Racial Renderings:
The Homonationalist Imaginary of Québec

by

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ABSTRACT

In contemporary Québec, Canada, debates over social values have exploded in the news, in social media, on the streets, and in everyday interactions. These debates are conditioned by the dominant history of Québec nationalism, sovereignty, and colonialism since the 1960s, and have centred around issues of immigration/citizenship and religion/ secularism since then. Sexual politics, in particular, have become central to the development of these debates, serving as a strategy of racialization. The social discourses instigated by the government and mainstream queer organizations have followed narratives of sexual modernity, through which racial 'others' are imagined as sexually unadvanced in opposition to sexually modern citizens. Through critical discourse analysis, interviews and participant observation, this thesis explores the implications and motivations of the contemporary confluence of homosexuality with national governance in Québec, interrogates how the regulation of race persists through the espousing of sexual diversity discourses, and theorizes the formation of Québec's homonationalist imaginary.

Keywords: homonationalism, queer, racialization, imagined geographies, secularism, Québec nationalism, sexual modernity

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In Québec, modern social values established during the 1960s and 70s, such as secularism, gender equality, and the common language of French (Potvin, 2011: 269), have become instrumental to the governance of post-1960's Québec society[1] (from citizens, the white francophone majority, to imagined 'others,' racial minorities). In line with the venture of maintaining Québec as a modern nation, the politics of sexuality have shifted towards the legal and social acceptance of homosexuality. These advances have pervaded all domains of Québec society, including the media, tourism, entertainment, and arts and culture industries, and political and legal systems (particularly regarding human rights and immigration) (see Smith, 2011a; Smith, 2011b; Stychin, 1998). While these advances can be read as progressions towards social equality, the homogeneity of the population that participates (or can participate) in these advances, demonstrate otherwise. I suggest that the whiteness of these realms mark the continuation of historical race relations and reflect the predispositions of sexual normativity. As I intend to show in my thesis, these advances in homosexuality have been used by both the Québec government and dominant lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer (LGBTQ) organizations in framing non-Western countries and (im)migrants from these countries as sexually backward. In addition, I hope to demonstrate that at the same time legal and social advances are being made with regard LGBT rights, there are violences being inflicted upon racialized populations by the Québec government.[2] In this thesis then, I characterize the shift and move towards the approbation of homosexuality by both the Québec government and dominant society as homonationalism, a nationalism informed by

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[1] The 1960s and 1970s in Québec, or known as the Quiet Revolution, is regarded as a period of intense and rapid change, including the reconfiguration of the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church, the government and society, and the surge of Québec nationalist and sovereigntist movements embodied by the Parti Québécois (PQ) and Front de libération du Québec (FLQ).

[2] Examples of these violences include but are not limited to: the imposition of hydroelectric projects on Cree, Innu and Inuit territories in Northern Québec; the approval of the reversal of Line 9, a pipeline that will bring tar sands oil through Haudenosaunee territory; the proposal of the Québec Charter of Values, an articulation of secularism that ultimately targets religious minorities; and the daily practices of police brutality, deportations, detentions, imprisonment, and racial profiling.

homosexuality, through which sexual norms, distanced from the history of sexual colonization,[3] are shaped to exclude racial 'others' and maintain racial 'othering' in Québec.

The term homonationalism, coined by queer theorist Jasbir Puar in her book *Terrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*, describes the relatively recent sociopolitical confluence of sexual politics and national governance, through which LGBTQ constituencies both uphold and are upheld by nationalist agendas (2007: xxiv). Analyzing the deployment of sexuality in advancing the 'war on terror', Puar argues that the appropriation of homosexuality by the nation-state and nationalism by LGBTQ constituencies reinforces sexual and racial regulation of those who cannot assume "normative gayness, queerness, or homosexuality" through the stigmatization of their sexualities (2007: 2). In this way, theorizations of homonationalism concentrate on the racial implications of homonationalist discourses on racialized populations and their sexualities. While the book specifically addresses homonationalism in the post 9/11 US context, many other scholars have examined the process of homonationalism in the Canadian context and/or pre-9/11 context (see Bilge, 2012; Davidson, 2013; Driskill, 2010; Dryden, 2010; Greensmith and Giwa, 2013; Jackson, 2013; Morgensen, 2010; Stychin, 1997; Sykes and Lloyd, 2012; Troster, 2011; White, 2013).

Avoiding a mere application of Puar's theorization of homonationalism in the US context to the Québec context, I explore the specific conditions of colonialism and sovereignty that have given rise to a distinct form of homonationalism in Quebec. To be clear, my focus on the current framing of the secularism/religion/sexuality debate in Québec is not intended to erase the violences that religion or heteronormativity[4] can

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[3] Scott Lauria Morgensen (2010) describes sexual colonization as the construction of settler sexuality, defined by heterosexuality, as the norm and indigenous sexualities, expressed through diverse practices of gender and sexuality, as deviant. Like Morgensen, I interpret homonationalism as the current form of a long history of sexual regulation rooted in settler colonialism.

[4] Michael Warner (1991) characterizes heteronormativity as heterosexuality's claim to naturalness and normality. It refers to the unchallenged privileging of heterosexuality in all aspects of society.

produce or have produced (see Dhawan, 2013).[5] Nor do I want to erase the persistence of homophobia in Québec, where anti-gay violence still takes place on a frequent basis (see Podmore, 2013). Instead, I want to recognize and attest to the historical and situational context through which sexual diversity, an assumed marker of modernity, is being deployed in Québec nationalism to reaffirm racial hierarchy. To do so, I use a methodological framework of critical discourse analysis, interviews, and participant observation to examine LGBTTQ[6] programs, events and organizations, and government initiatives that relate to homonationalism in the recent years in Québec. I explore how the convergence of nationalism and sexual regulation today in Québec manifests as "a more implicit neo-racism," determined by cultural difference, contrasting but also relating to the more overt racism pre-1960s, determined by biological difference (Potvin, 2011: 270).

1.1 Situating and Contextualizing the Research

Miranda Smith (2011a) argues that in Québec, the rise of feminist, and gay and lesbian organizing was strongly linked to Québec's nationalist modernizing process in the 1960s, since the advancement of same-sex laws in Québec was a means for Québec to distinguish itself from the rest of Canada. Québec recognized the rights of gays and lesbians in its anti-discrimination clause of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1977[7] before the rest of Canada did, and the province granted gay and lesbian couples the same social and administrative rights as common law couples in 1999 (Meyercook and Labelle, 2003: 42). According to Carl Stychin, this inclusion of sexual orientation rights laws in Québec represented an "expression of a new nationalist founding myth based on

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[5] Nikita Dhawan (2013) argues that the uses of religion and heteronormativity as strategies of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism in non-Western contexts have been left unchallenged in queer critique and activism.

[6] The second "T" refers to Two-Spirit, a contemporary term created by and used to identify indigenous North Americans who do not conform to colonial gender binaries and normative gender and sexual expressions (see Driskill, 2010).

[7] This amendment to the Charter was proposed by the nationalist and separatist PQ government (Stychin 1997: 4).

inclusion, openness, and a modernist discourse of progress" (1997: 6). Based on its position on sexual orientation, Québec would prove to be "a generation ahead of most of North America" (Ibid).

But as Gary Kinsman and Patrizia Gentile caution, seeking sexual justice through the legal system can "continue to perpetuate social exclusions based on class, race, gender, and sexuality" and neglect the ways in which white, middle class queers benefit from the subjugation of 'others' (2010: xvii). In these homonationalist times, Puar (2007: 29) asserts that legal, social, political and cultural institutions are structured to support the white queer[8] subject, as a means to invisibilize the impoverished conditions that communities of colour and indigenous communities face.

Oren Howlett (2013) argues that the LGBT rights-seeking framework in Canada neglects to recognize the history of sexual colonization in Canada, and thus, reinforces the erasure of indigenous peoples. As Howlett (2013: 162) notes, heteronormative laws and governance were imposed onto indigenous peoples by European settlers in the construction of the imagined Canadian nation. Given the historical relationship between of nation-building, sexual regulation, and racial hierarchy as Howlett (2013) oulines, the current state of sexual regulation in Québec cannot be regarded as separate from processes of colonization and racialization. Thus, the removal of the history of heterosexual colonization in the contemporary battle against homophobia demonstrates the colonial legacies embedded in these movements, particularly in the eliding of race in issues of sexuality.

The conditions of sexual politics today in Québec should then be traced to its history of colonialism and nation-building. As David Austin (2010) demonstrates, Québec's national narrative of colonialism, as circulated by dominant history and popular literature, completely omits the history of sexual colonization of indigenous peoples and

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[8] I realize that the wide use of the term queer can be controversial, in the sense that it is product of specific historical and sociopolitical power relations, possesses racially-informed inclinations and differentiates as it represents (see Butler, 1993). Thus in this thesis, I use the term queer as an umbrella term to refer to gender and sexual minorities who are not heterosexual nor gender binary, but within the limits of its complicity to whiteness and Western-centrism.

instead, focuses on the colonization of the Québécois(e)[9] by English Canadians. He argues that in the 1960s, the Québécois(e) obliterated the ways in which they contributed to the colonization of indigenous population and slavery of black populations through self-victimizing narratives that appropriated the struggles of colonized Africans and African Americans (2010: 19). In this way, Québec's dominant narrative, the colonization of Québécois history, values, and territory by English Canadians, contributed to the construction a "fragile form of nationalism", wherein non-Québécois(e), particularly immigrants, are posed as threats to the borders of the nation (Stasiulis, 2013: 187; see also Potvin, 2010; Wong, 2011). Hence, it is through this history of colonialism that the link between the contemporary celebration of sexual diversity and the reaffirmation of the nation's physical and social borders can be drawn.

These relationships are apparent today in the use of sexual diversity as a marker of modernity in the regulation of (im)migrants' sexualities. As Maryse Potvin (2011: 267) contends, these markers provide reassurance and confidence for the survival of the imagined nation. Daiva Stasiulis (2013) claims that the anxiety attributed to fragility of Québec's borders was exemplified during the reasonable accommodation debate of 2006-2008,[10] which focused on the extent to which the practices and values of 'cultural communities'[11] should be accommodated within the boundaries of Québec's envisioned identity. By analyzing Québec mainstream media, Sirma Bilge reveals that during these debates, gender and sexual politics were used to construct a form of social citizenship,

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[9] Many francophones in Québec who support Québec sovereignty have self-identified as Québécois(e), instead of Canadian or French Canadian, since the 1960s Quiet Revolution. But the term Québécois(e) can be controversial since it is also used to refer to all Québec citizens, regardless of ethnicity and language, by the provincial government, even though non-francophone and non-white populations are often still denied the use of the term (see Makropoulos, 2004). For the purposes of this thesis, I use Québécois(e) to refer to francophone sovereigntists, from whom the term had initially developed.

[10] Laura Schaefli and Anne Godlewska (2014) demonstrate that the perspectives of indigenous peoples were deliberately ignored in the reasonable accommodation debate by the government, as evident in the briefs received by the Bouchard-Taylor Commission (a two-man commission selected to investigate the public opinion on the accommodation of so-called cultural difference).

[11] The Québec government uses the term cultural communities to refer to residents of Québec that are not part of the francophone majority (see Makropoulos, 2004).

through which "legitimate subjects of the nation entitled to rule over its objects, those deemed inassimilable and dangerous to the nation" (2012: 304). Her analysis focuses more on discourses of gender equality than discourses of sexual diversity in the stigmatization of Muslim and immigrant communities (due to the absence of these debates in the media), though she refers to the perpetuation of the 'homophobic Muslim' stereotype in Québec's gay media and targeting of 'cultural communities' in the education of sexual diversity.

Bilge (2013: 166) also argues that the entitlement of Québécois society in the instigation of these debates, regardless of whether or not they were in favour of against accommodation, was left unchallenged and unacknowledged. She contends that the criticism was always about the content of accommodation, as opposed to the process of accommodation itself, wherein decision-making power is already differentially distributed (2013: 166). In this way, these debates on citizenship endow "ordinary White people with an institutionalized form capable of reproducing their 'governmental belonging': a sense of control over their destiny and their nation" and affirm the power of white hegemony in controlling the lives of non-white (im)migrants and indigenous peoples (Hage, 2000: 241). Thus, the reasonable accommodation debate, widely understood as being about religion and secularism, and not about race, was nevertheless informed by the "unsaid […] racial subtext" of Québécois society (Bilge, 2013: 173).

This racial subtext is what I intend to continue exploring in formations of homonationalism. While radical queer groups in Montréal have long critiqued and protested mainstream queer spaces and events, such as Fierté, Divers/Cité and the Village for their increasing alignment with neoliberal agendas (Hogan, 2005: 157), I want to make more explicit the link between the national investment in sexual diversity and practices of racialization. During the Opening Ceremonies of the 2006 World Outgames in Montréal, athletes predominantly from Arab Islamic and African countries were singled out as "Athletes from Countries with Penalties for Homosexualities" through the announcements (Davidson, 2013: 73). Judy Davidson suggests that by isolating the countries without the same LGBT rights as Western countries, non-Western populations

are presented as not-yet-modern and teleologically undeveloped and reaffirmed as necessarily homophobic (Ibid). In addition to these examples, I provide more timely cases that depict the ways in which homonationalist governmentality[12] incites forms of racialization in this thesis.

1.2 Research Aims and Questions

The overall aim of my thesis is to explore how sexual nationalism[13] in Québec, as imagined by the government and dominant society,[14] incites and is incited by the governmentality of race.

My investigation of the overall aim involves three main research questions. (1) What role does the Québec government (meaning dominant political parties such as the PQ and Liberals) play in facilitating exclusionary forms of sexual nationalism? I examine the role of the government to highlight the potential of national governance in maintaining but also influencing racial norms through sexual nationalism. (2) What role do queer organizations play in aligning with, but also sometimes prompting sexual nationalism? I look at the relationship between dominant queer organizations and the government to illuminate the ways in which queer populations seek complicity with the government. (3) What do the responses by non-white sexual minorities to the racial exclusions incited by sexual nationalism reveal? I approach these responses to discern the immediate impact of both explicit and implicit forms of racially-informed sexual regulation that have configured Quebec's geography and dominant society. Altogether,

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[12] I use the term governmentality in the Foucauldian sense, referring to the governance of all levels of society, beyond the top-down control of the population by the state. As Foucault discusses, social control takes effect through society's internationalization of power, as enabled by disciplinary institutions and knowledge production, distribution and reception (see Foucault, 1977).

[13] I employ the term sexual nationalism as almost synonymous with homonationalism. My deployment of the term sexual nationalism refers to the strategic use of sexuality in general (and not always homosexuality specifically) in the development of nationalism.

[14] I apply the term dominant society to mainly refer to the white francophone population. Although at the same time, I am not exempting the white anglophone population from this definition, given their social, political and economic power in shaping and controlling physical and discursive space (Austin, 2010: 25-26).

these different perspectives illuminate the place of sexuality in the omnipresence of power relations (see Foucault, 1979) and guide my overall argument on the formation of a homonationalist imaginary in Québec.

1.3 Thesis Outline

In Chapter 2, I develop the conceptual framework that structures the rest of my analyses. I draw on literature on queer complicity, sexual exceptionalism, and settler colonialism, all theories that inform the thesis' main framing concept of homonationalism. Chapter 3 outlines my methodological framework, which consists of my design, research, and analysis processes, and their limits as determined by my socio-economic and -political position. Grounding my approach in my conceptual and methodological framework, I work through government documents, news articles, press releases, and websites in Chapter 4 to to illustrate the ways in which the government employs discourses of sexual diversity and their implications on race relations. To extend my study of homonationalist governmentality beyond government affairs, I explore the ways in which mainstream queer organizations collaborate with the ideologies and practices of the Québec government by also looking textual sources but also interview transcripts in Chapter 5. Then, in Chapter 6, also through the examination of textual sources and interview transcripts, I explore the perspectives of non-white queers who are critical of the practices instituted by the government and dominant queer organizations and ascertain my analysis of the consequences of homonationalism. Finally, in Chapter 7, I discuss my findings from Chapter 4, 5, and 6 and draw the main conclusions of my thesis, which bring together the relationships between race, governance, and Québec homonationalism.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review the literature that frames my analysis of Québec's homonationalist imaginary (see Figure 2.1). I begin by looking at theorizations of queer complicities that predominantly centre queer of colour and/or Two-Spirit critiques, in order to examine forms of race-based sexual regulation that simultaneously and mutually produce individual, national, and imperial violences. Then, I outline the literature that is concerned with the spatial mapping of homonationalist sexual exceptionalisms, particularly regarding how imagined geographies create affective (dis)alignments among different bodies/nations. Finally, I examine texts relating to settler colonialism, which will help contextualize the relationship between sexual politics, racialization, colonization, and nation-building and demonstrate how homonationalism stands in as the current state of a long history of racially-informed sexual regulation.

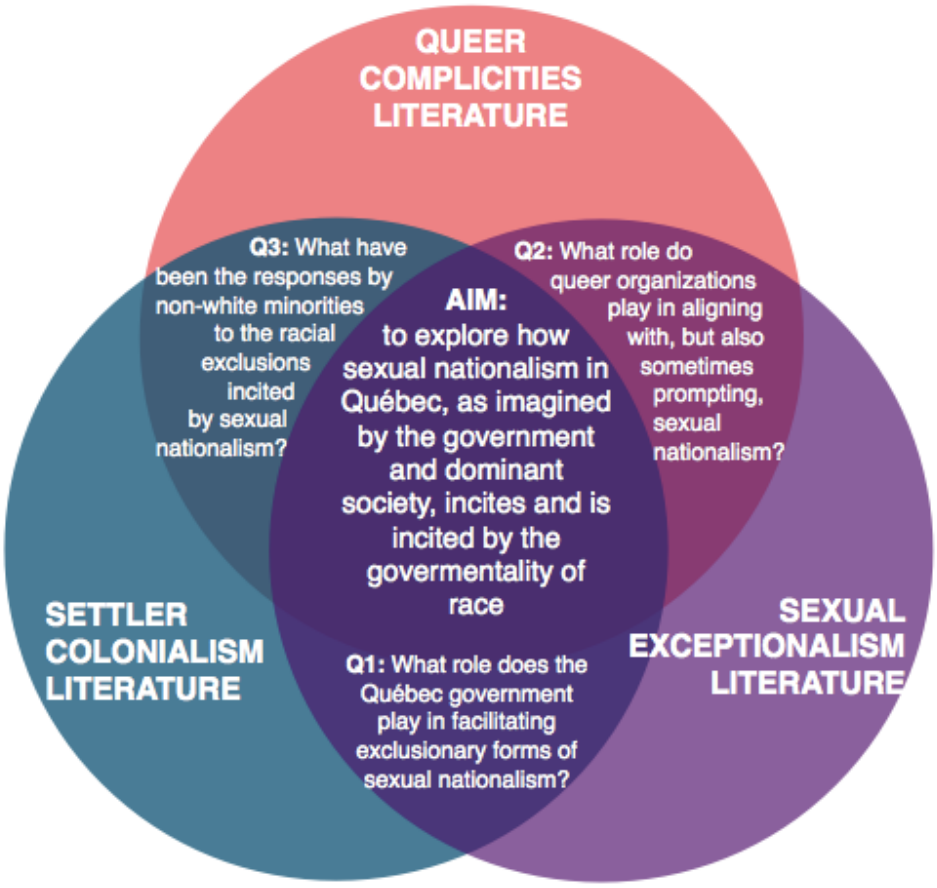

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework Diagram

2.2 Queer Complicities

As the literature on queer complicities demonstrates, the inclusion of gay and lesbian identities into the national fabric, through the extension of rights and the enablement of consumptive participation, has reconfigured the relationship between these previously marginalized identities and the normativization of sexualities. Given this reconfiguration, many scholars have pointed out that sexual minorities now reinforce national forms of identity as they relate to neoliberalism and whiteness, whether intentionally or unintentionally.

Central to the discussion of queer complicities is Lisa Duggan's theorization of homonormativity, which she attributes to "the possibility of a demobilized gay constituency and a privatized, depoliticized gay culture anchored in domesticity and consumption" (2002: 179). Howlett (2013: 173), a similar manner, states that homonormativity folds queers into the status quo by integrating them into neoliberal ways of being, leaving heterosexist and heteronormative institutions unchallenged. Homonormativity is especially apparent in the gay and lesbian rights discourse, which focuses on inclusion in existing forms of family, marriage, and military "rather than on challenging the inequalities and oppressions within these relations" (Kinsman and Gentile, 2010: 394). For instance, Cathy Cohen shows that the fight for marriage has neglected the ways in which marriage has been grounded in white supremacist logics. As she discusses, marriage between slaves used to be prohibited and interracial heterosexual relationships used to be regulated (1997: 453-4). Thus it is through the structuring of gay and lesbian rights discourses, around notions of freedom, privacy, autonomy, and property, that the racial exclusions of disciplinary institutions (such as marriage) are erased (see Lenon, 2005). According to Sabrina Alimahomed, the invisibilization of these exclusions further perpetuate the absence of non-white sexual minorities in the LGBT rights movement (2010: 155).

Beyond the critique of homonormativity, many queer scholars examine how theorizations of queerness have not materialized in practice and/or have maintained exclusionary presumptions of (settler) white logics (see Ahmed, 2011; Alimahomed,

2010; Barnard, 2009; Cohen, 1997; Crichlow, 2001; Driskill, 2010; Jindal, 2004; Manalansan, 2005; Nash and Bain, 2007; Oswin, 2008; Petzen, 2012; Puar, 2002; Smith, 2010). For instance, Priyank Jindal states that radical queer spaces often become "a continuation of the legitimization of white identity that exists in gay mainstream culture" (2004: 42). Although these radical queer groups may espouse an anti-racist rhetoric, in practice they often maintain norms of whiteness (see also Haritaworn et al., 2008; Jindal, 2004; Petzen, 2012). In addition, the work of Scott Morgensen has demonstrates that many queers appropriate indigeneity in attempt to align with Two-Spirit or queer indigenous peoples, but in doing so "incorporat[e] and [transcend] the primitivity that settlers definitively supplant and recall" (2011a: 27).

In this way, queer theory, despite its dedication to anti-essentialism and anti-identity politics, can quickly realign with norms of whiteness. Ian Barnard asserts that any Western politics defines itself only in terms of gender and sexuality inevitably reproduces "white-centred and white-dominated politics, since, in the West, only white people can afford to see their race as unmarked, as an irrelevant or subordinate category of analysis" (2009: 202). Similarly, Puar (2007: 23-4) contends that queerness is bounded to disciplinary whiteness, arguing that the condition of queerness is dependent on a kind of freedom enabled by neoliberal individualism. Because most institutionalized gay and lesbian organizations are made up of and run by white middle-class men, work done by these organizations tend to focus on the issues and experiences of this particular group of gay and lesbians (see Barnard 2009: 202). While racism is often disregarded by those queers who embody whiteness, Alimahomed (2010: 166) notes that non-white queers are able to point out the ways through which dominant queer politics is informed by whiteness. As Sara Ahmed describes, "[t]he experience of racism teaches you the myriad and complex ways in which racism is not visible to those who do not experience it" (2011: 128).

Queer of colour and queer diasporic critiques expose the interdependence of racial and national formations, the tensions of seeking social inclusion, and the existence of non-nationalist forms of collectivity (see, for example: Ferguson, 2003; Gopinath, 2005;

and, Munoz, 1999). These theories take into account different ways of seeing and being among queers of colour that deviate from dominant queer resistance strategies. They recognize that the difficulties of escaping normative configurations of the nation and thus, explore the possibility of subversion in acts of complicity.

Still, non-white subjects are not exempt from "the ascendancy of whiteness", as characterized by the national inclusion of multicultural heteronormative subjects. Their "participation in global economic privileges" can obliterate cross-class racial alliances, advance "the project of whiteness," and contribute to their own subjection, as Puar (2007: 31) has outlined in her work. In the striving for national inclusion, queers of colour can also contribute to the naturalization of settler colonialism (see Morgensen 2010: 106; Smith, 2010: 42). Futhermore, Nikita Dhawan illustrates how the portrayal of "(diasporic) queers of colour as simply 'victims' of queer imperialism masks their location on the privileged side of transnationality" (2013: 215). Qwo-Li Driskill notes that while queer of colour critiques successfully highlight the connections between certain forms of sexual nationalisms and racism, they do not recognize the "unique situations and politics" of Two-Spirit and queer indigenous peoples living under settler colonial regimes (2010: 80).

Like Cohen (1997: 480), Andrea Smith (2010: 63) calls for a subjectless critique that embraces an 'identity plus' politic instead of a 'post-identity' politic that often assumes a white colonial framework. This kind of politic calls for the destabilization, not the abandonment of identity categories, since an understanding of the different uses of identity can extend an analyses of power relations (Cohen, 1997: 480). By outlining the ways in which queers of different positionalities can be complicit in maintaining configurations of power, such work provides important insights that ought to be considered in relation to LGBTQ organizing.

2.3 Sexual Exceptionalism

The concept of sexual exceptionalism, as Puar (2007: 10) characterizes it, demonstrates how American sexual modernity is strategically elevated over all other sexual

nationalisms that eschew homosexuality. She explains how the strategic mapping of nations that are sexually liberated from those that are sexually repressed contributes to the violent impacts of xenophobic nationalism and Western imperialism (2007: 9).

This mapping is grounded in Edward Said's (1978) theorization of the imaginative geographies of Orientalism, wherein non-Western societies are portrayed as inferior to Western societies through visual and textual representations. Derek Gregory furthers the notion of imaginative geographies by considering how the discursive and visual construction of 'other' places still have serious material consequences today, as exemplified by the current 'war on terror' (1995: 463). He states that Orientalism involves the "violent production of an abstract(ed) space and its superimposition over the particularities of different places" (1995: 463). Places are then transformed by Western knowledge structures through their emphasis on difference and distance. Thus, imaginative geographies are "performances of space" in the sense that they do not merely represent but they do things (2004: 19). In this way, distance is not neutral nor inherently fixed, but shifts to carry out specific socio-political motives.

Sara Ahmed also conceptualizes proximity and distance as dependent on social positionality. She asserts that the specificity of embodiment is made central to what one can do or access (2006b: 112). 'Farness' is made an attribute imposed onto 'other' bodies and places through Orientalist discourses and the Orientalist gaze, which she describes as the orientation of the West towards the East (2006: 114). Homonationalism then, contributes to the formation of imaginative geographies in that sexual modernity and racial diversity are embodied by the nation within and through its borders. Through emotions, which Ahmed (2004b) contends do not manifest as individually formed psychological conditions but as collectively formed cultural practices, bodies are aligned together to create but also 'other' social groups, communities, and nations. Ahmed (2004a: 27) theorizes that the national body and its borders are shaped through the direction of hateful emotions towards 'others'. The impressions left on and by 'others' shape and are shaped by historical and situational contexts and are "not simply a matter

of individual impressions, or impressions that are created anew in the present" (2004a: 39).

In the same vain, Anne-Marie Fortier asserts that (in the context of Britain) when the national sexual boundary is exceeded, questions of sexual (in)decency enter into the public sphere and emotional responses form to (dis)align bodies, embracing some while distancing others (2008: 64). She posits that the negotiation in/exclusions retrace historical patterns and are always dependent on proximities, distances, and positions of subjects in relation to each other and to the nation-state (Ibid: 10). Most precisely, her work makes the claim that mechanisms of institutionalized in/exclusion is now determined by a "basis of values rather than [by] displays of cultural competence and capital" (Ibid: 5). She suggests that through a discourse of values, standards of morality are tactfully constructed, in the sense that they are disguised as "universal, timeless, and unquestionable" but indeed "chang[e] in relation to the particular historical conditions" (Ibid). She illustrates this shift through her analysis of values of secularity, which she recognizes as disciplinary mechanisms that mark, pry, and regulate difference (Ibid: 6). Similarly, Puar uses the term "queer secularity" to refer to the deployment of secularism as a strategy of reinforcing 'the war on terror,' by rooting the propagation of homophobia in Islamic religions (2007: 15). And relatedly, Jin Haritaworn et al. (2008: 24) and Sirma Bilge (2012: 308) allege that discourses of gender and sexual equality, supposedly achievable through the disavowal of religion, are invoked to advance the 'war on terror.'

But as Puar's (2007: 29) work shows, the association between immigrant communities and communities of colour and homophobia omits how state-sanctioned heteronormative measures are enforced in these communities through disciplinary institutions, such as the welfare system. Likewise, Ainsley Jenicek et al. (2012) and Fatima Jaffer (2012) reveal that the framing of communities of colour as homophobic is perpetuated by the Canadian media and erases the existence of homophobic beliefs and practices in all of Canadian society. Other scholars confirm that more comprehensive understandings of homophobia cannot be removed from the ways in which the US and

Canadian immigration systems impose heterosexual norms onto immigrants (see Rhein, 2011; Reddy, 2005; Luibheid 2005; Puar 2002). These works on sexual exceptionalism, having affirmed the prominence of Orientalist sexual mappings, guide my analyses of imagined collectives in later chapters.

2.4 Settler Colonialism

Given the ways in which settler colonialism is lacking in queer theory in general and theorizations of homonationalism more specifically, Andrea Smith (2010), Qwo-Li Driskill (2010) and Scott Morgensen (2010) demonstrate how homonationalism manifests as the historical continuity of sexual colonization in white settler nations such as Canada and the US. In this way, they identify the ways in which sexual politics have always been linked to the making of the white settler nation, resulting in the racialization of migrants and the ongoing colonization of indigenous peoples.

David Austin states that, "in Canada, racialized exclusion exists in its crudest form in the near erasure of Indigenous peoples' histories" (2010: 20). Racial discourses have shaped the construction of Canada since Europe's first contact with North America and continue to shape Canadian governance through policies and public debate. But Austin (2010: 22) asserts that contemporary racism operates through its invisibilization, which is enabled by hollow discourses of multiculturalism that superficially celebrate objectives of diversity and inclusion. Such a focus on diversity and inclusion has, what Ahmed (2011: 131) argues, aestheticized equality, displacing attention from actual material inequalities. Driskill also analyzes the estrangement of history, claiming that the "un-seeing" of indigenous peoples "perpetuates a master narrative in which Native people are erased from an understanding of racial formations, Native histories are ignored, Native people are thought of as historical rather than contemporary, and [their] homelands aren't seen as occupied by colonial powers" (2010: 78).

The implicit structuring of inclusion and exclusion by the explicitly racist past is represented in the institution of citizenship (see Peake and Ray, 2001: 180; Thobani, 2007: 102; Vukov, 2003: 337). Sunera Thobani illuminates that the "liberalization of

citizenship," characterized by its progression in immigration laws, defines Canada as "a liberal democracy in essence rather than a colonial settler society" (2007: 102). As Howlett argues, sexual citizenship is presently portrayed as tolerant and benevolent, through same-sex immigration and sexual minority refugee laws (2013: 162).

In Canada and the US, indigenous bodies were colonized through "white and national heteronormativity", the supposedly modern form of sexuality that rendered indigenous sexualities as deviant and settler sexualities as the norm (Morgensen 2011a: 31). Through this understanding, Morgensen insists that sexual modernity today, as directed towards the acceptance of certain forms of homosexuality, is ahistoricized. More specifically, he argues that the incorporation of homosexuality into contemporary sexual norms without an analysis of sexual colonization is demonstrative of the continuation of the settler colonial state (Ibid). As such, Andrea Smith (2010: 53) makes the argument that any claim to space or citizenship by non-indigenous queers contributes to the disappearance of indigenous peoples and the governance of the colonial settler state.

The logics of sexual modernity are reflected by the position of indigenous sexual minorities in assimilatory queer politics, with which they face the tension of identifying as indigenous or LGBTQ (Greensmith and Giwa, 2013; Driskill et al., 2011). Given the variability in the stakes of being visible among different sexual minorities, Driskill et al. (2011: 213) point out that visibility for indigenous sexual minorities can elicit distancing from their indigenous communities and is often futile to the struggle against decolonization. As a response, Two-Spirit identifications were created among indigenous gender and sexual minorities as a means to acknowledge their histories of gendered and sexualized violences and to reject assimilation to the Western categorization of gender and sexuality (see Driskill, 2010).

This brief overview of these historical continuities provide context for the analyses I make in the later chapters with regard to the role of sexuality in the normalization of settler colonialism.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, I set out the thesis' conceptual framework through a review of literature on queer complicities, sexual exceptionalism, and settler colonialism. Informed by scholarship on queer complicities, my research pays attention to the multiple facets of power that govern society, with emphasis on positionality and relationality. My examination of power relations is further supplemented by the literature on sexual exceptionalism, with which I explore the perpetual framing, shaping, and normalization of collectives and differences. To better understand the silences and absences in these imagined alignments and divisions, I use the literature on settler colonialism when looking intently at selective remembering of history and in the fashioning of national identity.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

Like Puar, my own research engages "a range of different theoretical paradigms, textual materials, and tactical approaches that are reflective of a queer methodological philosophy" (2007: xv). Also like Puar, the sources of my research draw from my own involvement in "community-based organizations, activist events, protests, teach-ins, and panels" and access to "pamphlets, education materials, propaganda, and press releases from both alternative and mainstream media" (Ibid). In this way, it is somewhat difficult for me to draw a beginning and an end for the purposes of this research as my learning and reflection processes are always ongoing and changing. Nonetheless, the core of my research was conducted in the timeframe of May to December 2013 and within the geographic limits of urban Montréal, QC.

The way in which I gathered sources often did not follow a replicable procedure, and more often relied on my own proximities, directions, and orientations. My position as a university student has granted me the privileges of reflecting on and articulating my race, sexuality, and gender, and my place as a child of Chinese immigrant-settler parents. From these realizations, I have developed an interest in migrant justice, anti-racist, anti-colonial, and queer of colour organizing, rooting me within networks and spaces that question dominant national narratives. Thus, the materials I have gathered are grounded in larger discussions, debates, and responses within which I have been implicated because of my own sociopolitical positionings. In a way, this thesis is an autoethnography, which Deborah Reed-Danahay (1997: 9) characterizes as relating the self to the broader social context. Taking into account the insights of Donna Haraway (1988), I recognize that my access to different experiences and knowledges is thus limited and ruled by my own biases, perspectives, and positionings. Based on the work of Audrey Kobayashi (2009: 41), I also recognize that my embodied place in the discursive-material field influences what I know and can know. My thesis is especially limited by my linguistic abilities. As much as I have been surrounded with enough French texts and speakers that I have become attuned to basic French vocabulary and structure, I am still implicated in spaces

where English is the predominant language spoken and written. Thus, as an anglophone who has lived in Montréal for three and a half years, I can only provide and say so much.

By focusing on incidents and forms of racialized sexual regulation during my research period, I intend for this assemblage of incidents and experiences to bring together partial views and to draw unexpected connections. Through a variety of qualitative methods, I strive to autoethnographically make sense of and reflect on my own place as it relates to broader processes of knowledge production and deconstruction. I intend for my reflections and analyses to highlight the ascendant politics of Québec (homo)nationalism, adding to the growing literature on homonationalism, and providing some incentive and insight for future activism.

3.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Employing critical discourse analysis as one of my methods, I examined the absences in dominant histories, in order to deconstruct the subjugated representations of 'others', and to contribute to the formation of alternative narratives on the relationship between Québec and sexual politics. Using a Foucauldian framework, I closely looked at how discursive practices normalize certain groups, behaviours, and ideas, creating divisions that govern society (Berg, 2009: 217). Because language is a manifestation of meaning, analyses of discourses can contribute to the understanding of material forms of domination and subjugation (Ibid: 216). By analyzing different discourses, I could identify how particular social conditions become naturalized and left unquestioned (Waitt, 2010: 218). In addition, as the work of Foucault (1972) insists, a focus on who is speaking and what is being spoken about can reveal the silencing processes of discourses. When different understandings of the world are often negated by prevailing dominant discourses, silence can become a mechanism of social power. Thus, I felt that it was important to attend to the silencing of issues relating to race and colonialism within homonationalist discourses.

My research involved the analysis of mainstream and alternative media for evidence of discussions, debates, and controversies involving the convergence of LGBT

equality discourses with national ideologies (see Appendix A). My initial knowledge of these documents, plans, and events came from sexuality and/or race-focused individual and group discussions (in classroom, organizing and social settings, and with activists and academics), and sexuality and/or race-focused social, mainstream, and alternative media (found on relevant Facebook groups, Google search results, blogs, and official websites).

When I read these texts, I reflected on how I am personally implicated in these discourses in order to resist unthoughtful compliance with these discourses, including their ability to erase, deceive, and divide. In addition, I considered the social context within which these texts were written and disseminated by examining who, when, where, why, how it was written and disseminated by and for. Meaning, as it relates to power, is always temporally and spatially dependent. Substantiating my reading of mainstream media, I also looked at alternative media, from statements to blogs to zines, to better examine the inconsistencies and absences within dominant narratives and discourses, as identified in my previous chapter. For each document, I narrowed it down to sections that were relevant to my research questions and aim, descriptively and analytically coded these sections, and drew out broader themes based on the codes' repetitiveness (but sometimes uniqueness), relevancy to related literature, and accordance with my own hypotheses.

3.3 Interviews

To supplement and enhance my understandings of LGBTTQ organizing in Montréal, I conducted in-person and email interviews with organizers of Fierté, Divers/Cité, Pervers/Cité, Qouleur, and Ethnoculture (a precursor to Qouleur). I interviewed an organizer of Fierté (in-person), two organizers of Divers/Cité (one in-person, one email), two organizers of Pervers/Cité (one in-person, one email), two organizers of Qouleur (one in-person, one email), and an organizer of Ethnoculture (email). Through interviews, I could explore differences in experiences, opinions, and intentions (Dunn 2010: 102). I wanted to get a better sense of the historical, sociopolitical motives behind these events. I got in

contact with organizers through email (see Appendix B), some of whom I personally knew and others I learned about through the festivals' websites. For conducting interviews, I was granted permission by McGill University's Research Ethics Board I (see Appendix C) and I obtained consent from the organizers for conducting the interview and identifying their names in the thesis through a written content form (see Appendix D). I had a list of questions that guided the interviews (see Appendix E), though in the in-person interviews I asked additional questions and/or did not ask all the questions on the list, depending on how the interview proceeded. Because I was already informed of the differences in motives, contributions, and structuring between the festivals, my framing of the questions slightly varied from interview to interview. With the content of these interviews, I also coded and drew out broader themes, essentially mirroring the method of critical discourse analysis as described earlier, but additionally taking into consideration how the embodied interaction of in-person interviews may have affected organizers' responses. Complementing the information I found through the festivals' websites, press releases, program guides, event descriptions, media coverage, statements, and reactions, I wanted to explore how these festivals were organized, how they related to one another, and what their intentions were. I also hoped that these interviews provided a space for reflection and spark further discussions within these organizations/collectives.

3.4 Participant Observation

In my role as a participant-observer, I gave thought to how the discourses I identified through critical discourse analyses and interviews became material and affective by reflecting on my own experiences in different organizing and activist spaces. I was especially attentive to how emotions work to unite or divide individuals, creating spaces of (un)belonging and shaping imagined communities. Like Joao H. Costa Vargas, an activist-scholar, I perceive my approach as observant-participation more than the traditional participant-observation (2008: 175). In this shift, "observation becomes an appendage of the main activity" (Ibid). My observations then, may not serve as a

transparent research method, but have inevitably influenced how I have carried out this research.

During August 2013, I attended many LGBTTQ-related events. Due to time limitations and financial constraints, most of the events that I attended were those put on by Qouleur. Most of the events for Divers/Cité and Fierté cost money unlike Qouleur and Pervers/Cité where every event was either free or pay what you can. In all these spaces, I was conscious of the extent to which whiteness pervaded. The diversity of feelings and comfort levels I had in different queer spaces attested to how exclusions still exist and govern. Because queer spaces in Montréal are generally predominantly white, queer of colour gatherings are often organized to provide a space for discussing the relationships between racism and sexuality.

From September to December 2013, discussions on the Charter of Values became so prominent in Montréal to the extent that they were a part of my daily interactions. I attended demonstrations and teach-ins against the Charter, perceiving the extent to which the Charter estranged and alienated a particular group of people. Through participant-observations, I was able to critically think about the social context I live in, but only within the limits of linguistic borders (understanding a limited amount of French) and social borders (surrounding myself with like-minded people). By reflecting on these experiences, I could better connect the ways in which racism operates on a national level to the ways in which it operates in queer spaces. I also developed an awareness of particular absences, especially within the histories upon which these festivals were created.

While my thesis may not include descriptive anecdotes of these observations due to the length constraints of this thesis, these observations have nonetheless shaped my perspectives and analyses.

3.5 Conclusion

Through these three qualitative methods, critical discourse analysis, interviews, and participant observation, I gathered information that draws together the ways in which

homonationalism operates in Québec. My engagement with these methods was conditioned by my own positionings and orientations within the material-discursive fields of race and sexuality. In this way, my findings, as autoethnographic accounts of the self in relation to the social, illustrate a particular composition of different academic, activist, and social realms.

CHAPTER 4: INSTITUTIONALIZED SEXUAL REGULATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present the strategies of sexual regulation that the Québec government has recently implemented through the Government Action Plan Against Homophobia 2011-2016 and Charter of Values (also known as Bill 60 and *the Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests*) introduced in 2013. Drawing together textual sources and participant observation on these large projects, I explore the racialization of sexual regulation by the Québec government. My findings demonstrate that the Action Plan Against Homophobia is a medium through which the government constructs Québec as a sexually diverse nation, and that the Charter is a medium through which debates related immigration and sexuality are instigated among LGBTQ groups and individuals in the media. In this way, discourses of sexual modernity, as they relate to government practices, contributes to the formation of a national imaginary that delineates sexual citizens from racial 'others.'

4.2 Performing the Sexual Diversity of Québec

The Government Action Plan Against Homophobia 2011-2016 was introduced on May 20, 2011 by the then Liberal government. The PQ has since followed it through, and various aspects of the plan have been acted upon since its introduction. According to the Québec government website for the Minister of Justice,[15] the key aims of the plan are "to provide active social, community and professional support for individuals in the LGBT community, and to increase knowledge about sexual diversity" (Québec Government, 2013b: online). Aspects of the plan include offering financial support for established LGBT organizations and new projects, organizing media campaigns, and implicating different departments of the Québec government. My examination of this plan relies heavily on its government website, the awareness-raising campaign that was released in

[15] See http://www.justice.gouv.qc.ca/english/ministere/dossiers/homophobie/homophobie-a.htm.

March 2013. My analysis considers the nation-building discourses in the government documents and press releases, the general appraisal of the plan by mainstream media, and the critical responses given by alternative media and groups to understand how the Québec government imagines itself as a sexually modern nation.

In the 2011 document that outlines the plan in its entirety, the opening messages, introduction, and conclusion set out discourses of sexual exceptionalism. Jean Charest, the premier at the time, states in the document, "[s]pecifically with regard to recognition for the rights and interests of members of sexual minorities, Québec can take pride in the leading role it plays", "Québec society is moving rapidly forward and remains remarkably openminded" and "Québec stands for respect and inclusiveness" (Québec Government, 2011a: iii). These words, 'leading', 'forward', 'openminded', and 'inclusiveness' all construct a particular image of Québec; the positivity of these descriptors can inspire a sense of nationalism in the reader. Charest also adds that this action plan "mark[s] a precedent in North America society" (Ibid). Thus, this anti-homophobia plan emphasizes Québec's position ahead of the rest of North America with regard to homosexual rights, distinguishing their national identity from other nations. This distinction is especially evident in the introduction, where it is stated that, "[a]t the international level, Québec is a forerunner in the recognition of sexual diversity" and "while homosexual behaviour of any kind is still prohibited in some countries, Québec is one of the few societies that gives same-sex couples the same right to marry" (Ibid: 1). A sense of superiority is conveyed here, wherein the comparison marks Québec as more laudable than the other countries that prohibit homosexual behaviour. The ministers write that the plan "will help ensure that Québec becomes a fairer, more tolerant society that is rich in its diversity" and "allow Québec to retain its leadership role in the field of social equality, for the benefit of current and future generations" (Ibid: v). In this way, the Québec government is conceived of as future-oriented and forward-looking, dedicated to the protection of sexual diversity. According to the conclusion, this government plan "has been drawn up for the benefit of all Québecers" and "will have concrete, demonstrable and positive effects for Québec as a whole" (Ibid: 17). 'All Québecers' and 'Québec as a

whole' suggests a national unity, as defined by the commitment to sexual inclusion. As Ahmed (2011: 127) claims, the placement and proximities of words have affective, material force.

The government press releases, which communicate the various steps the government has taken in carrying out the plan, repeat this language of sexual exceptionalism. The progressiveness of Québec, as a nation that advances sexual liberties and diversity and that is proud to fight against homophobia, is emphasized in these press releases (CNW Telbec, 2011, 2013a, 2013b). The phrase "un Québec pour tous" (a Québec for all) is repeated throughout different aspects of the plan, including the press releases, the awareness-raising campaign website, the guide for the Fight against Homophobia financial assistance program,[16] which provides assistance for community projects, and media coverage. But it becomes clear that this phrase does not hold up when I look at the responses to the plan and the Charter of Values.

Immigrants get special mention in the plan. It points out that the immigration department is given responsibility to "[e]nsure that the theme of acceptance of differences, with respect to sexual minority members, is addressed in French language classes, especially in connection with the fundamental values of Québec society" (Québec Government, 2011b: online). This responsibility is demonstrative of the assumptions the government has of immigrants, that 'their values' are necessarily different from 'Québec's values.'[17] As Fortier claims, the language of values in contemporary Western nations work in line with processes of exclusion, inclusion, assimilation, regulation, and control, favouring white hegemony (2008: 5). Québec's

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[16] See http://www.justice.gouv.qc.ca/francais/ministere/dossiers/homophobie/guide_information2013-2014.pdf.

[17] Gada Mahrouse (2010: 89) notes how the threat of cultural difference was emphasized in testimonies submitted by French Québecers to the Bouchard-Taylor Commission during the reasonable accommodation debate. Maynard and Ho (2009: 23) and Leroux (2010: 119) even argue that the mandate of the Commission fuelled the making of difference between (im)migrants and Québec society. Alan Wong (2011: 150) demonstrates that the Quebec party leaders and media in the context of the 2007 election the ways in which politicians spoke about the threat of 'other' values to Québécois values.

dedication to distinct, self-defined values comes up again in the Charter of Values, where I further explore the politics of values in relation to sexuality and racial exclusions.

The awareness-raising campaign, a recent action of the overall plan, was launched in March 2013 to help facilitate the acceptance of same-sex couples. It is comprised of two television advertisements in French, a radio message in English and an interactive website that assesses the openness of participants,[18] intended to be the inhabitants of Québec, to sexual diversity. Everyone displayed in the advertisements and the website is white, a fact that was left unaddressed by any mainstream media outlets. I looked at all virtually-accessible news articles that covered the campaign from English and French mainstream media outlets in Québec: Montréal Gazette, Le Journal de Montréal, Le Devoir, and La Presse; Canadian mainstream media outlets: CTV, Global News, Huffington Post Canada, and National Post; and LGBT mainstream media outlets in Canada and Québec: Daily Xtra, 2bmag, and Fugues. None of these outlets referred to or included any critique of whiteness. As Ahmed (2011: 128) argues, white people may not be aware of whiteness specifically because they are white. In Olivier Roy's (2012) work on the representations of queers of colour in Québec's gay media, Roy concluded that gayness is continuously reiterated as whiteness through the lack of visual representation of queers of colour. Unsurprisingly, then, Québec maintains its representational imaginary of whiteness in the inclusion and protection of white LGBT peoples.

To deconstruct the representations of a unified, inclusive Québec offered by the Québec government, I examined responses to the awareness-raising anti-homophobia campaign. I looked at the counter-campaign organized by a collective called Anonymous Queers, their project website 'Does This Bother You?',[19] the media coverage on the counter-campaign from Daily Xtra, Fugues, and Rover Arts, and a critique given by an anti-racist feminist blog based in Canada, Gender Focus. For the counter-campaign, the collective AQ wheat pasted posters that mirror the language and design of the

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[18] See http://fighthomophobia.gouv.qc.ca.

[19] See http://doesthisbotheryou.tumblr.com.

government's anti-homophobia website, with "either an image 1970s gay/trans porn or kink images from well known gay artists - Robert Mapplethorpe and Montréal's own Evergon" and provocative text, such as "Gay respectability? We don't give a fuck! Does this bother you?" in Hochelaga-Maisonneuve, the Village, Centre-Sud, the Plateau, and downtown Montréal on April 18, 2013 (Does this bother you, 2013: online). According to the project description of their website, they believe that the government campaign marginalizes those who do not adhere to homonormative representations and erases diversity within the queer community (Ibid). In their interview with Rover Arts, they argue that the government campaign offers only "a singular representation of how to be gay and/or trans (white, middle-classed, coupled, gender-conforming, etc)" (Hays, 2013a: online).

Fugues and its readers did not receive the counter-campaign well, accusing the action as homophobic or overly militant (Lafontaine, 2013; Hays, 2013a). The collective responded to Fugues in the interview with Rover Arts by pointing out their lack of engagement with the issues the counter-campaign intended to address - the absence of funding for local queer and trans community organizations and the limited representation of queer and trans people (Hays, 2013a). These debates around the campaign highlight the heterogeneity of the LGBT peoples and the diversity of opinion with regard to strategies to counter homophobia.

The only other source that I could find that was critical of the visual representation offered by the government campaign was the article on Gender Focus, where the writer comments, "all of the people featured in the ads and the complementary website are white and professional-looking, which leads to a general tone of saying it's okay to be gay as long as you meet the standards of white, middle-class relationship normalcy" (Hodge, 2013: online). That this is one of the only sources that acknowledges the whiteness of the campaign is demonstrative of the normalization of gayness as whiteness by governmental and media institutions.

4.3 Debates on Sexuality as Regulatory

The discussion of the relationship between homosexuality and modernity is just as much present in media coverage of Charter of Values,[20] though the topic of race continues to be skimmed over by mainstream media. The Charter was officially proposed by the Québec government on September 10, 2013, inciting an eruption of different debates that mirror those from the 2006-2008 reasonable accommodation debate. The main controversy of the bill is that it prohibits the displaying or wearing of 'conspicuous' religious symbols among all state personnel in the name of state neutrality. Ultimately, this means that more visible religious symbols such as niqabs, hijabs, turbans, and kippahs are prohibited while more discrete symbols such as small pendants, rings, and earrings are accepted. The racial divisions that these debates have perpetuated was especially visible during the street demonstrations (see Figure 4.3a and Figure 4.3b).

Figure 4.3a: Manifestation des Janette pour la charte de la laïcité, le 26 octobre 2013 à Montréal
Source: http://media2.ledevoir.com/images_galerie/160458_122655/image.jpg

[20] See http://www.nosvaleurs.gouv.qc.ca/medias/pdf/Charter.pdf.

Figure 4.3b: Manifestation contre la charte des «valeurs québécoises», le 14 septembre 2013 à Montréal
Source: http://images.lpcdn.ca/569x379/201309/14/743472.jpg

While the kinds of debates invoked cover an extensive range of topics, I focus specifically on those regarding homosexuality and secularism. In the realm of media, a rift has formed among those who identify as LGBT - one side for the Charter and the other against. The two opposing groups that have been referenced in many different articles are l'Association LGBT pour un Québec inclusif and le Collectif LGBT pour la laïcité; both groups associate themselves to the larger groups Québec inclusif and Coalition Laïcité Québec, respectively. The debates between the two have been covered by mainstream news outlets La Presse, Montréal Gazette, Le Devoir, Métro, Fugues, and Huffington Post Québec. I gave much thought to these debates, since Tamara Vukov (2003: 337) has shown that public debates and media spectacles are means through which the public shaping of a nation's future often unfolds. In my analysis, I look at the ways different LGBT identified individuals and groups (dis)associate with one another, the nation, and other nations through these debates.

LGBT pour laïcité is a group on Facebook with almost 200 members; its wall was once open to the public but is now set to private.[21] One of their statements reads, "We do not target any particular religion in our approach and adopt a neutral stance on the issue of immigration which we consider as a question independent of issues of secularism" (LGBT pour laïcité, n.d.: online, my translation). By separating issues of immigration from issues of religion, the group overlooks the history and current context of Québec, and neglects the populations who are clearly affected by both. The same rhetoric is repeated in the article "Open opinion - secularism, a guarantor of equality for sexual minorities" (see original French titles in Appendix A), written by André Gagnon, editor of Québec LGBT Magazine Être, in Le Devoir. As the president of le Collectif LGBT pour la laïcité, André Gagnon is one of the major LGBT voices that is in support of the Charter. The main point in his article is that state secularism is the "guarantor of [the] rights, [the] liberty and [the] sincere equality [of LGBT peoples]" (Gagnon, 2013: online, my translation).

Along the same lines, the writer of the article "Secularism: the LGBT community has a short-term memory," published in Huffington Post Québec, states that "the role of a secular public power is to promote the common interest of all beyond the particularities, regardless of their spiritual or philosophical beliefs, for equality" (Ketelbuters, 2014: online, my translation). Again, what is highlighted as the main gist of the article is that secularism is a universal value that guarantees equality. In substantiating the argument for secularism, the writer asserts that LGBT people against the Charter "should be ashamed to disunite from homosexuals in Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, or Iran, these places taken only as examples, who would dream to live their love in total freedom in a secular society" (Ibid). Through this acontextualized framing of different places, peoples, and values, secularism continues to be associated with sexual rights and equality and Islamic religiosity with homophobia and inequality.

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[21] See https://www.facebook.com/groups/216128541880673.

In the Huffington Post article, “Why don’t certain homosexuals support the Charter?,” the writer is also offended by the “lack of solidarity towards all the gays and lesbians in the world tortured by Islam, ridiculed and put to death by the same uncompromising doctrine” (Blanchet-Gravel, 2013: online, my translation). Vouching for the “emancipatory principles of secularism,” they claim that the veil “symbolizes proud membership in a heterosexual group governed by strict rules dedicated to the perpetuation of an authoritarian patriarchy” (Ibid). Again, these assumptions perpetuate essentialist associations; according to this writer’s logic, homosexuals should support the Charter because Islam tortures gays and lesbians and oppresses women.

Contributing to this conflated mapping of religion with homophobia, another Huffington Post article, “Religious accommodation and homosexuality: a reasonable concern,” constructs ‘the West’ in a very particular way, stating that “the basis of our principle of tolerance is a value characteristic of the modern West: freedom” and “cultures of European origin consider that all human beings are free and equal in rights” (Doyon, 2013: online, my translation). The writer also adds that the granting of all religious freedoms will always impede the ideal of freedom, specifically because religious freedoms impose on the freedoms of sexual minorities. He even ends by saying, “[w]e must prevent religious fundamentalists from abusing our tolerance by imposing their homophobic prejudices” (Ibid). The use of these words “we” and “our” in relation to “their” acts to draw both division and unity by positioning us tolerant sexual minorities against those prejudiced religious peoples.

The antagonistic positioning of these constructed collectives can also be read in “L’association LGBT pour un Québec inclusif, I beg to differ”, an article published in the Montréal Gazette critiquing the anti-Charter stance of l’association pour un Québec inclusif. The writer insists that “it is important for LGBTQ people to remember that it is religious folks who have discriminated most against us here, and still do big time around the world” (Page, 2014: online). This assumption, that religious peoples are more homophobic and non-religious peoples are less homophobic, encourages xenophobic thoughts and practices, as exemplified when the writer states, “I don’t think anyone is

discriminating against religious folks by not allowing them to shove their religious symbols and the superstitious exclusionary beliefs that go with them in our faces when we use public institutions" (Ibid). In addition, by asserting that "[t]his province is one of the most tolerant places for LGBTQ people in the world and to suggest that Premier Pauline Marois and her party would discriminate against us is absurd," the writer is erasing all the LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ peoples who do not benefit from the legal advances of LGBT equality (Ibid).

In all these cases, where are the religious sexual minorities and the non-religious homophobic people? The reduction of the relationship between sexuality and religion to non-religious sexual minorities and religious homophobic people reinforces the "theological narrative [of secularization,] believed to lead inevitably to gender and sexual equality" (Bilge 2012: 307).

In response to many of these pro-Charter perspectives, many anti-Charter perspectives have been published to refute many of presumptions made in the pro-Charter perspectives. L'association LGBT pour un Québec inclusif published an article "Oppression in the freedom from oppression," to challenge André Gagnon's justifications for the Charter, mainly that there are no LGBT peoples who belong to religions and that all religious peoples are homophobic (Bourget, 2013: online, my translation).

The article, "Towards the rise of homonationalism?," went further to outline the ways in which LGBT inclusion discourses contribute to the exclusion of immigrants (particularly Muslims) from the nation because anti-immigration discourses and politics are often reiterated concurrently (Lussier, 2013c). It was published in the blog section of Métro by Judith Lussier on behalf of an anonymous reader, two months after the Charter was proposed. Connecting the Charter and LGBT pour la Laïcité to racism, xenophobia, and neocolonialism, the article stirred up much controversy; Judith Lussier (2013a) issued mea culpa for the article the day after, apologizing to André Gagnon and LGBT pour la Laïcité and offering a right of reply. Similarly Bilge (2013: 158) has shown that during the reasonable accommodation debate, racism was rarely acknowledged and when it was, there was considerable backlash. In Gagnon's reply, which Lussier (2013b).

published on her blog, he defends himself and LGBT pour la laïcité by clarifying that those who posted defamatory content on the Facebook group do not represent the entirety of the group. He also questioned the inclusivity of Québec Inclusif, claiming that their "accusations" of LGBT pour la laïcité as racist, xenophobic, and Islamophobic erased the experiences of LGBT peoples who face homophobic violence from religion.

There are also two articles published on Folle Alliée, the blog of a queer activist based in Montréal, that respond to the major assumptions made by André Gagnon and LGBT pour la laïcité - i.e. that sexual orientation is not a choice but religion is, and that the Charter will help address homophobia in society. Like the article about homonationalism in Métro, these articles indicate the problems of associating secularism with homophobia's eradication. Their first blog post about the Charter "the Québec Charter of Values and Québec homonationalism" asserts that homophobia exists in both religious and non-religious communities, that secular states are not proven to be less homophobic and religious states, more homophobic, and that these relationships are always dependent on social, political, and historical context (Folle Alliée, 2013a: online, my translation). Their second blog post about the Charter, "Homonationalist choice: an essentialist choice," refutes the common understanding of sexual orientation as a non-choice and religion as a choice. On the one hand, psychoanalytic and social theorizations, along with the lack of biological evidence, all refute the claim of sexual orientation as a non-choice. On the other hand, the belief that religion is a free choice neglects the complicated process of enculturation that is often dependent on the internalization of one's environment. In this way, the binary of of choice/non-choice is always relative and "reducing religion to a choice [becomes] a justification for historical islamophobia" (Folle Alliée, 2013b: online, my translation).

Besides the consequences that the Charter has had on immigrants, such a debate on social citizenship has contributed to the invisibilization of indigenous peoples. The only publicly available source that critiqued the Charter in relation to the erasure of indigenous peoples and lands was the Basis of Unity released by the group "Ensemble contre la Charte xenophobe" who organized the demonstration on October 20, 2013 that

"emphasized a pro-feminist, pro-queer, anti-oppression struggle against the Charter" (No One is Illegal Montréal, 2013: online). It states: "From the outset, the proposed Charter and related debate fails to recognize that Québec and Canada are built on stolen Indigenous land, and constituted through the dispossession and genocide of Indigenous peoples" (Ibid). The work of Laura Schaefli (2007: 26) makes apparent that the concerns of indigenous peoples went unrecognized during the reasonable accommodation debate. The Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences (or Bouchard-Taylor Commission) was supposed to investigate the issue of reasonable accommodation in relation to Québec's identity, and the integration of minority groups, including indigenous peoples. Ultimately silenced from the building of a modern Québec, indigenous peoples were (and continue to be) erased in debates over the inclusion, integration, and self-determination of immigrants.

4.4 Conclusion

Laying out different perspectives on the Government Action Plan Against Homophobia and the Charter of Values, I provided examples of the ways in which governmental and media institutions (with queer individuals) have discursively treated sexuality as a mode of regulation. Through these governmental shifts, as facilitated by self-representation and public debates, many bodies become further marginalized and rendered unworthy of belonging. The anti-homophobia plan, as the first of its kind in North America, has become a means through which Québec can showcase its sexual exceptionalism - an exceptionalism that demonizes 'other' communities, cultures, and nations. Similarly, the Charter has incited debates on issues of immigration and integration among (white) LGBTQ groups and individuals, facilitating "*rituals* empowering white governmentality and national belonging" (Bilge, 2012: 312).

CHAPTER 5: QUEER ASCENDENCY

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the ways in which the ascendency of queer organizations,[22] contribute to the showcasing and regulation of Québec's sexual nationalism. I look at how respected and well-funded[23] LGBT organizations have been enfolded into national, political, economic, and social agendas while also shaping these agendas, through discussion of Fondation Émergence's (a prominent LGBT organization in Québec) *Awareness Program Geared Toward Ethnic Communities*, and the summer festivals Fierté 2013 (an LGBT festival that organizes Pride Parade and Community Day), and Divers/ Cité 2013 (an LGBT multidisciplinary arts and culture festival). I compare these organizations to Pervers/Cité (a radical queer festival) because of Pervers/Cité's overt critique of how the liberal inclusion of queerness, as it is defined by the lobbying for individual rights and liberties, has produced and perpetuated other forms of exclusion. Using information from the websites, interviews, I illustrate how the increasing support given to dominant LGBT institutions by the general public and government have led to a restricted conception of homosexuality, fabricated narratives of inclusion, and a disregard for issues beyond sexuality that might affect queer peoples.

5.2 Delineating Homosexuality

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[22] I use queer ascendency to mean the surge in social, political, and economic power obtained by dominant LGBT organizations (but also individuals who are part of organizations, institutions, or the state) in decision-making, resource possession and resource distribution.

[23] Fierté, Divers/Cité, and Fondation Émergence receive money from the government as well as corporate sponsorship. In 2013, Fierté received $90 000 from the Quebec government (Quebec Government, 2013b) and Diver/Cité received $225 000 from the government (CNW Telbec, 2013). As an example for Fondation Émergence, the organization received $400 000 from the Quebec government to create a guide for the caring of gay elderly people in 2011 (Fondation Émergence, 2011). This does not include the money Fierté receives from TD (and other sponsors; see their website), Divers/Cite from Loto Québec (and other sponsors; see their website), nor Fondation Émergence from Banque Nationale (and other sponsors; see their website). In comparison, Qouleur had a $2000 indiegogo campaign and received some discretionary funding from student organizations in 2013, and Pervers/Cité had a budget of $1500 in 2011. The work of Alan Wong (2013) illuminates the ways in which non-white queer organizations struggle to obtain funding in Montreal. Gay white men tend to have the most access to these resources, but also tend to the gatekeepers of these resources. As a result, many individuals of these non-white queer organizations, who are already unpaid, end up paying money out of their own pockets.

Looking at Fondation Émergence's approach towards homophobia in 'cultural communities',[24] I clarify the ways in which queerness can be constructed to delineate sexual normalcy from deviancy, particularly by attributing the root of homophobia to ethnic communities. On their webpage for the *Awareness Program Geared Toward Ethnic Communities*, their anti-homophobia program targeted at ethnic communities, they offer some background information for the program, noting that "[n]ot all the world's citizens are able to enjoy the privilege of living in an egalitarian society" and that "[i]n many countries, rights are restricted or simply ignored, such as the right to love someone of the same sex and have a sexual relationship with them" (Fondation Émergence, 2013a: online). Then it reads, "[p]eople from countries where being gay or lesbian is outlawed face some of their own values being challenged: what was forbidden in their country of origin is now allowed and legally protected in their host country" (Ibid). In this way, migrants' values are conflated with the laws of their home countries such that people coming from countries without LGBT legal rights are assumed to hold homophobic views. In this public discourse, Québec is deemed to be "egalitarian" because of its legal recognition of homosexual rights. Migrants from places without these same rights, are considered such a challenge to Québec's values that a program targeted specifically at ethnic communities needs to be imposed. As such, homosexuality is conceived of as dependent on legal recognition; the presence of homosexual rights becomes an indicator of 'proper' values and the absence as an indicator of homophobia. In consequence, forms of homosexuality expressed through any other means are invisibilized, especially in

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[24] Much of Fondation Émergence's approach towards 'cultural communities' can be discerned from their stance on the reasonable accommodation debate. With Gai Écoute, the gay and lesbian support organization in Québec that hatched Fondation Émergence, they submitted the document "Homosexuality and cultural differences: A reasonable apprehension" (my translation) to the Bouchard-Taylor Commission in 2007. The main aim of this document was to emphasize the importance of attending to sexual minorities in the reasonable accommodation debate, but in a way that framed religious and cultural accommodation as antagonistic to the accommodation of sexual minorities. Throughout the document, they remarked that cultural and religious rights cannot infringe upon sexual minority rights, as if these rights were fundamentally a threat to sexual minority rights (GE and FE, 2007: 22-25). As an example, they recommended that "those wishing to join Québec society" are informed of the "equal importance [given by the Canadian and Québec Charters] to the expression of sexual orientation and that of the freedom of religion" and sign a document that commits to these "values of Québec society" (Ibid: 24, my translation).

countries where "rights are restricted or simply ignored." Québec's and Canada's lauding of their acceptance of homosexuality through the legal recognition of same-sex rights conforms to logics of sexual exceptionalism, wherein their conceptions of homosexuality exceed any other conceptions of homosexuality.

Part of this program was the campaign *Homosexuality Knows No Borders*,[25] the theme for the 2009 International Day Against Homophobia, organized and promoted by Fondation Émergence on a pan-Canadian level. With the same goals of the overall program, the campaign, which included the distribution of posters (see Figure 5.2) and pamphlets and the conduct of a survey regarding perceptions of homosexuality in ethnocultural communities, aimed "to make ethno-cultural communities aware of sexual diversity issues" and "become integrated within their host society" (Fondation Émergence, 2013b: online). Fondation Émergence contacted all the organizations listed in the index of cultural communities in Québec, published by the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communités culturelles, inviting them to participate in the campaign and to promote it in their communities. But according to the press release, very few organizations responded to the invitation (CNW Telbec, 2009a).

In the pamphlet, it states explicitly, "[o]ur society is civil and secular" and "[n]o one is allowed to discriminate on the basis of sexual orientation for religious beliefs or other reasons" (Fondation Émergence, 2009: online). In this way, Fondation Émergence mimics the rhetoric of national queer secularity of the government and mainstream media. The pamphlet also includes a message of support by the Québec government which states that "[t]he theme for this year's campaign, Homosexuality Knows No Borders, reminds us that everyone - including lesbians, gays, and other sexual minority groups from the cultural communities - has a contribution to make in building Québec" (Ibid). According to this then, queer migrants can help build the national fabric

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[25] Sexual minorities from ethnic/racialized communities were not invited in creating the content of the campaigns. Fondation Émergence asked Coalition MultiMundo, a coalition of queer ethnic groups in Montreal, to sign off on the project without having consulted the coalition about the content of the campaign. Coalition MultiMundo refused to endorse it for fear of racist messages the campaign might give off (Wong, 2013: 141).

of Québec, but only if they conform and assimilate to Québec's secular values. This becomes especially obvious in the pamphlet's section on "Welcoming Difference", in which it is stated that, "[e]ach year thousands of newcomers from all over the world arrive and enrich our society thanks to their knowledge and values" (Ibid). This sentence suggests that migrants are not (yet) a part of 'our society' but merely 'enrich' it. The next sentence reads, "[m]any if these people have chosen our country for its open attitude toward diversity, including homosexuality" (Ibid). Again, 'our country' is identified by its 'open attitude toward diversity' - an association and proximity of words that ultimately construct the places from which migrants move as intolerant of homosexuality.

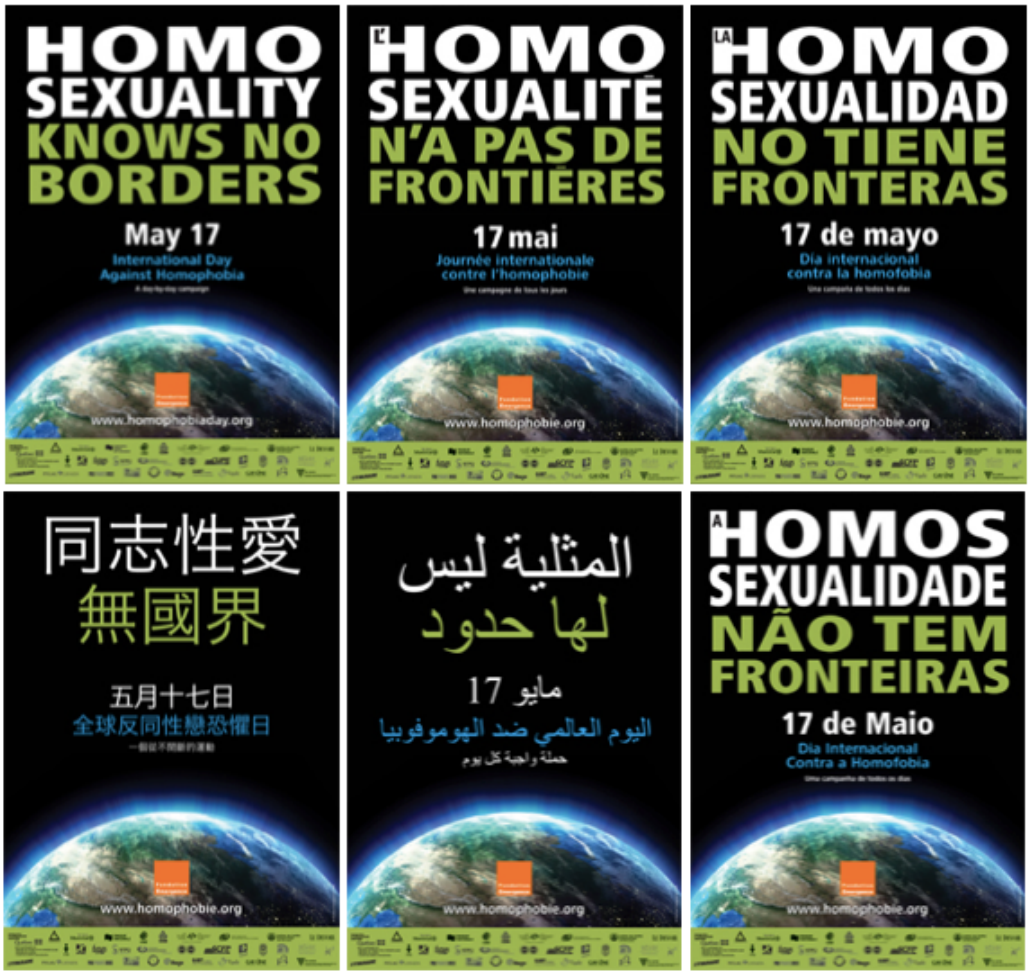

Figure 5.2: Homosexuality Knows No Borders campaign posters, 2009
Source: http://www.homophobiaday.org/default.aspx?scheme=3709

In its efforts to generalize, the results of the survey assessing perceptions of homosexuality completed by members of 'cultural communities' ultimately make an essentialist move. The conclusions of the survey, conveyed through a press release released right before the 2009 International Day Against Homophobia, reported: "Respondents from African and Asian countries are clearly less open-minded toward homosexuality than immigrants from Western Europe are" (CNW Telbec, 2009b: online). As much as the survey justifies this claim by asserting that one's perceptions of homosexuality can be explained by the status of homosexuality in their country of origin, such a claim erases the complexities of historical and sociopolitical context and creates a superficial narrative that materially affects geographies of power. To draw a necessary relationship between a country's status of homosexuality and an individual's perception of homosexuality completely washes over the nuances of understanding, negotiating, and performing sexuality. Relying on the presence of same-sex legal rights to stand in for sexual acceptance and even the presence of homosexuality itself, the study delimits the who, what, where, and how of homosexuality. Unsurprisingly then, the President responded to these results by claiming, "Newcomers need to be informed of, made aware of, and educated on our country's values, including the fact that being gay or lesbian is accepted" (Ibid). By marking cultural communities in this way, Fondation Émergence's overall approach towards homophobia and homosexuality precludes different manifestations of homosexuality that do not depend on a liberal, rights-based framework.

5.3 Narratives of Exceptionalism

Both the festivals Divers/Cité and Fierté also demonstrate the exceptionalist condition of queer ascendency. According to Suzanne Girard, one of the cofounders of Divers/Cité, Fierté emerged from Divers/Cité in 2007 because of the differences in audience between the cultural events - performances and parties, and the political events - Community Day and the Parade (Girard, 28/08/13). It becomes clear that this major shift for Divers/Cité - the ridding of Community Day and the Parade - was already veering the festival in a particular direction. During my interview with Girard, she expressed that Divers/Cité, as

it exists today, does not have a focus on human rights in the same way that Fierté does (Ibid). Instead, it has the mandate of celebrating the arts and culture of LGBT peoples. Girard also clarified that the aim of the festival was to have "everyone together all the time", ensuring the mixing of straight and queer peoples (Ibid). When I asked her about the ways in which Divers/Cité strives to be inclusive of all LGBTTIQ peoples, she responded saying that "[Divers/Cité] is an inclusive event in the sense that there are no separate events"; she stated that Fierté provides the space for "voicing identities" whereas Divers/Cité strives to "please the most people as possible" (Ibid). As Girard asserted, Divers/Cité's approach to inclusivity is "different than responding to everyone's needs" (Ibid). Based on the direction of Divers/Cité, it seems that Divers/Cité can easily perpetuate the same barriers to social inclusion in greater society. While Girard claimed that barriers are broken down during the event, there might be barriers that prevent access to the event in the first place. Even if LGBT festivals are deemed to be venues for homosexual belonging, through discourses of sexual diversity, as conveyed through Divers/Cité's motto "All together different", the question of who can or wants to be a part of these spaces in the first place remains unaddressed.

On the website for Divers/Cité, it is stated that it "is an event whose mission is to present an arts and music festival that illustrates and celebrates the value of diversity in a spirit of sharing, solidarity and openness with the world" (Divers/Cité, 2013: online). Carle Bernier-Genest, who has helped with organizing the festival since its first year, also emphasized Divers/Cité's dedication to openness and diversity and its exceptionalism: "DC is the image of Montréal: Open, loves diversity, which radiates internationally" (Bernier-Genest, 16/10/13). "[P]art of a calendar of festivals that make Montréal an international destination for cultural tourists", it represents "[a] showcase of our cultural wealth for all Montréalers" (Ibid). Imaging Montréal in this way, Divers/Cité relies heavily on tourism and a sexual modernity narrative that affirms the geographic superiority of Montréal. In a press release issued by the Québec government in support of Divers/Cité 2013, they announced funding of 225 000$ for Divers/Cité (CNW Telbec, 2013). Like the organizers, the Québec government highlights Divers/Cité's contribution

the construction Montréal's global image; the Québec Minister for International Relations and Montréal declared that "[Divers/Cité] helps to make Montréal a city that stands out for its openness to diversity and respect for the individual, values that are dear to Québec society" (Ibid). The public presentation of Québec's support for the festival is indicative of the solidifying relationships between LGBT organizations and Québec government, between homosexuality and nationalism. Also, the desire for international recognition helps shape an imagination of geographical exceptionalism.

5.4 Homogenization of Queerness

Like Divers/Cité, Fierté contributes to the positive imaging and geographical imagining of Montréal and Québec. On the Fierté website, Montréal is deemed "the gayest place to be gay on the planet" (Montreal Pride, 2012b: online). And according to the 2013 press release, "Pride is organized each year to celebrate the legal and social advances made in Québec and in Canada, while underscoring the fact that much work remains to be done around the world" (Montréal Pride, 2013a: online). This emphasis on celebrating what has been advanced 'here' and on underscoring what needs to be advanced 'there' positions 'here', where legal and social advances have been made, as superior to 'there', where these same advances have yet to be made. In the section "Messages from the Dignitaries" in the Montréal Pride 2013 program, Ministers from the Québec government, Bertrand St-Arnaud, Jean-François Lisée, and Pascal Bérubé, state, "[t]he recognition and acceptance of diversity reflect the values of openness and equality that define Montréal and Québec society" (Montréal Pride, 2013b: 7). In addition, Montréal mayor at the time, Laurent Blanchard, declares, "Montréal Pride truly reflects our city's values of acceptance, inclusion and equality and our commitment to ensuring the best quality of life possible for all our citizens" (Ibid). In the same way, the president of Tourism Montréal, Charles Lapointe, affirms, "[Montréal Pride] provides the opportunity to celebrate equality for all, and to uphold Montréal's reputation as a festive, vibrant, and truly open place to be" (Ibid: 9). Again, descriptions of 'openness', 'diversity', 'acceptance', and 'equality' come up in proximity to the portrayal of Montréal's and

Québec's values. All of the dignitaries' emphases on the narratives expose the strategic use of LGBT events as platforms for bolstering particular national discourses. These discourses make it seem that equality is solely based on sexual diversity rights. 2013 was also the first year that a Québec Premier walked in the parade.

Although Fierté is considered to be the more politically attentive of the two mainstream LGBT events, its considerable focus on human rights limits extensive the nature of its political action. LGBT equality, in these events, is defined by Western rights-based citizenship, which of course, enacts the institutionalized legacy of colonialism and racialization. While it became evident in my interview with Mylène St Pierre - the Project Manager of Fierté who "organizes everything that's not gay white men" - that Fierté has taken into account issues beyond sexuality that affect queer peoples, the realization of these intentions remain far-off (St Pierre, 01/08/13). She acknowledged that their attempts to make Fierté more relevant to people of colour have not always been successful. She claimed that "[they] could be doing more" by "giv[ing] more opportunities to communities of colour" but "[she doesn't] know how to go about doing that"; she also said that they did not want to be tokenistic by organizing on behalf of queers of colour (Ibid).

While Pride festivals in Vancouver, Toronto, Ottawa, Winnipeg have begun recognizing Two-Spirit peoples in the acronym LGBTTQ and in their programming, Montréal Fierté still only adopts the LGBT acronym. But this is not to say that a recognition of Two-Spirit peoples at Pride events is in any way sufficient in addressing the multiplicity of structural injustices that Two-Spirit people face. The efforts to include Two-Spirit people in internationally-recognized LGBT events can often amount to reifications of racist and colonial understandings of difference. For instance, at Toronto Pride, the use of Two-Spiritedness neglects to acknowledge that the emergence of Two-Spirit identifications was a response to Canada's colonial past and present (Greensmith and Giwa, 2013: 143). Also, inasmuch as Pride festivals strive to be inclusive, the entirety of Pride is built upon ideologies of whiteness, wherein visibility and spectacle-making are central to the materialization of so-called LGBT equality.

The historical transformation of Divers/Cité is often left unacknowledged, as confirmed by the absence of its radical history at its events and even its website. Tracing the origins the festival, the zine "The Radical Roots of Divers/Cité" addresses the intersections and interactions between indigenous and queer resistance. According to the zine, many queer activist in 1990 resisting against the Sex Garage raids on July 15th and more broadly, police homophobia, were helping to support the Mohawk Nation resisting against golf course construction plans and more broadly, colonial national practices. According to the zine, "[s]tatements against racism and in support of the Mohawk struggle were made at both the July 21st and 29th demonstrations against police homophobia – and many were those queers who missed that historic demonstration on the 29th because [they] had trekked to the rally against Canadian colonialism held that day just outside Oka" (Kersplebedeb, 2008: 10). From these demonstrations against police homophobia, Divers/Cité was formed.

But under the "Brief history of Célébrations de la fierté LGBT de Montréal" section of the website, it does not even mention how and why Divers/Cité was created, only when and what it is today. And while the "History" section of the Fierté website refers to the police brutality and homophobia during the Sex Garage raids in 1990, it now declares that "[t]oday the MUC Police is considered an ally in combating homophobia and protecting our rights" (Montreal Pride, 2012a: online). So not surprisingly then, none of the activity about the interacting struggles of queer and indigenous peoples is publicly documented in contemporary media, apart from the zine that I had access to. Based on what Divers/Cité is today in comparison to what it was when it was first forming, the scope of the festival has been reduced to merely attend to normalized forms of homosexuality.

The festival Pervers/Cité, the "Underside of Pride", emerged in 2007 as a direct response to Fierté's and Divers/Cité's "corporatized gay agendas and whitewashed homogeneity amongst queers" (Pervers/Cité, 2013: online). The sheer amount of organizers and attendees that participate in the formation of Pervers/Cité hints at the limits of Fierté and Divers/Cité in addressing the needs of some LGBTTIQ peoples.

Since the beginning, the festival has both grown and diversified substantially in programming and audience, addressing the lack of political action and discussion in mainstream LGBT events. Pervers/Cité aims to "provide a wider representation that [is] more reflective of diverse communities and experiences" (Ibid). According to Josh Pavan, who has been organizing Pervers/Cité since the very beginning, Pervers/Cité grapples with a politics of visibility, wherein "it uses the framework of a Pride festival, which is really about a politics of visibility, to try to force a conversation about a kind of politics that's really not about, (or only tangentially related to) this kind of visibility" (Pavan, 15/11/13). The struggle, Pavan suggested, is "how to not do inclusivity in a way that brings it back down to solely a politics of visibility" (Ibid). Thus, by questioning the role of visibility in relation to inclusivity, the festival broadens the scope of how queerness can be conceived. As Pavan claimed, "the goal [of Pervers/Cité] is to offer a kind of rebuttal to that commercialized single-issue apolitics that many of [them] associate with a more mainstream Pride" (Ibid). Focusing on a multiplicity of issues, the events of Pervers/Cité are never uniform in subject matter. According to Ian Bradley-Perrin, a collective member of Pervers/Cité since 2009 whom I interviewed, the notion of one queer community is always being challenged at the festival (Bradley-Perrin, 13/09/13). Acknowledging that all the members of the 2013 core collective were white, he asserted that self-criticality and reflection have been central to the organizational process of the collective (Ibid). Since the very beginning, they have consistently collaborated with queer of colour groups to ensure self-determined organizing. They also make it a priority to reduce the barriers that prevent certain people from participating in the first place, by being an open organizing collective and holding only free/pay-what-you-can events, and to organize programming relevant to groups that have marginalized in mainstream LGBT spaces, as a way to facilitate their involvement (Pavan, 15/11/13). Thus, Pervers/Cité still adopts a much more extensive and attentive approach in grasping the different experiences that different queer peoples face or have faced than Fierté and Divers/Cité.

5.5 Conclusion

Providing different perspectives on homosexuality/queerness, I examined the place of mainstream LGBT organizations in Québec in relation to Québec's national imaginary. The counter-narratives that I explored illustrate the major political transformations that dominant LGBT organizations have undergone. The dependency on politics of visibility and rights in Fondation Émergence's program for cultural communities and the events of Fierté and Divers/Cité is representative of the limits of how these organizations conceive of queerness and gayness. Through the association of sexual modernity to Québec and sexual backwardness to non-Western communities, I argue that these LGBT organizations ascend in political influence and serve to perpetuate the xenophobic, colonial, and racist agendas that benefit the homonationalist imaginary. Furthermore, I suggest that the prescriptive framing of homosexuality, fabricated narratives of exceptionalism, and the domination single-issued sexual politics all develop into strategies that perpetuate ideologies of sexual and racial normativity.

CHAPTER 6: DISORIENTATION

6.1 Introduction

This chapter draws on the evolution and history of queer of colour, indigenous queer, and Two-Spirit organizing in Montréal[26] to map out the connections of these modes of activism and sexual regulation in Québec's sociopolitical and national context. I attend to the political work done by non-white queers and on the issues that non-white queers face to better derive the ways in which Québec maintains an exclusionary homonationalist imaginary. The forms of queer of colour, indigenous queer, and Two-Spirit organizing have diversified and transformed drastically in the past decade; these shifts in organizing then, can be informative of the changes (or continuities) in the racial dynamics of Québec society. Looking specifically at the reactions conveyed by non-white queer groups in response to racially motivated projects, specifically LGBTQ organizing, LGBTQ festivals, the reasonable accommodation debate, the Government Action Plan Against Homophobia, and the Charter of Values, I contend that the repetitive erasure, spatial marginalization, and racial stereotyping of queers of colour, indigenous queers, and Two-Spirits contributes to Québec's homonationalist imaginary.

6.2 Invisibilization

According to Alan Wong, a queer of colour activist who has been organizing around queer of colour issues for more than a decade now, the origins of a consolidated form of queer organizing on ethnocultural and racial issues can be traced to the three *Sortir ses Couleurs* colloquiums of 2004-2005 (Wong, 16/01/14). The colloquiums were organized to address the experiences of racism that non-white queers face in the white mainstream LGBTQ movement. More specifically, the objectives of the colloquiums were to gather queer ethnic and indigenous communities break isolation and create support networks;

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[26] Given the scope of my thesis, I recommend the work of other academics in Québec that write more extensively on queer of colour, queer migrant, indigenous queer, and Two-Spirit organizing and experiences in Montreal for furthering examining how non-white queers relate and respond to practices and structures of exclusion (see Metallic, 2013; Wong, 2013; Wong, 2012; Lee, 2009; Lee 2012; Chbat, 2012; Roy 2013).

sensibilize institutions, organizations and communities about the impacts of racism among indigenous and ethnic queers; and guide these institutions, organizations and communities in supporting indigenous and ethnic queers (ACSM, 2006: 13). During the colloquiums, participants discussed the history of sexual colonization in the Americas (Ibid: 29), efforts to combat homophobia within one's own ethnic community, the necessity to deconstruct racial and sexual stereotypes, barriers to health services for queers of colour, exclusions within the LGBT dominant community, the invisibilized struggles of Two-Spirited peoples, and other challenges that ethnic and indigenous queers face (ACSM, 2006). These gatherings make evident the amount of structural violence that these communities face - violence that has been invisibilized by the dominant society. The discussions at the colloquiums impart the ways in which these communities have historically been rejected citizenship and continue to be rejected (social) citizenship.

Thus, in response to many of the issues raised at these colloquiums, Helem, a Lebanese LGBTIQ organization in Montréal, organized a public event in April 2005 that centred the experiences of ethnic and indigenous queers, called Ethnocultural Day. Owing to this event, an alliance of LGBTQ community organizations that offer services to queers from cultural communities, named Coalition MultiMundo, emerged in May 2006 (Ducharme, 2006). The event was then taken over and expanded by Ethnoculture, an organization that formed in 2007 (Ibid). In 2012, 2-qtpoc festival emerged, developing from the events of Ethnoculture and in 2013, Qouleur emerged, essentially continuing the work of 2-qtpoc festival but on a larger scale and with a different structure. These events and festivals were all created in response to the invisibilization and concomitant isolation of ethnic, racialized, and indigenous sexual minorities and thus, all aimed to raise awareness to the general public and create connections among these sexual minorities.

More explicitly, the goal of Ethnoculture's events was to help lesbian, gay, bisexual, transsexual/transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) ethnic minorities, queers of colour, and Two-Spirited people in Montréal "break free from their invisibility, silence and isolation" (Ethnoculture, 2011: online). As Nada Raphael, co-founder of Ethnoculture, explained in an interview that dominant society was organized so that

ethnocultural communities sometimes did not recognize queerness and LGBT communities sometimes did not recognize the impacts racism for queers of colour (Raphael, 31/10/13). 2-qtpoc[27] Montréal 2012 saw itself as "the city's first ever 2-Spirit Queer and Trans People of Colour Pride Week" (Indiegogo, 2012: online) and "*the* place for racialized queers and their allies to come together and share their experiences and knowledge" (Qouleur, 2013: online). Qouleur 2013, "second annual 2QTPOC-Montréal Festival", and 2-qtpoc 2012 intended to "[spark] an important dialogue about bringing visibility and awareness to 2QTPOC issues, creating safe spaces, and continuing to inspire each other" (Ibid). Jenny Lin, the co-curator for Qouleur's art exhibition on 'hair' in relation to race and sexuality, emphasized the importance of Qouleur in bringing visibility to the diversity of queer of colour artists and celebrating the works of queer of colour artists (Lin, 04/10/13). So based on these stated intentions and content of the events, many queers of colour and Two-Spirits generally feel that their experiences and existences are neglected in many aspects of society.

Alan Wong argues that the visibility aspect of Qouleur is about raising awareness on the existence and diversity of queer of colour and Two-Spirit communities - an approach to visibility that differs from that of dominant queer communities, which is often just about visibility for visibility's sake (Wong, 16/01/14). He affirms that historically in Montréal, there has been sporadic organizing around queers of colour in the past, but it was framed around culture more than race. He states, "having been involved with this sort of organizing for more than a decade now, I would say that this seems to be the most cohesive and coherent QPOC and indigenous specific organizing that I've seen" (Ibid). Because Ethnoculture and Coalition MultiMundo were focused more on ethnicity than race, many white ethnic groups were involved and issues of race were decentered (Ibid). Like other queer of colour scholars, he believes that "since post 9/11 in particular there's been an acceleration of queer people of colour and indigenous organizing because so much of what the state has done has influenced how the media

[27] Two-Spirit, Queer and Trans* People of Colour

approaches things, which has influenced how people think about things, which has influenced how society ends up treating everybody within it" (Ibid). Much of this kind of organizing is in response to members of the dominant white LGBT community, who often organize for the achievement of universal LGBT rights without attending to how these rights benefit some more than others (Ibid). This erasure of the effects of racism can be seen in the criticisms directed at Qouleur; there were assertions that 'race doesn't exist' (Ibid). Therefore, these reflections about queer of colour organizing demonstrate how the erasure of race has actually contributed to the impacts of racism.

6.3 Spatial Marginalization

These forms of invisibilization then, have substantial consequences on the ways in which queers of colour and Two-Spirits are positioned in society. The emphasis on art in all of these events and festivals, is telling of the desire of queers of colour and Two-Spirits to take up material and representational space. Ethnoculture conveys this sense of spatial marginalization, both in material and representational terms, on their 'About' page:

> In Québec, ethnocultural minorities are often pushed to the margins of Québec society due to economic, social, political, cultural, and racial tensions with the majority population. This leads many minorities and minority communities to resist their subjugation by retaining or adopting what they perceive to be non-Western values such as homophobia, biphobia, transphobia, and queerphobia, despite the fact that often such values originated in the West and were inculcated by "other" cultures through colonial and imperial rule. Consequently, many people in these communities who identify as LGBTQ or Two-Spirited are often alienated and oppressed by their families and fellow community members (Ethnoculture, 2011: online).

As conveyed by this passage, the continual regulation of the sexualities of racialized communities positions these communities at the 'margins of Québec society'. It continues:

> On the flipside, the mainstream LGBTQ community in Montréal, fearing that the rights that it has fought long and hard to achieve will be taken away, frequently defers to stereotypes about non-Western cultures as being inherently heterosexist. As a result, racism and xenophobia have become commonplace in spaces such as the Gay Village as well as on the Internet (Ibid).

In this way, LGBTQ spaces have adopted the racialized form of sexual regulation that stigmatize queers of colour and Two-Spirits today.

Wong brings up that "a lot of a people don't want to give up their spaces. That's not just true physically, that's also true discursively and metaphysically" (Wong, 16/01/14). He adds, "the challenge is to make them see that you are there as well and that you're not trying to take over their space but that you're trying to share the space" (Ibid). For instance, he recounts that in the most recent Community Day, in 2013, all the booths ethnocultural organizations were assigned near the booth of a line-dancing group and this line-dancing group, to draw in the most visitors as possible, had dancers performing along the width of the pathway throughout the day, essentially blocking access to and detracting attention from the tables of the ethnocultural organizations (Ibid).

For Qouleur, there were many closed workshops for self-identified Two-Spirited and LGBTTQ indigenous and racialized people/people of colour only and one closed workshop for Two-Spirited and LGBTTQ indigenous people only. This intentional making of space broaches the whiteness of the dominant social composition and dynamics of LGBTQ events. In this way, there was a conscious understanding of how the centring of queer of colour experiences can often contribute to the erasure of indigeneity.

In the article "Namaji: Two-Spirit Organizing in Montréal, Canada, Two-Spirit organizing in Montréal", Fiona Meyerbcook and Diane Labelle give an overview of Two-Spirit organizing in Montréal. With the progress made by the Québec government with regard to LGBT rights, Two-Spirit people have always faced the quandaries of leaving home, where inhabitation off reserves can equate to more rights as they relate to sexuality but can also equate to cultural assimilation (Meyercook and Labelle, 2003: 41). The laws of governance on reserves are determined by the band councils and thus, do not always

correspond with those of the Québec government. But such LGBT rights-granting laws do not address the historical roots of structural injustices. They even occlude the possibility of Two-Spirit existence by emplacing onto Two-Spirits the dilemma of identifying as either being Aboriginal or LGBT (Ibid).

Within this context, an important strategy of Two-Spirit organizing in Montréal is simply having get-togethers (Meyercook and Labelle: 45). Oftentimes, Two-Spirit people are diffused within the larger LGBTQ community and thus, often are separated from one another and do not know one another (Ibid: 46). These gatherings are then a way for Two-Spirit people to regroup, share experiences and build a sense of solidarity (Ibid: 50). Reversing dominant colonial history by unlearning and relearning pre-colonial traditions of sexual diversity, reclaiming indigenous cultures and spiritualities, and resisting Western gender and sexual norms all become central in the efforts to reverse processes of marginalization (Ibid: 50). From the first Two-Spirit gathering organized in 1996, the first Two-Spirited organization in Montréal was created, through which much mobilization has ensued (Ibid: 45).

6.4 Racial Stereotyping

During the reasonable accommodation debate, Coalition MultiMundo and Ethnoculture, in collaboration with the Sexual and Gender Diversity: Vulnerability, and Resilience (SVR) Research Team, presented a memoir to the Bouchard-Taylor Commission to draw attention to the experiences of ethnocultural and indigenous sexual minorities during the accommodation debate and more generally, in everyday Québec society. Under “Guiding Principles for Our Discussion”, they undo many of the presumptions made during the accommodation debate by discussing the multiplicity, fluidity, and contingency of identities and communities (Wong et al., 2007: 4). In the body of the document, they stress that the complexity of non-white sexual minority identities do not fit into singular social categories (Ibid: 5). They also emphasize that those who practice certain faiths are often “perceived as victims of the religious sects to which we belong and, thus, in need of rescue, or as traitors to the advancement of sexual minority rights simply because of

[their] affiliations with those sects" (Ibid: 6). These stereotypes erase practices of self-determination, wherein sexual minorities who practice religion "can make certain choices of [their] own free will without feeling pressured to do so, and that those choices might have no bearing or influence on how [they] engage with [their] sexualities or other aspects of [their] identities" (Ibid). In addition, these kinds of stereotypes bring about material effects that "infringe on their ability to become full citizens of Québec" (Ibid).

Many of these same stereotypes ascended during debates on the Charter of Values, prompting a flood of reactions and responses. A declaration against the Charter was written and signed by "LGBTIQ people of colour/racialized and Indigenous LGBTIQs, and Two-Spirited people as well as their allies to show that [they] will not be silent or silenced on this issue and that [they] are not aligned with some of the bigotry found within the community" (Declaration Anticharte.r, 2013: online). In the declaration, again, the issue on the ignorance of historical context comes up: "The proposed Charter negates the historical and essential place, contribution, and influence of religious, ethnic, racialized, English-speaking, and Indigenous communities to the development and progress of Québec society as we know it today" (Ibid). The issue on the neglect for the multiplicity and fluidity of identities comes up again as well: "The proposed Charter compels us to arbitrarily choose and break down our multiple identities into discrete strands without actually providing us with a true choice or respecting the choices we make" (Ibid). And similarly, like the responses given to the reasonable accommodation debate, the issue on the conflation of homophobia with religion is addressed; they state that religion for some is "a source of liberation from racism, colonialism, and totalitarianism, not to mention of spiritual support" and that fighting homophobia within religious thought and institutions should "begin within such institutions" (Ibid). By presuming these kinds of stereotypes, the proposed Charter acts as "a regressive and oppressive invitation to the majority to cast a referendum on minority rights and to the establishment of separate but equal societies based on race, religion, ethnicity, language, and geography" (Ibid). The reiteration of the same presumptions from 2006-2008 in

2013-2014 is indicative of the persistence of history in the shaping of present social relations.

Similarly, the homophobic responses to the awareness raising campaign of Québec's Government Action Plan against Homophobia were also attributed to immigrants. Ethnocultural LGBT groups wrote up an article in Fugues, "Wave of homophobic comments on the internet: Ethnocultural LGBT organization indicate the nuances" (Van Hoenacker, 2013) in response to these accusations, made particularly in the article "Wave of homophobic comments on the internet" published in La Presse in March 2013. The main nuance these ethnocultural LGBT organizations make is that instead of seeing homophobia as intensified by immigration from countries where homosexuality is forbidden, this immigration should be seen as "one facet of homophobia out of many that exist in Québec" (ADA et al., 2013: online, my translation). Their article also acknowledges that there is a diversity of ways in which homosexuality or support for homosexuality is expressed that might not emulate Western ways of dominant expression, identified as "loudly proclaim[ing] the rights of homosexuals" and "demand[ing] equality for all in their daily lives" (Ibid). Again, these expectations that restrict the envisioned fluidity and multiformity of queerness are imbued with biases.

6.5 Conclusion

By examining the development of queer of colour and Two-Spirit organizing in Montréal, I outlined the reasons behind, context around, and perspectives of queers of colour and Two-Spirit organizing. The reiterations of the same kinds of challenges in the evolution of the queer of colour and Two-Spirit groups and in the progression from the reasonable accommodation debate to the Charter demonstrate the persistence of exclusions in the building of Québec's national imaginary. The increasing consolidation of queer of colour organizing especially illustrates how continued hostility, alienation, and stigmatization have fuelled heightened self-organization. The repetitive erasure, spatial marginalization, and racial stereotyping of queers of colour, indigenous queers, and Two-Spirits all

become strategies of structuring whiteness and fostering disorientation, which Ahmed (2006b: 20) describes as, the sense of not feeling at home.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I discuss my findings to my three main research questions and relate them to the main aim of my thesis, demonstrating the ways in which racialized governmentality is enacted by the homonationalist imaginary of Québec. By analyzing some of the practices of the government, mainstream queer organizations, and queer of colour and Two-Spirit organizations, I illustrated the relationships, interactions, and connections between these entities in the structuring of sexual modernity, racialization, and Québec nationalism. In Section 7.1, I summarize my findings, and identify common themes, recurrent relationships and unnamed interactions in my findings mainly collected from textual sources and interviews. Then in Section 7.2, guided by my conceptual framework, I draw the main conclusions of this thesis, noting the relationships between Québec's past and present in matters of religion, immigration, colonialism, sovereignty, sexuality and race.

7.1 Major Findings

Many of the observations I made were in relation to Bilge's claim on the absence of race - from recognizing to addressing race, racialization, and racism - in Québec. The implementation of the Government Action Plan against Homophobia and the Charter of Values by the Québec Government resulted in the repetitive circulation of particular discourses and representations that permeated and continue to permeate Québec society. While none of these two plans explicitly regulate race in the government documents themselves, the presumptive association of secularism to LGBT equality by dominant society implicitly conditions current racial relations in Québec society. In addition, the reiteration of the link between secularity and LGBT equality by mainstream queer organizations perverts the framing of the motivations and sources of homophobia. The portrayal of immigrant communities as homophobic by some LGBT organizations and members of Québec society confirms the prevalence and impact of these discourses. The emergence of a consolidated form of queer of colour, indigenous queer, and Two-Spirit organizing further illustrates the effect of racialization as social governance.

Similarly, my observations, or lack thereof, reaffirmed the invisibilization of settler colonialism in Québec. They visibilized the legacies and contemporary practices of colonialism that often perform through their very invisibilization. The disregard for the historical significance of sexual colonization in discussions on sexual diversity persists in the government documents, mainstream LGBT media, and mainstream news outlets that I looked at. In this way, I see an intimate connection between the lauding of the sexual diversity of Québec and the forgetting of Québec settler colonialism. These erasures merely intensify the distance between the present and the past, old colonial geographies and new colonial geographies, and non-indigenous peoples and indigenous peoples. Thobani (2007) asserts that people of colour and racialized immigrants, by appealing to the settler nation for citizenship, can even be complicit in the Canadian and Québécois colonial project. As I noted, there were thus efforts within non-white queer organizing in Montréal to attend to the specificity of experiences that indigenous peoples in Canada face.

My findings illustrate that Québec's modern national identity simultaneously tends to omit racism, racialization, colonialism, and colonization while lauding Québec's protection of sexual diversity. The espousing of sexually modern values by both the Québec government and mainstream LGBT organizations and members contributes to a selective and strategic portrayal of Québec and facilitates feelings of nationalism and exceptionalism. But as Ahmed (2004a) argues, these feelings of love that unite the collective can easily transform into feelings of hate that emit from the collective. The affective social force of emotions is evident in the debates and discussions on the Charter of Values, the Government Action Plan against Homophobia, the LGBTQ summer festivals, and more generally, on religion and sexuality, immigration and sexuality, and neoliberalism and sexuality. Borders, in their very function to exclude, are reinforced through the intensifications of feeling (Ibid: 39). Thus the collectivity of the modern Québec nation is clearly imagined because of the divisions and disagreements between different groups. Constructing the history of the nation is essential to this imagining of a modern Québec nation. The repetition of certain absences in history conditions the

directions, orientations and positionings of objects, "including physical objects, […] objects of thought, feeling, and judgment, and objects in the sense of aims, aspirations, and objectives" (Ahmed, 2006a: 553). Thus, as much as the intentions of these projects may have been 'good', the good intentions may quickly shift because of the affective influence of histories and context.

7.2 Conclusion

By combining literatures on queer complicities, sexual exceptionalism, and settler colonialism, and utilizing a methodological framework comprised of critical discourse analysis, interviews and participant observation, this thesis has explored how sexual nationalism in Québec, as imagined by the government and dominant society, incites and is incited by the governmentality of race. My conceptual framework is grounded in the approaches already advanced by many anti-racist, anti-colonial queer theorists; in this way, I continued the work of these theorists by strengthening the relationship between queer theory and critical race theory. Similarly, I decided upon my methodological framework based on the approaches these anti-racist, anti-colonial queer theorists. In line with these theorists, I reflected upon the limitations of what I can both know and convey and but also upon how these limitations can even be illustrative of the information, interactions, and relationships that instruct knowledge production.

The thesis extends the literature on homonationalism to the Québec sociopolitical context, taking into consideration the specificity of its place and histories. As I have shown, the overall effect of homonationalism, "the emergence of national homosexuality," in Quebec is like that of the US - to enact the usage of sexual politics to exclude racial 'others' in Québec (Puar, 2007: 2). But the ways in which these sexual politics in the Québec context are enacted differ from the US context. The most apparent motive for homonationalism in Québec can be rooted in its fragile geography as a French-speaking nation in North America, shaped by the conditions of colonialism both enacted on and by French Québecers in the making of the Québecois nation.

To analyze the role of the Québec government in facilitating exclusionary forms of sexual nationalism, I examined the discourses around the Charter of Values and the Government Action Plan against Homophobia, concluding that the government established a strong voice on sexual rights through its representation of Québec's sexual diversity and instigation of debates on sexuality among Québec society. I then explored the place of dominant queer organizations in practices of sexual regulation by focusing on the rhetorical and tangible practices of mainstream LGBT organizations in Montréal. I demonstrated that their alignments with prescriptive forms of homosexuality, narratives of exceptionalism, and homogenous depictions of queerness are means through which racial 'others' are further excluded and framed as morally backward. Finally, I looked at the responses by non-white sexual minorities to these racial exclusions to better delineate the consequences of Québec (homo)nationalism. My findings on queer of colour, indigenous queer, and Two-Spirit organizing demonstrated that the imagined geographies of Québec, reduced to the sexually modern citizens and the sexually backward non-citizens, have resulted in the persistent invisibilization, spatial marginalization and racial stereotyping of non-white sexual minorities.

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APPENDIX A: LIST OF DOCUMENTS

Subject	Author/ Organization	Name	Type
Chapter 4: Institutionalized Sexual Regulation			
Quebec government action plan against homophobia 2011-2016	Québec Government	Québec policy against homophobia (2013) Government action plan against homophobia 2011-2016 overview (2011) Government action plan against homophobia 2011-2016 (2011)	Government Document
	CNW Telbec	Le ministre de la Justice lance le Plan d'action gouvernemental de lutte contre l'homophobie (2011) Programme Lutte contre l'homophobie - Le ministre de la Justice annonce une aide financière de 166 825 $ à 11 organismes (2013) Le gouvernement du Quebec accorde une aide financière complémentaire de 465 000$ aux organismes communautaires LGBT (2013)	Press Release
	Jarrah Hodge Gender Focus	Quebec Launches Campaign Against Homophobia (2013)	Blog Post
Does This Bother You? counter-campaign	Does This Bother You?	Project Description (2013)	Organization's Website
	Matthew Hays Rover Arts	Liberation or assimilation? (2013)	Blog Post
	Matthew Hays Daily Xtra	Provocative postering (2013)	News Article
	Yves Lafontaine Fugues	Une insolite campagne visant la provocation (2013)	News Article
Quebec Charter of Values	LGBT pour laïcité	About	Facebook Group
	André Gagnon Le Devoir	Libre opinion - La laïcité, une garantie d'égalité pour les minorités sexuelles (Open opinion - secularism, a guarantor of equality for sexual minorities) (2013)	Blog Post

	Alban Ketelbuters The Huffington Post Québec	Laïcité: la communauté LGBT a la mémoire courte (Secularism: the LGBT community has a short-term memory) (2014)	Blog Post
	Jérôme Blanchet-Gravel The Huffington Post Québec	Pourquoi certains homosexuels ne soutiennent-ils pas la Charte? (Why don't certain homosexuals support the Charter?) (2013)	Blog Post
	François Doyon The Huffington Post Québec	Accommodements religieux et homosexualité : une inquiétude raisonnable (Religious accommodation and homosexuality: a reasonable concern) (2013)	Blog Post
	Jillian Page Montreal Gazette	L'association LGBT pour un Québec inclusif, I beg to differ (2013)	Blog Post
	Rémi Bourget Québec inclusif	Opprimer pour libérer de l'oppression? Pour un Québec inclusif (2013)	Blog Post
	Judith Lussier Métro	Vers une montée l'homonationalisme? (Towards the rise of homonationalism?) (2013)	Blog Post
	Judith Lussier Métro	Mea culpa (2013)	Blog Post
	Judith Lussier Métro	La réplique (2013)	Blog Post
	Folle Alliée	La charte des valeurs Québécoises et l'homonationalisme qubecoise (the Québec Charter of Values and Québec homonationalism) (2013)	Blog Post
	Folle Alliée	La choix homonationaliste: un choix essentialiste (Homonationalist choice: an essentialist choice)(2013)	Blog Post
	No One is Illegal Montreal	Basis of Unity of "Ensemble contre la Charte xénophobe" (Together against the xenophobic Charter) (2013)	Blog Post
Chapter 5: Queer Ascendency			
Homosexuality knows no borders campaign / Awareness Program Geared Toward Ethnic Communities 2009-2011	Fondation Émergence	Awareness geared toward Ethnic Communities (2013) Homosexuality knows no borders (2013)	Organization's Website
	Fondation Émergence	Homosexuality knows no borders (2009)	Brochure

	CNW Telbec	International day against homophobia - May 17 - Significant generation gap between immigrants - Perception of homosexuality (2009) International Day Against Homophobia 2009 - Though invited to participate in the fight against homophobia in their communities, cultural organisations give a shy response (2009)	Press Release
Reasonable accommodation debate	Fondation Émergence and Gai Écoute	Homosexualité et différences culturelles: Une crainte raisonnable (Homosexuality and cultural differences: A reasonable apprehension). Memoire presented to the Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodements reliés aux différences culturelles (2007)	Report
LGBTQ summer festivals	Divers/Cité	About (2013)	Organization's Website
	CNW Telbec	Le gouvernement du Québec soutient la 21e édition de Divers/Cité Montréal 2013 (2013)	Press Release
	Montreal Pride	Travel (2012) History (2012)	Organization's Website
	Montreal Pride	Official launch of the 2013 edition of Montreal Pride, presented by TD (2013)	Press Release
	Montreal Pride	Official Program 2013 (2013)	Program Guide
	Pervers/Cité	Pervers/Cité (2013)	Organization's Website
	Kersplebedeb	The Radical Roots of Divers/Cité (2008)	Zine
Chapter 6: Disorientation			
Queer of colour, indigenous queer, and Two-Spirit organizing	Association canadienne pour la santé mentale (ACSM)	Sortir ses Couleurs: diversité sexuelle et ethnoculturelle (2006)	Colloquia Document
	Hugo Ducharme AlterHéros	Multimundo: a new coalition for queer cultural communities (2006)	News Article
	Ethnoculture	About (2011)	Organization's Website
	2-qtpoc montreal	2-qtpoc montreal (2012)	Crowdsourcing Link
	Qouleur	About (2013)	Organization's Website

Quebec Charter of Values	Declaration Anticharte.r	Declaration Anticharte.r (2013)	Open Letter
Quebec government action plan against homophobia	ADA, AGIR, Arc-en-ciel d'Afrique, Ethnoculture, GLAM, and HELEM Fugues	Vague de commentaires homophobes sur l'internet: Des organismes LGBT ethnoculturels font la nuance (Wave of homophobic comments on the internet: Ethnocultural LGBT organization indicate the nuances) (2013)	Commentary
	François Van Hoenacker La Presse	Vague de commentaires homophobes sur l'internet (Wave of homophobic comments on the internet)(2013)	News Article
Reasonable accommodation debate	Alan Wong, Edward Ou Jin Lee, Nada Raphaël, Joelle Sfeir, Shari Brotman, Daniel Julien Coalition (Multimundo, Ethnoculture, Sexual and Gender Diversity: Vulnerability, and Resilience (SVR) Research Team)	Invisible Identities: Sexually Diverse Ethnic and Racial Minorities and Two-Spirited People in Quebec. Memoire presented to the Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodements reliés aux différences culturelles (2007)	Report

APPENDIX B: SAMPLE INTERVIEW RECRUITMENT EMAIL

Dear _____,

I am a student of Urban Geography at McGill University (Montréal, Canada) and am currently conducting research on the history of LGBTQI2S festivals, events and spaces in Montréal and the presence and visibility of queer people of color in queer spaces for my undergrad thesis. I am interested in learning your perspective on this topic, given your participation in the organization of [festival name].
Would you be willing to meet with me for an interview? The interview would take approximately on hour and can be scheduled for a time and place that is convenient for you.

Thank you for considering this request. I look forward to hearing for you.

Sincerely,

Carolin Huang
Student
BA Honors Geography, McGill University

Contact Information of Faculty Supervisor:
Natalie Oswin
Assistant Professor
Department of Geography, McGill University
natalie.oswin@mcgill.ca

APPENDIX C: ETHICS APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

McGill

Research Ethics Board Office
James Administration Bldg.
845 Sherbrooke Street West. Rm 429
Montreal, QC H3A 0G4

Tel: (514) 398-6831
Fax: (514) 398-4644
Website: www.mcgill.ca/research/researchers/compliance/human/

Research Ethics Board I
Certificate of Ethical Acceptability of Research Involving Humans

REB File #: 65-0713

Project Title: Deconstructing Homonationalism: The Quandary of Queer Space as White Space in Montreal

Principal Investigator: Carolin Huang

Department: Geography

Status: Undergraduate Student

Supervisor: Prof. N. Oswin

Approval Period: **June 17, 2013 to June 16, 2014**

The REB-I reviewed and approved this project by delegated review in accordance with the requirements of the McGill University Policy on the Ethical Conduct of Research Involving Human Participants and the Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct For Research Involving Humans.

Deanna Collin
Ethics Review Administrator, REB I & II

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* All research involving human participants requires review on an annual basis. A Request for Renewal form should be submitted 2-3 weeks before the above expiry date.
* When a project has been completed or terminated a Study Closure form must be submitted.
* Should any modification or other unanticipated development occur before the next required review, the REB must be informed and any modification can't be initiated until approval is received.

APPENDIX D: WRITTEN CONSENT FORM

Project Title - Deconstructing Homonationalism: The Quandary of Queer Space as White Space in Montréal

Carolin Huang
BA Honors Student
Department of Geography
McGill University
805 Sherbrooke Street West
Montréal, QC H3A 2K6, Canada

Tel: 514 451 0873
Email: carolin.huang@mail.mcgill.ca
Faculty Supervisor: Natalie Oswin
Tel: 514 398 5232
Email: natalie.oswin@mcgill.ca

Description of Research: The aim of this project is to examine how mainstream LGBT events and spaces can potentially be exclusionary and (in)directly perpetuate forms of colonization and racialization in Montréal. The specific objectives of this project are: (1) To examine the role of homonormativity in the formation of a national identity in Québec and Canada and in the regulation of the identities/subjectivities of LGBTQI2S. (2) To explore how certain rhetorics about sexuality have been negligent to racial politics and how certain discourses have been formed to disrupt dominant narratives about racialized groups or individuals. (3) To investigate how queer people of colour navigate homonormative standards by forming alliances and politicizing LGBTQI2S spaces and events in Montréal.

What is involved in participating: If you wish to participate, we will meet for an interview that will take approximately one hour, at a location of your choosing. The interview will consist of a series of open-ended questions on the roles of the organizers, the history of the events, the aims of the events and the organization's practice of addressing the diversity of experiences of LGBTQI2S peoples. Participants may withdraw at any time and may refuse to answer any question. If you agree, I will digitally record the interview. The recordings will be used for transcription only and will be destroyed following transcription.

Confidentiality: Should you wish your identity to remain confidential, anything you say will be attributed to a pseudonym. All data obtained (including my written notes and any digital recordings) will be stored on my laptop in a password protected folder and in locked drawers of my room. Only I will have access to my laptop and the drawers of my room. The findings will be used only for the purposes of writing academic articles and no data will be released to other individuals or groups.

Please initial where appropriate:
_____ Yes, I want my name and identity to be used.
_____ No, I want my name and identity to remain confidential.
_____ Yes, I consent to being audio-recorded for the interview.
_____ No, I do not consent to being audio-recorded for the interview.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, please contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514 398 6831 or lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca.

By signing below, I confirm that I have read and understood the above information and agree to participate in this study.

Print Name: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX E: SAMPLE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

What's your role in the organization? What are your responsibilities?
How long have you been involved in organizing?
How many people are involved in organizing?
How did most of the organizers first get involved in organizing __? What are the demographics of the organizers like?

What is the main aim of the festival? Is it political?
How has the festival transformed?
How are most decisions made? How does the organization decide on its programming from year to year? What is the criteria for the selection? Is it dependent on the funding source?
Does the programming reflect the lifestyles of the attendees?
What's the significance of the space in which the festival takes place? What are the reasons for geographically limiting it to (or taking place outside) the Gay Village?
In what ways does __ strive to be inclusive, especially to trans-people, people of color and women?
Does the organization put into place any practices related to financial accessibility?
How does the organization address the diversity of experiences of LGBTQI2S peoples?
How do language dynamics play out in the festival and organization?
Is there a particular image that the festival strives for?

Does the organization have short term & long term goals with regard to inclusivity and accessibility?
What does the organization foresee as challenges, if any?

What role does the festival play in Montréal's LGBTQ movement?
How has LGBT media responded to the festival?
How does this festival address inclusivity differently than other LGBT festivals?
How supportive has the Québécois government been of the festival in the recent years?

Are there archives of the festival's history?