notre-Dame-de-l'île-Perrot	10,721	1	1	3	$405	$135	n/a
Québec	524,907	5	5	770	$136,820	$178	0.19%
Rawdon	10,626	1	1	6	$2,250	$375	0.07%
Saguenay	146,381	2	2	103	$11,706	$114	0.09%
Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu	93,948	3	0	0	$0	n/a	0.00%
Sherbrooke	157,517	2	2	128	$28,499	$223	0.11%
Terrebone	108,830	2	2	66	$26,948	$408	0.08%
Trois-Rivières	132,968	1	0	0	$0	n/a	0.00%
2013							
Beloeil	21,330	3	2	84	$32,230	$384	0.50%
Candiac	20,290	2	1	9	$7,000	$778	n/a
Delson	7,572	1	1	13	$1,980	$152	n/a
Gatineau	270,599	1	1	383	$78,595	$205	0.20%
Joliette	19,958	1	0	0	$0	n/a	0.00%
Lac-Beauport	7,456	2	2	69	$18,630	$270	1.25%
Laval	409,528	5	5	2194	$366,390	$167	0.74%
Lévis	140,931	3	3	344	$64,219	$187	0.32%
Longueuil	234,517	3	2	217	$90,290	$416	0.12%
Marieville	10,406	1	0	0	$0	n/a	0.00%
Notre-Dame-de-l'île-Perrot	10,721	1	1	14	$2,750	$196	n/a
Québec	524,907	4	4	770	$239,583	$311	0.19%
Rawdon	10,626	2	2	83	$20,906	$252	0.93%
Saguenay	146,381	1	1	646	$85,828	$133	0.56%
Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu	93,948	6	6	752	$174,411	$232	1.04%
Sherbrooke	157,517	2	2	181	$47,921	$265	0.15%
Terrebone	108,830	2	1	65	$16,559	$255	0.08%
Trois-Rivières	132,968	1	1	62	$12,749	$206	0.06%

Source: DGEQ, 2013D: 2014

**The number of voters is taken from the 2013 municipal elections official results. When the mayor was elected without opposition, this statistics is unavailable.*

elections were held in all municipalities in 2013. The table shows that there is great disparity between the different municipalities. Registered parties in major cities such as Saint-Jean-sur-Richelieu and Trois-Rivières did not collect a single contribution in 2012, while Québec City featured a much higher contributions to voters. The difference between municipalities must be interpreted with caution, since not all of them have a well-established party system as Montréal does. In Saguenay, Trois-Rivières and Gatineau, for instance, the incumbent mayor was an independent, which reduces the likelihood that voters would contribute to a political party.

What we can conclude from this data is that political contributions to municipal political parties outside of electoral period are extremely scarce, with no more than 0.19% of voters contributing. In 16 of the 19 municipalities in the sample, less than 130 contributions were made, which should have us questioning whether or not each of those contributions can be considered insignificant. In Gatineau, for instance, the party which eventually won the 2013 elections gathered only 78 contributions in 2012 from a pool of 189,000 voters for a ratio of contributions to voters of only 0.04%. It is reasonable to assume that under such circumstances, the candidates of this party know personally most of these contributors. In smaller cities like Beloeil and Candiac, there were less than 20 contributions made, which makes it even more obvious that the impact of each of these contributions is more visible than that of a contribution made to a provincial party which receives thousands of contributions each year. In 2013, the number of contributions significantly increased, but the ratio of contributions to voters remained under 1.25% in all cases. Once again, the average value of the contributions for all municipalities is largely over $100, which means that lowering the ceiling to that number would reduce these parties' income from contributions substantially.

The bottom line is that both provincial and municipal parties have to contend with the fact that less than 1% of voters contribute to political parties annually. At the provincial level and in large municipalities, parties still manage to gather thousands or at least multiple hundreds of contributions, which means that each one of them is not too significant in itself (though stratagems such as sectorial finance may make contributions from a firm quite significant). In smaller municipalities, however, the number of contributions can be dangerously close to zero. When it is the case, it is clear that the objective of political finance regulations to make each contribution too insignificant to be used to extract favors is not met.

IV. Political Finance and the Logic of Collective Action

Why do so few citizens financially contribute to political parties? The explanation proposed here is based on the premise that political parties are an association of people with similar policy objectives who compete for office in order to implement these policy preferences. In this perspective, political parties provide a public good to those who share similar political views. Indeed, the implementation of policies based on a specific ideology by the ruling party fits perfectly both conditions of a public good: supporters of this ideology cannot be excluded from benefiting from having their preferred policies being implemented (non-excludability) and one supporter's enjoyment of those policies does not reduce the other supporters' capacity to enjoy them (non-rivalry). In other words, once a political party is elected, its policies will benefit all those who adhered to its views, regardless of whether or not these people contributed in any ways to its electoral victory. Voters therefore have a strong incentive to free-ride: if, for example, an environmentalist would benefit from the Green Party's electoral victory regardless of whether that environmentalist made a contribution to the party or not, what incentive does he/she have to make such a contribution?

This free-riding problem of associations whose goal is the provision of a public good is most closely associated with Mancur Olson's seminal book, *The Logic of Collective of Action* (1971). Olson argues that rational individuals, even those with altruistic preferences, face a structure of incentives which discourages them from contributing towards the provision of the public good. This is due to the fact that within associations which rely on a large number of contributions to finance themselves, each contribution is in itself insignificant. As a consequence, the supporter of an association can stop contributing towards the association's goal without it having any noticeable effect on the organization's success.

It is easy to see how these mechanisms apply to political parties, as Hopkin (2004) already demonstrated. A supporter of a party's policies will see these policies implemented if the PLQ wins regardless of whether she contributed to the party or not. That supporter might consider contributing to the PLQ to increase the likelihood that it will be elected, but her contribution would not make any noticeable difference, so why bother? Hence, the idea of popular finance is plagued by the fact that its very objective – that no single contribution can have a significant impact on the electoral process – creates a strong disincentive for voters to contribute, therefore making it very difficult for political parties to finance themselves from a large number of individually insignificant contributions.

In order to overcome the challenge of free-riding, Olson observed that associations resort to what he calls "selective incentives," private services which are provided only to those who contribute towards an organization's goals. The classic example of a selective incentive is the labor unions' closed shop policy, which prevents non-unionized workers from benefiting from the unions' struggles for better conditions by preventing non-unionized workers from being employed in a unionized factory. The unions thereby supplement the non-excludable good they exist to provide (better working conditions for all employees) with an excludable private good that prevents free riding (the right to work at a factory). Other examples of selective incentives used by labor unions to make membership more attractive include the provision of collective insurance and the organization of professional training sessions, which are both excludable goods.

Political parties also recognized long ago the potential of selective incentives in increasing their capacity to raise revenue. Some of the selective incentives they came up with are mostly symbolic, such as inviting the important contributors to a dinner where important figures of the party are present. The PQ, for instance, used to have a *"Club des 400,"* a designation for the group of their supporters who contributed more than $400. These would receive a mostly symbolic reward, such as free tickets to a golf tournament or a dinner with a Member of the National Assembly (MNA)[4]. In the United States, Bill Clinton was criticized during his presidency for hosting a dinner at the White House for some of the largest contributors to the Democratic Party (La Raja, 2008; 133–134).

More problematic is the fact that politicians can also be tempted to use their actual or eventual control over government levers in order to offer selective incentives to contributors. As mentioned above, many decisions made by governments are public goods in nature in the sense that once a rule is adopted it applies to all citizens equally, but not all governmental decisions are akin to public goods. Governments also make decisions of a private nature, such as the allocation of public works contracts and appointments to governmental offices. Obviously these contracts and appointments are both rival and excludable; they are pure private goods in the economic sense of the term, and as such they can be used by political parties in quid pro quos where political contributions are exchanged, explicitly or implicitly, for political favors.

To prevent such exchanges is one of the reasons why Premier Rene Lévesque implemented a system of public tenders when he was a minister in Jean Lesage's Liberal government, and why he put in place Quebec's modern political finance regulations. Yet, convincing evidence that a significant proportion of Quebec's political parties' funding in the last decade was obtained through similar mechanisms has been provided by the DGEQ's investigation on sectorial finance (DGEQ, 2013A).

In 2005, a citizen who was being prosecuted by the provincial government for failing to report $5,000 of taxable income defended himself by arguing, under oath, that the amount should not be considered as taxable income since it was given to him by his employer as a compensation for political contributions he had made. The story did not lead to any concrete actions from the provincial government or the DGEQ[5]. In 2006, a report from the DGEQ concluded that the fact that corporate contributions are being made using employees or other fronts is well-known and that the stratagem is frequently used. One witness said the practice was "endemic" (Moisan, 2006). No legislative actions were taken in response to the publication of the report.

In 2009, Quebec's media reported multiple stories of corruption in the construction sector, many of which involved political contributions. Under pressure, the provincial government created the *Unité permanente anticorruption,* a police unit dedicated solely to combating corruption. The head of the unit, Jacques Duchesneau, told the CEIC that about 70% of all political contributions were illegal or against the spirit of the regulation (CEIC, 2012).

Another important witness the Commission heard, Gilles Cloutier, has been a political organizer in Quebec for more than 30 years at both the provincial and the municipal level. He was employed by a major engineering-consulting firm as director of business development, which in practice meant that his full-time job was to "buy" politicians by contributing to their campaigns or outright organizing them. Cloutier estimated that about 20% of the value of political contributions at the provincial level were genuine contributions by ordinary citizens (up to 30% in the case of the PQ), while this proportion was only of 5 to 10% at the municipal level. He also described how double accounting was used to hide illegal contributions from the DGEQ (CEIC, 2013).

The logic of collective actions' predictions are coherent with Cloutier's estimates. The very low proportion of genuine contributions reflects the fact that there few incentives for ordinary voters to contribute. The much larger proportion of interested contributions can be attributed to the use of selective incentives to attract political contributions. The predictions are also coherent with the DGEQ's findings that the PLQ and Union Montréal, the governing parties at the provincial level and in Montréal at the time of its investigation, collected a large majority of the sectoral finance contributions (72.4% of all suspected sectorial contributions at the provincial level went to the Liberals, while Union Montréal received 82.6% of those in Montréal (DGEQ, 2013A; personal communication with the DGEQ, March 2014).

The differences that can be observed between the provincial and the municipal level are not surprising considering the very different nature of politics at these two levels. Since Canada is a fairly decentralized federation with a strong provincial level, municipalities in Quebec are left with few responsibilities. Much of these responsibilities revolve around providing local services such as transportation, sewage and leisure infrastructures and coordinating other services such as trash collection. Municipalities' taxation power is accordingly quite limited. A significant proportion of the city councils' work is therefore very administrative in nature: decisions are largely based not on ideological considerations but rather on efficiency criteria. In sharp contrast, Quebec's provincial government is in charge of very ideologically charged issues such as education, language, identity, relations with the rest of the country, health care and social services. The majority of decisions made by the National Assembly are based not on technocratic criteria but rather on very subjective political views about national identity, economic redistribution, the efficiency of markets, and so on.

The administrative nature of politics at the municipal level has two complementary effects on political contributions incentives. On the one hand, since municipal politics is rarely ideological in character, voters have very little incentive to contribute to political parties. Why would a citizen want a certain candidate to coordinate trash collection or infrastructure renovation programs more than he would want another candidate to do it? Local politicians themselves often portray municipal politics as an apolitical, administrative matter (Chiasson, Gauthier & Andrew, 2011, 267; Collin, 2011, 347). From this perspective, it is easy to understand why more than 99.5% of voters choose not to contribute to municipal parties. At the same time, the administrative nature of municipal politics provides local politicians with valuable selective incentives to distribute. Public works contracts can be quite significant even in smaller municipalities. Local politicians also have control over urbanism rules, which are usually not a major concern for the average citizen but are very important for real estate developers. That is not to say that local politics never become polarized over important issues, but such events have a limited effect in the long run and cannot provide local political parties with the sort of ideologically-based support they need to properly fund themselves with small, disinterested contributions.

Since provincial politics is much more ideologically polarized, it is easier for political parties to extract contributions from likeminded voters. The emotional appeal of the independence project, for instance, most probably explains why the PQ systematically receives more contributions than its opponents, and why it comes out first for "genuine contributions" in Gilles Cloutier's estimates. The same can be said of Projet Montréal, the only truly ideologically-based party in Montréal (Colin, 2011, 316), which is relatively successful at gathering contributions compared to its opponents. Also relevant is the fact that most MNAs have virtually no control over the distribution of selective incentives: such decisions are heavily concentrated in the hands of the executive council, which only represents a relatively small subgroup of the MNAs.

Institutional differences between both levels can also lead to different strategies in terms of how political finance can be used as a means to gain influence over government. Information revealed at the public inquiry on corruption and in the media indicates that in some small to medium size municipalities, firms with an interest in public works contracts have attempted to and sometimes succeeded in rigging elections by offering mayoral candidates "all-included elections" (élections *clé en main)*[6], in the sense that someone from the firm would take care of all of the electoral organization, as long as no question is asked by the candidate. In return, the candidate would guarantee that the firm would receive a major contract from a municipality. Such deals obviously imply a double accountability where the firm would pay for expenses with cash money and produce a false report to the DGEQ and arguably constitute the worst form of political corruption induced by contributions: the outright buying of politicians by a single contributor who finances an entire campaign.

So far, nothing proves that a single contributor was able to do the same with a provincial candidate. This could be the case, as it is significantly harder to predict the outcome of a provincial election (as well as the composition of the eventual executive council) then it is to predict the outcome of a mayoral race in a 30,000 citizen municipality, especially if one of those municipal candidates receives massive illegal help from a major contributor. Information collected by the DGEQ, at the CEIC and in the media rather suggests that political contributions have a more diffuse influence at the provincial level. Witnesses have told the different institutions that political contributions are often used as a mean to facilitate access to the inner circles of government more than it is a currency of exchange for explicit quid pro quos with candidates. A witness told the CEIC, for instance, that he made a $3,000 contributions to then Prime Minister Jean Charest's riding association, in Sherbrooke, with the hope of obtaining a governmental contract in return. The witness was able to voice his demand, but he did not obtain the contract[7]. As political journalist Vincent Marissal observed while commenting on this story and the revelations of the CEIC in general, “Did we really think that one could buy off a Prime Minister and his government with a legal and public contribution of $3,000?”[8] (author’s translation). That same $3,000, however, might have had a larger impact had it been offered to the mayoral candidate of a small municipality, where it could possibly have funded most of the campaign by itself.

The important point here is that municipal and provincial politics are significantly different in terms of number of actors involved, ideological divisiveness and areas of responsibilities. As a result, it is harder for municipal political parties to appeal to voters’ ideology in order to overcome the free riding problem of political finance, and it is easier for both local politicians and those interested in obtaining political favors to get into explicit quid pro quos agreement involving political contributions. For these reasons, we should question whether or not the provincial model of “popular finance” can or should be applied to municipal politics.

V. The Right Reform?

Municipal political finance in Quebec has been plagued by three interrelated problems:

– There are few incentives for voters to make contributions without expecting anything in return.
– The low amount of contributions makes each contribution more significant, which allows contributors to exchange contributions for favors.
– The existing regulation preventing firms from making contributions is hard to enforce and is often circumvented.

Can we expect the contemplated reforms to deal with these issues? Had it been adopted, Bill 53 would have introduced measures that would have reduced the pressure on political organizations to collect money such as a reduction of the expenses ceiling for municipal elections and different methods to increase public subsidies to political parties. This does not, however, address the issue of the low number of contributions, nor the problem of unreported cash money being used to pay for electoral expenses. Not addressing the later problem could cause the reform to backfire: the DGEQ was able to track down $13 million dollars of sectorial finance contributions specifically **because** the old rules allowed firms to circumvent the system by using employees that would give large contributions to parties. Those contributions were illegal, but they were still legally reported, which eventually allowed an investigation to trace the contributions back to the contributors' firms. With a contribution limit at $100, such schemes would indeed be very difficult to put in place, but there is a risk that the firms that did not hesitate to break the law before might simply decide to make totally unregistered cash contributions to candidates instead. The DGEQ itself expressed concerns over this possibility.

The government's strategy to compensate for the lack of private contributions has been to substantially increase public subsidies to parties and candidates. Already in 2012, political contributions made up only 28.7% of political parties revenues (DGEQ, 2013D; 27), which clearly challenges the idea that they are popularly financed. Increasing public subsidies to political parties is not in itself positive or negative: the outcome of the policy is rather contingent on the details of its implementation and on the particularities of the political systems to which it applies (Casas-Zamora, 2005; 6). Since the structure of funding can strongly influence the internal and external political dynamics of parties (La Raja, 2008), it is important to think of the potential impacts of the reform.

In Bill 53, three types of measures to increase income were contemplated: increasing the percentage of electoral expenses reimbursed for the candidates who gather more than 15% of the votes to 70%, up from 60%; providing a public subsidy of $2.50 to a party or candidates for every dollar they receive in contribution, up to a certain amount which is determined by the size of the municipality; and, extending to all towns of more than 20,000 citizens the allowance given annually to registered political parties which is distributed according to the results at the last election. This allocation is to be used for the party's political activities and cannot be used to pay for electoral expenses.

These rules and the already existing ones favor political parties over independent candidates in many ways. First, independent city counsellors and defeated candidates do not benefit from the party allowance. While the party allowance cannot be used to pay for electoral expenses, it still enables political parties to increase their visibility outside of electoral periods. Aware of this fact, the Union of Quebec Municipalities suggested that a similar allowance be given to independent councillors (UMQ, 2013). Second, while political parties can receive contributions at any moment during the electoral cycle, independent candidates can only be accredited and begin collecting contributions 10 months before an election. Third, the maximum combined expenses of all candidates in a party is much higher than the limit of an individual candidate, which allows party members to benefit from the synergy (for instance, the electoral sign of councillor candidates often feature the portrait of the mayoral candidate of that party; yet it is counted as a district expense, not a mayoral race expense).

In Quebec, municipal political parties, while they do exist, are not the norm. At the 2013 elections, in municipalities of more than 5,000 citizens, 1,728 candidates were part of a political party while 2,361 were independent (DGEQ, 2013C). The ongoing reform is likely to create incentives for candidates to form political parties, but it remains unclear whether this would constitute a positive development. The role of political parties has traditionally been to regroup in a coalition a number of individuals with similar ideological views and to serve as an aggregator of political preferences. However, in environment with low ideological divide such as municipal politics, it is often unclear what unites the members of political parties other than the perceived electoral benefits from forming such a coalition. Municipal political parties are often loose electoral alliances around a strong personality as reflected, for example, in the name of the governing parties in Quebec and Montréal named after their respective leader, Équipe *Labeaume* and Équipe *Denis Coderre pour Montréal*. They have also been described as "often nothing but efficient electoral and political finance machines serving the interest of the mayoral candidate, to which city councillor candidates rally more or less loosely" (Collin, 2011; 340, author's translation). In those circumstances, the limitations on individual politicians' freedom of actions which necessarily comes with belonging to a political party might be far more detrimental to the democratic process than any benefits that the presence of political parties might bring. Before moving forward with the adoption of the measures proposed in Bill 53 (or similar ones), Quebec's current government should consider whether having additional municipal political parties really is a desirable policy objective.

It would even be wise to question the fundamental principles of the political finance regulations at the municipal level in Quebec. If only one citizen out of five hundred is interested in making political contributions at the municipal level, is it relevant to maintain a system in which private contributions remain at the heart of the parties and individual candidates' funding? If the ultimate objective really is to prevent political finance from being used to purchase political favors, then perhaps the complete elimination of private contributions coupled with an improved monitoring of electoral expenses is the way forward. This would require a paradigm shift away from the idea of popular finance which has effectively dominated the debate for the last four decades; the fact is, however, that in practice municipal political parties have long stopped to be genuinely popularly financed – if they ever were.

ENDNOTES

1 The video can be found on the Parti Québécois's official YouTube channel under the name "Souscrivez à la caisse propre – 1."

2 It corresponds to the number of citizens eligible to vote for the general provincial elections once the electoral list has been revised. To obtain an approximation of the number of voters for the years 2006, 2009, 2010 and 2011 the variation in eligible voters between two general elections is calculated. This variation is divided by the number of years in-between the two general elections as if the variation in eligible voters had been linear. For instance, the DGEQ reports that there were 5,738,811 voters in 2008 and 5,918,128 in 2012, a difference of 179,317 voters. Assuming a linear relationship, this amounts to 44,829 additional voters each year between 2008 and 2012. To obtain an estimate of the amount of voters a simple addition is required: 5,738 811 voters in 2008 + 44,829 additional voters per year = 5,783,640 voters in 2009, and so on.

3 Randomly selected cities were the first in the alphabetical order for each letter of the alphabet. The method yielded less than 26 random cities since many letters such as "A" did not have any city with at least one registered political party listed.

4 See Bovet, Sébastien, "400, le chiffre magique," *Radio-Canada*, March 2nd 2012.

5 See Boisvert, Yves, "Le directeur au bois dormant," *La Presse,* April 4th 2013.

6 See for instance CEIC, 2013 and Fournier, Sylvie, "Un ex-maire brise le silence sur les elections clé en main," Radio-Canada, March 10th 2011.

7 See Messier, François, "Jean Charest nie avoir reçu un chèque de 3000$," *Radio-Canada,* January 29th 2014.

8 Marissal, Vincent, "La vérité? Bof…," *La Presse,* February 3rd 2014.

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HOMELESS ON THE STREETS OF MONTRÉAL: A DIVISION OF CAPITAL AND *HABITUS*

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Abstract

This paper uses Pierre Bourdieu's *theory of practice* to examine the different social and material circumstances of the homeless population and the domiciled population. Particularly, the concept of *habitus* or acquired lifestyle and habits, is used to explore the distinct experiences and accounts of the homeless versus the domiciled population. I will explain the various barriers the homeless face when attempting to reintegrate into society. Lastly, Bourdieu's four types of *capital* – economic, symbolic, cultural, and social – will be employed to relate the experiences of the homeless and domiciled to the different *habitus* they operate in. The homeless population of Montréal, Quebec is the focus of this explanatory study.

Résumé

Cet essai utilise la théorie de la pratique *de Pierre Bourdieu pour étudier les diverses circonstances sociales et matérielles des populations itinérantes et domiciliées. Plus particulièrement, le concept d'habitus, ou habitudes de vie acquises, est utilisé pour explorer les expériences distinctes et les récits des sans abris par rapport à la population domiciliée. J'expliquerai les diverses barrières auxquelles les populations itinérantes sont confrontées lorsqu'elles tentent de réintégrer la société. Finalement, j'utiliserai les quatre types de capitaux de Bourdieu (économique, symbolique, culturel et social) pour relier les expériences des populations itinérantes et domiciliées aux habitus au sein desquelles ils agissent. La population itinérante de Montréal au Québec constitue le sujet de cette étude explicative.*

Introduction

There is a lack of data about homelessness in Canada in terms of statistics, causes, and experiences. *The State of Homelessness in Canada: 2013*, the first comprehensive Canadian report card on homelessness (compiled by the *Canadian Homelessness Research Network [Homeless Hub]* and the *Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness*), estimates that at least 200,000 Canadians experience homelessness in any given year (Gaetz *et al.* 2013). The most recent reliable estimate of homelessness in Montréal – the focus of this paper – is found in *A policy on homelessness: a Necessity for Montréal* (RAPSIM) submitted to the Parliamentary Committee on homelessness, which suggests that in 2005, there were an estimated 30,000 homeless individuals in Montréal.

To study the phenomenon of homelessness in Montréal, it is first necessary to define the condition. Homelessness is a social problem that describes "an individual or family without stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means and ability of acquiring it." The state of homelessness can be divided into four different circumstances: unsheltered, emergency sheltered, provisionally accommodated, and at risk of homelessness (Canadian Homelessness Research Network 2012). In addition to the various factors that may cause an individual to fall into one of the four circumstances, there appears to be a set of discourses blaming the homeless individual for their condition rather than focusing on problems with societal structures such as the lack of low-income housing, erosion of rehabilitation programs for addiction and abuse, and the gutting of income security for workers, as well as the political unwillingness to implement policies, procedures and funding from the government and various, private organizations. The phenomenon of blaming the marginalized in society, including the poor and the homeless, coincides with rise of a neoliberal agenda for Canadian social policy which began in the late twentieth/early twenty first century. Neoliberal thought promotes the belief in citizens each being accountable for his/her welfare rather than state responsibility for those in need.

Under these conditions, it is important to study why some people become homeless while others remain part of the domiciled population. The work of social theorist Pierre Bourdieu (1991, 1977), especially his concepts of *habitus* and capital can be used to measure and understand the division between the homeless and those with shelter.

This paper demonstrates that the capital and general *habitus*[1] of the homeless population in Montréal results in significant barriers to successful societal reintegration, effectively making the homeless different from the domiciled population. This qualitative research study explicitly focuses on the subject of homelessness in one of Canada's key metropolitan centres. The research consists of a content analysis of secondary sources, namely the works of Pierre Bourdieu and those authors who employ his theoretical framework and concepts in their studies. I then use this content analysis to frame the data on homelessness in Montréal. This data consists of statistics on the homeless population and a profile of the city's homeless organizations and agencies whose mandate it is to help those without shelter

The principal aim of this work is to articulate a theoretical understanding of the relationship between the experiences and accounts (*habitus* and capital) of the homeless and the material and social conditions which give rise to them. As this study is an explanatory project, no claims to cause and effect will be generated. The paper will now turn to explore how the city is specifically addressing the plight of the homeless, and will then move to explain how homelessness in Montréal may be conceptualized.

Montréal's Commitment to Homelessness: a Profile

The province of Quebec attempts to minimalize the divide between the homeless population and the domiciled population through government sponsored direct funding and housing. David Levinson (2004), who examined the commitment of Quebec to match the funding allotted from the federal government in the early 2000s, found that with a total allocation of $197 million from the province and its various municipalities, in conjunction with the 5,000 housing units reserved for moderate to low income households, Quebec appears to be genuinely committed in its recognition of, and desire to, provide social justice (Levinson 2004: 45). Furthermore, Gaetz *et al.* (2013) in *The State of Homelessness in Canada* acknowledge Quebec as one of five provinces that is committed to responding to homelessness. Levinson notes, within Quebec the role of the provincial government, church based groups, and non-profit organizations in raising the level of awareness for the need of affordable housing in Montréal as well as lower land costs (Levinson 2004: 44)

The Old Mission Brewery's 2012–2013 Annual Report (Turning the Tide 2013) outlines and pays tribute to the large amount of supporters and donors who have contributed funds to its foundation. Almost ninety-five percent of the foundation revenue, for the period March 2012–March 2013, was from individual and corporate donations. The revenue of the mission itself from 2012–2013 was generated from the Governement of Quebec (slightly in excess of fifty-five percent of funding), while some thirty-seven percent of monies came from individual and corporate donations (Turning the Tide 2013: 23). The foundation also donates funds each year to the mission.

With its funding, The Old Brewery Mission provides research on the homeless population in Montréal as well as transition units, housing, and emergency services such as shelters, clothing, showers and meals. The Annual Report outlines that there were 118,153 overnight stays in their emergency shelters and transition units and 269,191 nutritious meals served. Moreover, with their various resources, The Old Brewery Mission was able to transition 636 clients out of homelessness (Turning the Tide 2013: 2). The Mission states that with its various services, it is the largest resource for homeless men in Quebec while providing resources for homeless women as well (Turning the Tide 2013: 3). Café Mission on Saint-Laurent Blvd, which opened in September 2012, is home to the Mission's own coffeehouse where their counselors are able to sit down with the homeless men and women of Montréal to discuss "employment, housing, healthcare, and rebuilding one's network within mainstream society" (Turning the Tide 2013: 6). This café attracts on average 150 homeless individuals each day.

The Old Brewery Mission also has a space called "The Annex" which seeks to provide a semi-private but comfortable living space that can accommodate fourteen men for a maximum of three weeks. The goal of this resource is for each resident to benefit from thorough individual and group counseling to help them transition into stable housing (Turning the Tide 2013: 7). *Les Voisines* is a program that aims to help at risk women "adapt and practice essential life skills… like shopping for food, preparing a meal, searching for an apartment or socializing… "(Turning the Tide 2013: 8). This program opened in October 2012 and is available to ten women at a time. Other programs are aimed at using affiliations to increase affordable housing-unit availability throughout the city of Montréal; to ensure that the physical needs are met so as to safeguard the mental health and behaviors of individuals; and to raise funds and awareness (Turning the Tide 2013: 8).

There are many other programs, shelters, and individuals who help the homeless in Montréal, the most noteworthy of which are: Homeless Nation, founded by Daniel Cross, uses technology to spread awareness of the homeless population's situation. This program works in various shelters to provide better living conditions and resources for those who are homeless (About Homeless Nation); *Le Refuge des Jeunes* focuses on shelter, food, clothing, and the health of youth in Montréal (*Le Refuge des Jeunes de Montréal*); the Native Women's Shelter of Montréal, which seeks to provide a safe environment for Native women and their children and focuses on cultural identity, housing and outreach programs for Aboriginal, Inuit, and Metis women (Native Women's Shelter of Montréal); and a trilingual association, *Assistance aux Femmes*, helps women who suffer from domestic violence. The aim of this group is to help women from various backgrounds with shelter and outreach programs (Welcome to *Assistance aux Femmes*). There are also other shelters and programs specific to women such as *Auberge Shalom pour femmes, Chez Doris, Logifem*, and more.

These organizations, along with others, provide an abundant amount of resources for the homeless. As Fleury *et al.* (2014) observe, however, there is not one singular resource that is able to effectively address and simultaneously meet the complete range of needs of the Montréal homeless population. The principal result of this situation is that some homeless individuals "fall through the cracks" and therefore do not receive the proper help that they require (Fleury et. al: 2). There are, however, current programs that seek to close this gap such as the programs listed with The Old Brewery Mission. Levinson (2004: 492) also explores how homeless individuals are forced to transport from service to service. Fleury *et al.* (2014) along with Levinson (2004) argue that resources available to help the homeless population must collaborate with one another including the private and public sectors of organizations and resources. Thus, there is a disengagement which results in a lack of provision to help the homeless population reintegrate into society. The disconnections that create barriers for the homeless population to reintegrate into society will be further examined in terms of the general *habitus* and *capital* of the homeless population and domiciled population.

Conceptualizing Homelessness: Towards a theory of the homeless in Montréal

To begin, two concepts from Bourdieu (1977) are used to explore the relationship, or lack thereof, between the homeless population and the domiciled population. The first notion is *habitus* which refers to a set of dispositions or tendencies that generate and structure human actions and behaviors. *Habitus* can also be understood as the traits common to a particular social group or class. It shapes all practices but is not experienced as repressive or enforcing. Its effects on the population typically go unnoticed though the population participates in this general *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977: 72; Deal & Beal 2004). In other words, *habitus* refers to the habits, perceptions, and actions practiced that social beings practice through which an individual comes to know themselves and identify others.

Bourdieu argues that *habitus* is formed naturally and is based on one's conditions of existence. A *habitus* is formed by various external factors such as one's family as well as social and economic conditions that structure one's perceptions. Bourdieu does recognize that all members will not share the same experiences; rather *habitus* encompasses a general practice or regulation of this group (Bourdieu 1977: 85–87). Bourdieu emphasizes that *habitus* is something that one practices but is not something that is forced upon individuals. Turning to the example of class structure, one can see that the upper class has various actions or perceptions that distinguish them as upper class whereas lower class has different actions or perceptions that distinguish them as lower class. The lower class is not necessarily forced to act a certain way. Furthermore, one may not necessarily recognize *habitus* because it is covert (hidden, covered, concealed) but does become noticeable when compared with another *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977; Swartz 1997).

Bridgette Fowler notes that *habitus* is a flexible concept, which proves beneficial for the purposes of my research when looking at two different groups of people with varying social status (Fowler 1997: 27; Deal & Beal 2004). Bourdieu argues that the differences in social status or "hierarchy" must be analyzed through the notion of *habitus* to understand why there is such a hierarchy within a specific field (Calhoun *et al*. 1993: 16).

To explain the relationship between *habitus* and social position, I use Bourdieu's notion of capital. Capital provides a means of measurement that influences and impacts *habitus*. Fowler (1997) provides an explanation of the four different types of capital:

> Bourdieu deploys the concepts of four types of capital which are by now almost synonymous with [Bourdieu's] approach, that is, social capital (power gained by the sheer number of family members, retainers or network of supporters), symbolic capital (reputation or honour-including intellectual honesty), cultural capital (distinction within the autonomous fields of art and science; intellectual or educational qualifications) and economic capital (ownership of stocks and shares, or, more generally, of monetary rewards) (p.31).

Analytically, it is important to separate the four types of capital but in the reality of everyday life, it is often difficult to difficult to distinguish among them.

Economic Capital

As mentioned above, my analysis is guided by the four types of capital derived from Bourdieu. The purpose of analyzing the differences in capital between the homeless population and the domiciled population is to create an understanding of how capital influences an individual's *habitus* and what barriers may arise for those who attempt to reintegrate into society. The first type of capital is economic capital, which Fowler describes as the ownership of finances (1997: 31). Economic capital arguably has the largest effect on an individual's living conditions due to the fact that, in Canada, economic stability directly affects social class and also influences and impacts the three other types of capital.

It is clear that there is a large divide in the general *habitus* and economic capital between the homeless population and the domiciled population. The largest divide in economic capital is the ability to obtain funds for stable housing. In general, homeless individuals are unable to afford shelter which dictates their *habitus*. Homeless individuals in Montréal are typically seen living in parks such as the Serge-Garant and Émilie-Gamelin parks according to various Montréal based media sources such as CTV News Montréal ("Police fine man $147 for sitting under tree"). The homeless population generally does not have the financial means for adequate shelter which results in living on the streets as well as lacking the means for attaining other bare necessities such as food and clothing. On the contrary, those who are able to afford adequate shelter typically have the means for attaining the bare necessities of living in Canadian Society which creates a much different *habitus* than the homeless population.

The economic capital of an individual will dictate an individual's *habitus* and an individual's social status will be higher the greater the economic capital. For example, an individual who has a large economic capital may show their capital by eating at higher-end restaurants, driving a Cadillac Escalade, and enrolling their children in private education. On the contrary, a low economic capital may result in a lower social status. For example, an individual who has low economic capital may eat at MacDonald's restaurants, drive a used Kia Magentis, and may not be able to enroll their children in private education or organized sports. In the case of homeless individuals who may have little to no economic capital, the financial means to have routine access to food and clean clothing are inadequate. These examples give a clear indication of the correlation between economic capital and social status as well as the influences that these two have on individual *habitus*.

While every homeless individual has different needs, it is important to recognize that lacking economic capital deprives individuals from attaining the bare necessities. Furthermore, it must be recognized that there are individuals who are domiciled but are unable to afford the bare necessities as well as those who may be temporarily homeless. The term "general" and "typically" are key terms in examining the differences between the homeless population and the domiciled population. For the purposes of this research I am not analyzing why the homeless population is living in their current conditions, but rather looking at the differences in capital and *habitus* to explain the various barriers that may prevent homeless individuals from reintegrating into society.

The barriers that may arise in regards to economic capital when attempting to reintegrate into society are influenced by shelter, which is the largest divide in economic capital. Without shelter there are numerous smaller details that have large impacts on reintegration. For example, without stable shelter, an individual cannot guarantee clean clothing and facilities to bathe. It is also necessary to have a home address on many job applications or when enrolling in educational institutions. The barriers may also change according to the length of time that an individual has been homeless. Beyond the lack of stable shelter, the differences in economic capital present other barriers for reintegration.

These barriers may arise when looking at the *habitus* of an individual attempting to reintegrate into society. For example, when an individual is seeking employment they may not have the means to buy, rent, or lease a car. Having access to a vehicle is a requirement for some careers. Public transportation is an option but does require funds. Finally, many careers and employment opportunities require a specific physical image that may not be attainable for homeless individuals based on their lack of economic capital.

Symbolic Capital

Fowler outlines that in societies where class domination is the root of social status, like Canada, symbolic capital is "filtered through the prisms of class domination." This means that an individual's financial means have great influence on social status within society (Fowler 1997: 20). Symbolic capital refers to a reputation within society (Fowler 1997: 31). Bourdieu, at times, uses the term symbolic capital as an "analogy to economic capital" due to the influence that economic capital has on one's social status (Fowler 1997: 20). Thus, it is very important to understand the intersections between economic capital and the other types of capital.

Distinguishing between symbolic and economic capital can be done through providing examples of how symbolic capital influences *habitus*. Being domiciled and possessing large economic capital typically demonstrates honor or prestige because it may entail social obligations and interests such as country clubs or political stances and involvement. These obligations and interests may include networking, learning new skills, and having various experiences. *Habitus* may entail dinner parties as well as frequent gifts and travelling.

Those with low economic capital do not have the financial means to participate in valued events and social obligations such as country clubs or the financial connections to undertake civic duties so therefore do not have honor and prestige. The lack of highly valued events and obligations does not allow an individual to network at an upper class level, learn new skills, or have new experiences. For some, *habitus* may entail occasional dinners with family or friends at a local restaurant and budgeting to ensure the bills get paid.

The type of *habitus* described above with its attendant events, social obligations, networking, skills, and experiences may become a barrier for homeless individuals when attempting to reintegrate into society depending on the length of their condition. A homeless individual may not be recognized as previously homeless during daily interaction though a lack of reputation and experience may be an issue when searching for employment or resources to reintegrate into society.

Cultural Capital

Cultural capital is best articulated through a focus on education. As previously noted, economic capital influences the other types. Economic capital means direct and immediate access to finances which may allow an individual greater access to education. Cultural capital on the other hand may include having educational credentials which allows an individual to attain stable employment but no direct and immediate access to finances. In this sense, economic capital influences but is different from cultural capital. The education of the French language, as well as its role and importance in Montréal will be discussed later in regards to social capital.

Focusing on cultural capital, education is a large boundary to overcome when attempting to reintegrate into society. Fowler argues that the absence of education is a large "immoveable barrier to social mobility" in regards to cultural capital (Fowler 1997: 23). An individual's way of life or *habitus* is greatly shaped by the level or quality of education. For example, having access to education or obtaining a high educational level increases the probability of elevated economic and symbolic capital. This includes stable employment and the means to attain bare necessities which, as discussed above, influences *habitus*. On the contrary, not having access to education or having a low education level increase the probability of low economic and symbolic capital. This may include the uncertainty of stable employment and may not result in the means to attain the bare necessities, which influences *habitus*.

The main barrier that may arise upon reintegrating into society is attaining stable employment. As discussed above, education is a large part of cultural capital and an individual's level of education influences the type of employment that an individual may attain. As noted above, Fowler (1997) argues that lacking education limits an individual's social mobility. Thus, those who are homeless and have low education face extra barriers in finding employment. With that stated, it must be recognized that not all homeless individuals have low education, rather those who are homeless have barriers in receiving employment and those with low education are faced with even more barriers of finding employment.

Social Capital

Social capital refers to an individual's networks of supporters, as defined by Fowler (1997). I will explore the networks of individuals through the ability to speak and write the French language.[2] Language will not be examined in terms of a cultural identity, rather as a social division when there is a discrepancy in communication.

According to Statistics Canada, the population census of 2011 found that the majority (over 65%) of the population in urban Montréal were French speakers. Due to this majority, the ability to speak and write French influences and highly determines the probability of attainting employment, education, healthcare, legal care, etc. In 2006, Statistics Canada noted that 94.3% of individuals in the Quebec work force could speak French and spoke the language 86.7% of the time (Statistics Canada 2006). As a result, language plays a large role in exercising power and control. This directly influences an individual's social identity when creating networks in terms of social capital, as supported by John Joseph Gumperz (1982: 1–5) and Norman Fairclough (1989: 17). A discrepancy in communication created by language can create social divisions. For example, individuals not fluent in French may not be able to attain employment in Montréal. This may leave them isolated from the rest of society. In the case of homeless individuals who are not fluent in the French language, they may become insulated from society and unable to attain employment, education, healthcare, and legal care. Those who are fluent in the French language are advantaged in creating social networks which may result in stable employment.

When creating a solid social network, language symbolizes group membership, a set of values, and a way of accessing the social world. Language also plays a strong role in forming a *habitus*, a way of living because it dictates your ability to network, be gainfully employed, and financially stable (Gumperz 1982: 6, 109; Calhoun *et al* 1993: 139). Floch and Pocock (2008) explore the relation of language and employment income. In 2001, Anglophones in Quebec were "over-represented in the highest income grouping, but are also over-represented in the lower income spectrum, being 10% more likely" to have no employment (Floch & Pocock 2008: 42). Moreover, Anglophones were also more likely to have low incomes compared to Francophones in 2001 (Floch & Pocock 2008: 42). According to the 2006 Census, Anglophones in Quebec were 38% more likely to be living below the low-income cut off and 33% more likely to be unemployed compared to Francophones. In 2006, 22% of Anglophones were living under low income cutoffs (Quebec Community Groups Network 2012: 15). In Montréal specifically, 26% of Anglophones were living under this cut off (Quebec Community Groups Network 2012: 16).

In terms of social capital, the French language may create barriers for the homeless population to reintegrate into society if they are unable to speak and write French at an advanced level. There are specific jobs such as janitorial services and other types of employment that do not require immediate contact with the public so French language skills are not required. However, wages often do not meet the cost of living standards. There are always educational, healthcare, and legal services that do have English-speaking employees to help homeless individuals hurdle the barriers presented by Quebec's official language. But, without the ability to communicate, it may be difficult to create a network of supporters which is the core of social capital.

Finally, the problem of trusting authorities may arise in social networks as a barrier to reintegration. Individuals who have been socially isolated for long periods of time may develop distrust towards figures of authority. For reasons beyond language and communication discrepancies, a homeless individual's social networking is limited when stigmatized and rejected from society. This barrier is supported by Levinson (2004) who examines the mistrust of authorities, particularly in treatment of addictions or abuse.

Conclusion

The differences in capital and general *habitus* between the homeless population and the domiciled population suggest that there are barriers that exist when an individual attempts to reintegrate into society. Homelessness is a social problem that Canadian citizens are not always invested in improving. This lack of investment may be due to the tendency for Canadian citizens to focus on their own well-being and welfare rather than others.

The homeless population – specifically those individuals in Montréal – is disadvantaged due to the differences and divisions created by the various forms of capital. This divide creates significant barriers leading to minimal social mobility. Due to these differences, the barriers effectively inhibit a smooth transition back into society for those who are attempting to get off the streets. Individuals among the homeless population need a variety of resources to stabilize their lives in order to successfully reintegrate into society. This paper delivers a broad examination of the differences between the homeless population and the domiciled population which is essential in beginning to understand the barriers that arise in various situations

This research can help inform policy on homelessness because it attempts to encompass the hardships of individuals who may find themselves homeless as well as explain the circumstances that keep people on the streets. Further, by bringing together sources and resources for the homeless in this paper, we can start to identity where there is room for improvement. It is imperative that resources are available and operational so the homeless, as demonstrated by this examination of current realities and practices in Montréal, can gain the necessary capital to become fully-functioning citizens.

ENDNOTES

1 The term 'general *habitus*' is used rather than '*habitus*' in recognition that not all homeless individuals have the same tendencies. Furthermore, this research does not focus on the intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, Aboriginal identity or refugee status.

2 French is the official language of Quebec and the language of work and social service delivery.

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LITERARY INFLUENCES OF NEGRITUDE AND OF DECOLONIZATION ON QUEBEC DURING THE NINETEEN-SIXTIES

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Abstract

This essay outlines the foreign influences on several of Quebec's most important writers and magazines during the 1960s. The literary and intellectual movement in Quebec during this decade saw significant changes as it helped shape a more progressive and modern Quebec. The overall global political climate of this time is outlined, but the essay particularly draws upon influences on Quebec by two major intellectual and social movements of this era: negritude and decolonization. Selected works of Michèle Lalonde, Paul Chamberland, and Gaston Miron are discussed as well as contextual evidence that restates the important literary influences of these movements. Linguistic alienation and the concept of a colonized state made these movements of cultural empowerment particularly accessible to Quebec as it searched for a national pride and identity. This essay focuses primarily on the influences of the negritude and decolonization movements and excludes influences on Quebec from other artistic and political movements and non-Francophone countries such as England and the United States. The essay also focuses on literature and excluded influences on visual and musical art in Quebec.

Résumé

Cet essai expose les influences étrangères exercées sur des écrivains et magazines québécois parmi les plus importants au cours des années 1960. Le courant littéraire et intellectuel québécois de cette décennie fut un acteur de changements importants, participant à la création d'un Québec plus progressif et plus moderne. L'essai offre un bref survol du climat politique global de cette période, mais se concentre sur l'influence exercée sur le Québec par deux courants intellectuels et sociaux majeurs de cette époque : la négritude et la décolonisation. Des œuvres choisies de Michèle Lalonde, Paul Chamberland et Gaston Miron y sont discutées ainsi que les preuves contextuelles qui réaffirment les influences littéraires importantes de ces courants. L'aliénation linguistique et le concept d'un état colonisé ont donné accès à ces courants d'appropriation culturelle au Québec pendant que ce dernier était à la recherche *d'une fierté et d'une identité nationales. Cet essai se penche principalement sur les influences des courants de négritude et de décolonisation. Il exclut les influences d'autres courants artistiques et politiques sur le Québec ainsi que celles des pays non francophones comme l'Angleterre et les États-Unis. Il traite de littérature et exclut les influences de ces courants sur les arts visuels et la musique au Québec.*

Introduction

The nineteen-sixties were one of the most important and dynamic decades in the history of Quebec; it was, in short, a time of significant political and social change. Moreover, it encouraged a change in the identity of Quebec: French-Canadians became *Québécois*. As Quebec's intellectual movement orchestrated these changes, however, many of its influences came not from within the province itself but from abroad. The literary and artistic trends of Quebec at this time parallel those of negritude, while in a political and social sense, those of decolonization. Literary ideas of negritude influenced the works of Paul Chamberland and Gaston Miron and those published at l'Hexagone, while decolonization influenced writers such as André Major, Pierre Vallières, and the articles of *Parti pris* and *Le Devoir*. Negritude and decolonization therefore played vital roles in the literary and political settings of Quebec as it moved forward with the Quiet Revolution. Testimonies of exile, alienation, and the search for a collective identity are analogous among these movements. These influences are evident as Quebec searched for a national identity by promoting domestic literary works that led the society to embrace and ultimately adopt a Quebecois identity.

International political climate leading up to the 1960s

The end of the Second World War gave rise to an era of introspection and reform. The world would see the emergence of many new sovereign nation-states and consequently, many different cultures and respective political, economic, and social movements. The nations that would arise during this time would recount their histories of cultural and linguistic alienation as colonized societies, which would be read by the rest of the world.

The political climate of the world during the 1960s allowed Quebec to be deeply influenced by many revolutionary ideas and international inspirations. For example, the Cuban Revolution replaced its government with a revolutionary socialist state in 1959, showing that a small sum of resistance could lead to the displacement of social and political oppression (Mills, 88–96). Cuban influence was facilitated by its strongly maintained, yet, politically delicate trade relations with Quebec throughout the 1960s (Kirk, 102–106). Soon after the Cuban Revolution, came the decolonization of the Democratic Republic of the Congo in June 1960 and the Algerian Revolution concluding in March 1962 with the mass exodus of French *pieds-noirs* and *harkis*. Furthermore, the writings of authors such as Frantz Fanon, Albert Camus, and Albert Memmi helped to diffuse the revolutionary political ideas of the third world to the Western first world countries.

These revolutionary post-war years also saw the emergence of the negritude and decolonization movements. Negritude was an artistic and literary movement in African and Antillean countries during the 1940s and 50s. For Aimé Césaire, one of the principal theorists of negritude, this was the rejection of the assimilation of African Francophone and Antillean cultures into Western culture. The word *négritude* was first used in 1936 by Léopold Senghor, another theorist of negritude, although the term was coined by Césaire. The French word *négritude* literally translates to "blackness" used in an artistic and culturally context. According to Césaire, negritude's first traceable steps were in Haiti during the slave rebellion in 1791, although Haiti's overall contribution to the negritude movement was minimal. Nonetheless, the negritude movement started in the 1930s, when Césaire, Senghor and Léon Damas met while studying in Paris (Assemblée Nationale). While Césaire claimed that the concept of negritude was not exclusive to certain ethnicities, the movement was predominantly in African and Caribbean countries (Césaire, 80). Negritude aimed to preserve the distinct literary identity for alienated African cultures; it promoted original arts and writing in order to change the social and cultural connotation of alienation and imitation (Dahouda). For this reason, intellectuals in Quebec felt a sense of solidarity with writers of negritude as both cultures sought to define and defend their own collective identities. This is reaffirmed with André Laurendeau's publication of *La théorie du roi nègre*.

At the same time, across the world, the political influence of decolonization was growing in magnitude. Much like negritude, decolonization sought to preserve the cultures of colonized countries. However, philosophies of decolonization branched out to include political and economic systems unlike negritude, which remained strictly cultural and artistic in its goals. The economic ideology of Marxism that often followed decolonization movements also influenced many writers, particularly those in Quebec who made up "la revue *Parti pris* (Major, 31)." Furthermore, at the time, there were many struggles around the world against colonial powers. For example, the Algerian Revolution, in which the well-known Martiniquais writer of decolonization, Frantz Fanon, played a large part, brought forth a new time for decolonization. Fanon, an influential writer by this time and a former student of Aimé Césaire, discussed the psychological complications of colonized societies and justified the utilization of violence in order to accomplish independence in his 1961 book, *Les Damnés de la Terre*.[1] This book would later deeply influence many Quebecois writers during the 1960s not only with the debate over the use of violence, but with psychological discourse of Quebec's alienation.

Quebecois Writers: The Influence of Negritude and Decolonization

Linguistic and cultural alienation are defining themes that occupy and connect decolonization, negritude, and Quebecois literature. It is perhaps for this reason that the literary themes of negritude and decolonization were so prevalent in the Quebec during the 1960s. During such a revolutionary period punctuated by decolonization, Quebec's intellectuals contemplated the meaning of their own struggle against forced assimilation and would use these ideas as reinforcement.

Parti pris

One of the principal ways the ideology of decolonization was able to penetrate Quebec was through *Parti pris,* a political magazine founded in Montréal in 1963 by André Major, Paul Chamberland, and several other writers. The magazine was often referred to as the intellectual "front" in Quebec and the founders were extremely influenced by Marxist ideas associated with African decolonization struggles. Many of these writers also felt that Quebec as a whole was influenced by these ideas and strove for political reform in their favor. In his book *Parti pris: idéologies et littérature*, Robert Major writes: "Tout en se sentant très lié à l'évolution idéologique du Quebec, *Parti pris*, dès le départ, s'est situé dans l'axe des trois courants idéologiques les plus importants de son temps: le marxisme, le socialisme décolonisateur et l'existentialisme sartrien (Major, 31)."[2] Major elaborates on the influences on *Parti pris* with:

> C'est par Fanon que Major vient à *Parti pris*; c'est par Sartre que Chamberland en vient à s'intéresser au quotidien québécois; c'est à travers Memmi que les *partipristes* se voient objectivement pour la première fois comme êtres colonisés...c'est dans la voie du marxisme que *Parti pris* creusera toujours davantage (Major, 38–39).[3]

Here, Major references Albert Memmi, who achieved much recognition in Quebec, especially after his 1972 publication of "Les

Canadiens-français sont-ils des colonisés?"[4] In 1962, André Major wrote "Les Damnés de la terre et nous" in *La Revue socialiste* with the subtitle "la bible de la décolonisation telle que vue par un représentant de la nouvelle jeunesse indépendantiste et socialiste du Québec." While referencing Fanon's *Les Damnés de la Terre*, Major explains that he holds Fanon's ideas of decolonization and attempts "selon la dialecte la plus rigoureuse, de montrer que la situation qui les a suscitées est semblable en plusieurs points à la nôtre (Major, 34–39)."[5]

Pierre Vallières

Pierre Vallières was another important intellectual associated with *Parti pris*. In 1968, the magazine published Vallières authobiography titled *Nègres blancs d'Amérique*.[6] The title expressed the alienation of Quebec, which had become a collective feeling among Quebecois intellectuals during the 1960s. This expression emphasized the oppression and alienation of Quebecois language and identity. *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* was written by Vallières in a Manhattan prison after his arrest for association with the death of Jean Corbo, a Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) member attempting to deliver a bomb. The book illustrates Vallières' ideological composition of Marxism, third-world decolonization, and struggle against alienation. In his autobiography, Vallières expresses his unrest sparked by the Algerian war during his stay in France as well as his resentment toward Quebec's association and categorization in U.S.-Canada relations. He shows his influences when he says "As for me, a Quebecois, proletarian, white nigger of America, one of the 'wretched of the earth,' to take responsibility for our history was, inevitably, to begin by denouncing and exposing the inhuman conditions of our existence…" Here he not only reaffirms the comparison of Quebecois to people of African ancestry, but he quotes *Les Damnés de la Terre*. Vallières describes his extreme Marxist bias with "When I discovered Marxism, I felt as if I had found what I had always been seeking…a truth, their truth…the only thing that is really worth living for-the overthrow of capitalism, and the building of egalitarian social structures." He continues:

> As I became reconciled with the world and with 'other people,' I became reconciled with the Quebecois French nation, not the one that for centuries had been 'blessed' with poverty, ignorance, and religion, but the one that is at last beginning to say 'no' to exploitation…(Vallières, 198–202).

Vallières expresses his use of Marxism as a vehicle of denunciation of the stifling religious morals imposed on the French-Canadians during the "Great Darkness" and before.

In addition to *Parti pris*, negritude and decolonization inspired major figures in Quebec's literary and intellectual movement. Negritude influenced the works of many Quebecois writers in the 1960s, specifically those of Gaston Miron, Paul Chamberland, and Michèle Lalonde. These Quebecois authors contributed greatly to social and political *engagement* of Quebecois literature. Their participation in writing groups and magazines helped to make up the Quebecois *literature engagée*, with the purpose of seeking political reform through writing.

Gaston Miron

Gaston Miron was another renowned Quebecois writer profoundly influenced by decolonization and negritude. Miron played an important political role in Quebec during the 1960s and the Quiet Revolution, becoming politically involved at a young age. Throughout his career, he campaigned for socialism and the independence of Quebec. Miron was especially influenced by the writings of Albert Memmi and Jacques Berques about alienation on a national level. Miron took these ideas and developed a more precise elaboration in the context of Quebec: the alienation of the Quebecois language. Miron is quoted in Pierre Nepveu's biography *Gaston Miron : la vie d'un homme* as saying that although the Quebecois do not share the same situation with the African people, they share a common condition. There he speaks of their common condition of alienation. Miron maintains this idea of a shared condition throughout many of his works. He would express this idea in his classic *L'Homme rapaillé*, known as one of the most important works in the history of Quebecois literature (Biron 380).

In "Monologues de l'aliénation délirante," Miron says "or je suis dans la ville opulente, la grande St. Catherine Street galope et claque… moi je gis, muré dans la boite crânienne dépoétisé dans ma langue et mon appartenance déphasé et décentré dans ma coïncidence."[7] Here, he references "St. Catherine Street" in English, illustrating how "la rue Sainte-Catherine" is commonly referred to. This shows the pressure exerted on Francophones by the English language in one of the most important cities in Quebec, Montréal. He also describes how he is limited in his own language and the language of Quebec. He continues with "Je m'identifie depuis ma condition d'humilié, je le jure sur l'obscure respiration commune, je veux que les hommes sachent que nous savons,"[8] speaking about the humiliating condition of his alienated language. Then he continues with "salut de même humanité des hommes lointains, malgré vous malgré nous je m'entête à exister, salut à la saumure d'homme."[9] Here, Miron refers to the struggle against alienation and the solidarity among distant decolonized Francophone societies in Africa and abroad. The solidarity among the alienated societies allows them to continue the resistance against assimilation and inspires them to move forward. Later, in "Dans la résistance à l'amère décomposition viscérale et ethnique de la mort des peuples drainés" Miron means to say that the culture and language of Quebec are being alienated by the pressure of Anglophones. Miron offers a distinction among the colonized situations with "à partir de la blanche agonie de père en fils à la consigne de la chair et des âmes (Miron, 58–60)." With "blanche agonie,"[10] Miron underlines the ethnic and sociological distinction between the black African and white Québécois situations. Although their causes are similar in their condition, they differ in their socio-economic and political situations.

The alienation of Francophones that Miron talks about in "Les années de déréliction" is also consistent with the theme of negritude literature. He writes: "perdu la mémoire à force de misère et d'usure... perdu la dignité à force de devoir me rabaisser et le respect de moi-même à force de dérision (Miron, 81–82)."[11]

Gaston Miron was also poetically inspired by the works of Césaire and negritude. One can deduce Césaire's influences on Miron simply by his citations. For example, in 1956, Miron confesses to Claude Haeffely:

> Je suis dans l'échec par-dessus la tête...Certaines œuvres que j'ai lues depuis un an, comme celle de Césaire par exemple, m'écrasent par l'effarante parenté que je ressens à leur endroit...J'ai peur de ne plus savoir qui je suis, que mon pouls ne se distingue plus du leur.[12]

Miron later stated in 1958: "Toute ma poésie est une poésie de coïncidences. Aimé Césaire, par exemple, a rendu bon à rien tout ce que je puis écrire (Selao)."[13]

Paul Chamberland

Paul Chamberland is an author also very attached to the "négritude blanche"[14] and writers of decolonization. In 1965, Chamberland said in *Parti pris* that "son projet était emprunté au poète martiniquais: J'accomplis ce que Césaire appelle un 'retour au pays natal' (Selao)."[15] As Chamberland references Césaire's renowned *Cahier d'un retour au pays natal*, he references the author's poetic nationalism toward his African culture and identity. Inspired by this awareness and embrace of Césaire's identity and heritage, Chamberland feels solidarity in his cultural journey to collective identification. Chamberland is also quoted as having said "je suis cubain yankee non je suis nègre je lave les planchers dans un bordel du Texas (Biron, 371)."[16] Moreover, one sees Césaire's influences on Chamberland since his first works with *Terre Québec*. In fact, Chamberland dedicated one of his first poems to

Césaire entitled "Méridien de la colère" as he said Césaire had aided him to enter "a poetic state of mind (Selao)."

Michèle Lalonde

In Michèle Lalonde's extremely renowned 1968 "Speak White," one sees a plethora of comparisons between Quebecois alienation and the alienation of other Francophone countries that were a part of the decolonization and negritude movements. "Speak white and loud qu'on vous entende de Saint-Henri à Saint-Domingue." Here she speaks of the alienation of the Francophones in the French colony of Saint-Domingue. Although her poem was inspired by the alienation of Quebecois Francophones, she eludes to the solidarity felt among international societies alienated by powerful Anglophone countries such as Britain and the United States. She writes "… et comme le sang se mêle à la poussière des rues d'Alger ou de Little Rock," mentioning the formerly-colonized Algerian capital, Algiers, and Little Rock, the location of the historical 'Little Rock Nine' and implementation of desegregation in the United States. She speaks of linguistic alienation again when she says "parlez un français pur et atrocement blanc comme au Viêt-Nam au Congo". She continues saying "nous savons que la liberté est un mot noir comme la misère est nègre...nous savons que nous ne sommes pas seuls (Poulin-Mignault, 195–197)." Here, as she emphasizes the alienation suffered by other Francophone countries, she illustrates the common struggle against assimilation of decolonizing and negritude societies and that of Quebec.

In *Terre des Hommes*, Lalonde invokes imagery similar to that of negritude and decolonization literature. She writes "saison sèche de stuc de palmes de terre cuite, le soleil bat la peau tendue de l'afrique, tam-tam de la colère de l'espoir..."[17] Later she says "…l'amérique la belle blanche se pave d'empocher la pleine lune comme une pièce de monnaie, tout ce qui brille est argent, et le nègre compte pour un sou noir (Lalonde, 23–27)."[18] Here she's speaking about the greed and economic domination in Quebec by English Canada and the United States. As she uses imagery associated with negritude poetry, she describes the common economic and cultural struggles that are maintained in decolonizing societies and literature.

Lalonde later used the concept and imagery of decolonization in a different way in her 1979 *Défense et illustration de la langue québécoise*. In "Le Jupon du système: Réflexion sur les rapports entre homes et femmes dans la situation coloniale québécoise," Lalonde compares the relation between men and women and a colonized society. Referring to Albert Memmi's *Portrait du colonisé, précédé du portrait du colonisateur,* she says:

> 'Toute colonisation est relative. Toute colonisation est spécifique' a dit Albert Memmi. Cela s'applique on ne peut mieux à notre sujet, et fait venir certaines interrogations à l'esprit : on a souvent comparé la sujétion de la femme par l'homme à une colonisation…Qu'advient-il donc de cette analogie quand on essaie de l'appliquer à la condition féminine au sein d'une société réellement colonisée ou globalement infériorisée?...Y a-t-il dans ce cas particulier, un premier degré et un second degré de colonisation féminine?[19] (Lalonde, 201)

This statement illustrates Lalonde's unique usage of colonization when talking about Quebec. Not only does she clearly state her consideration of Quebec as a colonized society, but she uses the relationship of colonization to address societal questions regarding feminism.

Conclusion

Among many influences in Quebec during the 1960s, one recognizes the reoccurring themes of negritude and decolonization in the literature of Gaston Miron, Paul Chamberland, and Michèle Lalonde. With countless references within the works of these classic writers, the immense influence of these movements on Quebec is undeniable. The documented statements of these writers reinforce this idea. Quebec's self-association with these movements was possible because the nature or "condition" of Quebec's struggle paralleled that of African and decolonized societies. Furthermore, negritude and decolonization philosophies also helped politically and economically orient Quebecois intellectuals through *Parti pris* and vital works of Pierre Vallières and André Major. Indeed, while Quebecois have a long history of struggle against assimilation, decolonization and negritude literature were instrumental in inspiring Quebec's struggle in the globalizing world of the 1960s.

ENDNOTES

1 *The Wretched of the Earth* (translation by Richard Philcox).

2 "While feeling closely tied to the ideological evolution of Quebec, *Parti pris*, from the start, was situated in the axis of the three most important ideological movements of the time: Marxism, Social Decolonization, and Sartrean Existentialism" (author's translation).

3 It's because of Fanon that Major came to *Parti pris*, it's because of Sartre that Chamberland came to be interested in Quebec's daily newspaper, and it's through [Albert] Memmi that the *partipristes* objectively saw themselves for the first time as colonized beings…" (author's translation).

4 “French-Canadians are they colonized?” (author’s translation).

5 “According to the most rigorous dialect, to show that the situation that provoked them is similar, in several aspects, to ours” (author’s translation).

6 White Niggers of America (translation by Joan Pinkham).

7 “I’m in the opulent city, the great Saint Catherine Street gallops and cracks…me, I lie, closed off in my cranium, depoetized in my language, out of sync with my membership and off-centered in my coincidence” (author’s translation).

8 “I identify with my humiliated condition; I swear on the obscure common breath, I only want the men to know what we know” (author’s translation).

9 “Salvation from the same humanity of distant men, despite you, despite us, I persist to exist, salvation to the brine of man” (author’s translation).

10 “White agony” (author’s translation).

11 “Lost my memory by force of misery and wear…lost my dignity by force of putting me down and self-respect by force of ridicule” (author’s translation).

12 “I’m in failure above my head…certain works that I’ve read this year, like that of Aimé Césaire for example, crush me by the frightening kinship that I feel toward them…I fear that I know longer know who I am, that my pulse is no longer distinguishable from theirs” (author’s translation).

13 “All my poetry is poetry of coincidence. Aimé Césaire for example, makes good for nothing everything that I can write” (author’s translation).

14 White negritude.

15 His intension was borrowed from the Martiniquais poet: “I’ve accomplished what Aimé Césaire calls ‘a return to my native country’” (author’s translation).

16 “I’m a Cuban Yankee no, I’m a Negro, and I wash the floors of a brothel in Texas” (author’s translation).

17 “The dry season of palm clay stucco, the sun beats the taut skin of Africa, drum of the anger of hope” (author’s translation).

18 “America the beautiful white aims to pocket the full moon like a coin, everything that shines is money, and the Negro is worth a black penny” (author’s translation).

19 “‘All colonization is relative. All colonization is specific’ said Albert Memmi. That couldn’t apply more to us, and brings some questions to mind: we often compare the subjugation of the women by the man to a colonization…What come of this analogy when we try to apply it to the feminine condition in the middle of a truly colonized

and globally inferior society?...Are there in this particular case, a first degree or second degree of feminine colonization?" (author's translation).

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DROP-IN FAMILY HISTORY WORKSHOPS AT THE ETRC

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Over the summer, the ETRC was happy to be able to offer weekly family history workshops, free of charge, to the public. They offered interested researchers and genealogists a way to learn more about the research tools available in the Old Library collection at Bishop's University and in the ETRC Archives as well as provided information on the tools that are available online. The workshops were informal, giving researchers the opportunity to ask questions specific to their own family trees, and were geared towards those just getting started in genealogy. The workshops welcomed 15 researchers over 11 weeks.

These workshops were a great occasion to highlight the wonderful sources available at the ETRC and at Bishop's University, which focus on the heritage of the English-speaking communities of the Eastern Townships. Among the resources available to family history researchers, the Old Library offers indexes to births, marriages, and deaths; cemeteries; newspaper notices; city directories; as well as an extensive collection on published regional and topical histories on the Eastern Townships. The ETRC Archives provides further resources through historical maps as well as the archives of the United, Congregational, Methodist and Presbyterian Churches in the Townships. The ETRC collection also includes archives featuring family histories and numerous family fonds, which contain a wealth of information for those doing family history research.

Although not specific to the ETRC and the Old Library, there are extensive family history resources available, which form an important part of contemporary genealogical research. For this reason, providing an outline of the information available online was an essential part of the workshops.

During the summer workshop series, the Lower Canada Land Petitions were particularly popular among those attending the workshops. When the distribution of Crown Lands became a provincial responsibility through the *British North America Act* in 1867, settlers, land companies or land speculators wishing to acquire land in the Eastern Townships had to petition the government. Through this process, successful grantees were often able to acquire land for nominal amounts. Each petition includes the original submission by the petitioner and, when applicable, the various administrative documents added by the different offices of the government reviewing the petition.[1] Beyond providing a geographic location for where one's ancestors first settled, land petitions can also include information on the petitioner's spouses and/or children, their country of origin, and other useful biographical details, which make them a valuable research tool.

Another source among the most utilized was the city directories and gazetteers, which are available for the Eastern Townships in some shape or form from 1867 to the 1940s. Typically, directories can be of use for confirming the town or village of residence for individuals or families as well as information on their profession, but they can also be useful sources for the historical context of a specific area. The section for each town and village generally included a summary of the industries operating there, the established religious and educational structures as well as other pertinent information pertaining to the respective areas.

Even though the drop-in family history workshops have ended for the summer season, we would like to take this opportunity to remind researchers that they are always welcome to contact the ETRC Archivist for more information about doing research – genealogical, academic or otherwise – at the ETRC.

ENDNOTE

1 "Land Petitions of Lower Canada, 1764–1841," Library and Archives Canada, http://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/land/land-petitions-lower-canada-1764-1841/Pages/land-petitions-lower-canada.aspx.

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Dr. Cheryl Gosselin has been teaching in the Sociology Department at Bishop's University for 23 years. Her research interests focus on the community vitality of the English-speaking population in Quebec as well as identity formation and negotiation among marginalized groups within Quebec society. She colloborates with Amanda Pichette (Ph.D. candidate at Concordia University) on various research projects including an Institutional Vitality Research Project, and how English-speaking communities help newcomers integrate into Quebec society. Both have presented their research together at numerous conferences including the 2012 Congrès de l'Acfas as well as the 2013 and 2014 ETRC/SUNY colloquiums.

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