

# Negotiating “Nous”:

## Competing Host National Identities among Second Generation Immigrants in Quebec

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# Table of Contents

TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	2
ABSTRACT .....	5
RÉSUMÉ .....	6
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	7
LIST OF TABLES.....	10
LIST OF FIGURES.....	11
PREFACE .....	12
INTRODUCTION .....	13
<b>1. SOCIAL IDENTITY IN THE QUEBEC CONTEXT: A PARADOX OF CONTRADICTIONS.....</b>	<b>21</b>
1.1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF ANALYSIS OF IDENTITY.....	22
1.2. THEORIES OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION .....	25
1.3. THE QUEBEC CONTEXT.....	31
1.3.1. <i>La grande noirceur</i> .....	32
1.3.2. <i>La révolution tranquille</i> .....	33
1.3.3. <i>Between Two Referenda</i> .....	35
1.3.4. <i>Post-1995 to Present Day</i> .....	36
1.4. CIVIC QUÉBÉCOIS NATIONALISM.....	40
1.5. NEGOTIATING COMPETING NATIONALISMS: CANADA VS. QUEBEC .....	46
1.6. SOCIAL IDENTITY & THE SECOND GENERATION IN QUEBEC: FACTORING IN DISCRIMINATION .....	52
1.7. CONCLUSION .....	58
<b>2. METHODOLOGY &amp; POPULATION PROFILES.....</b>	<b>60</b>
2.1. FIELD SITE: MONTREAL.....	60
2.2. TARGET POPULATIONS.....	61
2.3. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILES OF TARGET POPULATIONS .....	63
2.3.1. <i>Haitians in Montreal</i> .....	64
2.3.2. <i>Vietnamese in Montreal</i> .....	71
2.3.3. <i>Filipinos in Montreal</i> .....	77
2.3.4. <i>Anglo-Caribbeans in Montreal</i> .....	84
2.4. SAMPLE PARTICIPANTS.....	91
2.5. RECRUITMENT .....	92
2.6. INTERVIEWS.....	94
2.7. ANALYSIS .....	95
<b>DARLÈNE: A ‘TRUE’ QUÉBÉCOIS .....</b>	<b>98</b>
<b>3. THE CIVIC AND THE POLITICAL QUÉBÉCOIS IDENTITY.....</b>	<b>103</b>
3.1. THE CIVIC QUEBECOIS.....	103
3.2. THE POLITICAL .....	112
3.2.1. <i>Quebec as Leftist</i> .....	114
3.2.2. <i>Promoting and Protecting the French Language and Québécois Culture</i> .....	118
3.2.2.1. At the Expense of Other Issues.....	119
3.2.2.2. At the Expense of the Competitiveness of Bilingualism or Multilingualism .....	125
3.2.2.3. At the Expense of Diversity .....	132
3.2.3. <i>Sovereignty: Empathy Amidst Uncertainty</i> .....	135
3.2.3.1. Nous ne sommes pas partie de leur « nous ».....	140
3.2.3.1.1. Active Exclusion.....	141
3.2.3.1.2. Passive Exclusion .....	144
3.2.3.2. Economic and Logistical Uncertainty .....	149

3.3.	CONCLUSION .....	158
<b>4.</b>	<b>CULTURAL QUÉBÉCOIS &amp; MONTREALER IDENTITY.....</b>	<b>161</b>
4.1.	THE CULTURAL QUÉBÉCOIS .....	161
4.1.1.	<i>Food</i> .....	162
4.1.2.	<i>Arts and Entertainment</i> .....	167
4.1.3.	<i>Cultural Values</i> .....	176
4.1.3.1.	Être né pour un petit pain .....	177
4.1.3.2.	Independence & Individuality.....	184
4.2.	MONTREAL EXCEPTIONALISM .....	188
4.2.1.	<i>Bilingualism</i> .....	190
4.2.2.	<i>Multicultural Montreal</i> .....	195
4.2.3.	<i>The Montreal Way of Life</i> .....	203
4.3.	CONCLUSION .....	208
<b>5.</b>	<b>CHARACTERISTICS OF EXCLUSION AND DISIDENTIFICATION WITH QUÉBÉCOIS IDENTITY .....</b>	<b>211</b>
5.1.	IS LANGUAGE ENOUGH?.....	212
5.2.	T'ACCENT EST B'EN, LÀ! .....	217
5.3.	RACE OR ETHNICITY .....	223
5.4.	DISIDENTIFICATION: QUÉBÉCOIS IN SPITE OF EXCLUSION.....	234
5.4.1.	<i>The Civic Québécois out of Spite</i> .....	235
5.4.2.	<i>The Partial Quebecois</i> .....	239
5.4.3.	<i>The New Multiethnic Quebecois</i> .....	242
5.4.4.	<i>Typology of Québécois</i> .....	246
5.4.5.	<i>Quebecer, not Québécois</i> .....	248
5.5.	CONCLUSION .....	250
<b>6.</b>	<b>CANADIAN IDENTITY: CHARACTERISED BY INDIFFERENCE .....</b>	<b>253</b>
6.1.	CANADA, THE UTOPIA .....	253
6.1.1.	<i>Canada on the International Stage</i> .....	254
6.1.2.	<i>Canadian Institutions and Quality of Life</i> .....	258
6.1.2.1.	Conservative Directions & Harper .....	265
6.1.2.2.	English-French Canada Animosity .....	271
6.1.2.3.	Canadian Unity .....	273
6.1.3.	<i>Multiculturalism and Being Canadian</i> .....	275
6.2.	CANADA, THE UNKNOWN AND INDISTINCT.....	284
6.3.	CONCLUSION .....	292
<b>7.</b>	<b>DISCRIMINATION: AN ERROR OF INCIDENTS.....</b>	<b>295</b>
7.1.	MICROAGGRESSIONS: NARRATIVE OF MINIMISATION AND RELUCTANCE TO NAME.....	301
7.2.	INCIDENTAL VS. SYSTEMIC DISCRIMINATION .....	314
7.3.	SOCIAL LOCATION MATTERS.....	327
7.3.1.	<i>Race and Ethnicity</i> .....	328
7.3.2.	<i>Gender</i> .....	332
7.3.3.	<i>Class</i> .....	334
7.3.4.	<i>Language Abilities</i> .....	339
7.4.	CONCLUSION .....	344
<b>8.</b>	<b>CONCLUSION .....</b>	<b>348</b>
8.1.	QUÉBÉCOIS IDENTITY: PARADOXICALLY CIVIC & ETHNIC .....	349
8.2.	CANADIAN IDENTITY: CIVIC, BUT ABSTRACT .....	357
8.3.	COMPETING HOST IDENTITIES: A FALSE DICHOTOMY .....	359
8.4.	FROM A MICRO TO A MACRO VIEW OF DISCRIMINATION .....	360
8.5.	THE ROLE LANGUAGE AND RACE.....	362
8.6.	BEYOND THE QUEBEC CASE STUDY .....	367

<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>372</b>
<b>APPENDIX AA – INTERVIEW PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS .....</b>	<b>387</b>
<b>APPENDIX BB – INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH).....</b>	<b>389</b>
<b>APPENDIX CC – INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH) .....</b>	<b>391</b>
<b>APPENDIX DD – QUESTIONNAIRE, WITH CONSENT FORM (ENGLISH).....</b>	<b>394</b>

## **Abstract**

This research examines questions of long-term immigrant integration and competing national identities, with respect to second generation immigrants in the context of minority nationalism. More specifically, it explores how second generation immigrants, born and raised in such a context, negotiate the various versions of national identity with which they are presented. In order to explore this negotiation process, this dissertation provides a within-case comparison based on interviews with four different groups of second generation immigrants in Quebec, Canada. Participants are 18 to 35 years of age and the targeted groups are distinguished by predominant racial category and official language preference; Haitians and Vietnamese representing a preference for French, and Anglo-Caribbeans and Filipinos preferring English. This dissertation explores the competing messages regarding the boundaries around Québécois and Canadian identity, but also the potential competition between these two national identities. These identities are interpreted by second generation immigrants as bounded by a mix between civic and ethnic criteria from a variety of sources, including everyday interactions, the media, and policies and political discourse. Second generation immigrant perspectives on their experiences with discrimination and racism are also discussed.

**Keywords:** Quebec, Canada, identity, immigrant integration, second generation immigrants, nationalism, citizenship, discrimination, public policy, minority nationalism

## Résumé

Cette recherche examine des questions liées à l'intégration des immigrants sur le long terme et les identités nationales concurrentes des immigrants de deuxième génération dans un contexte de nationalisme minoritaire. Plus précisément, elle explore comment les immigrants de deuxième génération, nés et élevés dans ce contexte, négocient les différentes versions du nationalisme auxquelles ils sont exposés. Afin d'étudier ce processus de négociation, cette thèse fournit une comparaison à partir d'entrevues réalisées auprès de quatre groupes différents d'immigrants de deuxième génération au Québec, Canada. Les participants sont âgés entre 18 et 35 ans et les groupes ciblés sont distingués par la catégorie raciale prédominante et la préférence pour une langue officielle; les Haïtiens et les Vietnamiens ayant une préférence pour le français et les Anglo-Caribéens et les Philippins pour l'anglais. Cette thèse explore les messages concurrents au sujet des frontières autour de l'identité québécoise et de l'identité canadienne, mais aussi la concurrence potentielle entre ces deux identités nationales. Ces identités sont interprétées par les immigrants de deuxième génération comme étant délimitées par un mélange de critères civiques et ethniques provenant d'une variété des sources, comprenant les interactions quotidiennes, les médias, les politiques publiques et le discours politique. Les perspectives d'immigrants de deuxième génération quant à leurs expériences de discrimination et de racisme sont également abordées.

**Mots-clés:** Québec, Canada, l'identité, d'intégration des immigrants, les immigrants de deuxième génération, le nationalisme, la citoyenneté, la discrimination, les politiques publiques, le nationalisme minoritaire

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## List of Tables

Table 1: Three highest concentrations of Haitians (single and multiple responses), in Montreal CMA, all ages, 2011.....	66
Table 2: Total population of Haitians (single and multiple responses), by generation, Montreal CMA, 2011. ....	68
Table 3: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Haitian population (single and multiple responses), Montreal CMA, 2011.....	69
Table 4: Three highest concentrations of Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), in Montreal CMA, all ages, 2011.....	73
Table 5: Total Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), by generation, all ages, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	74
Table 6: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), Montreal CMA, 2011.....	75
Table 7: Three highest concentrations of Filipinos in Montreal CMA, all ages, 2006.....	80
Table 8: Total population of Filipino population (single and multiple responses), by generation, all ages, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	81
Table 9: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Filipino population (single and multiple responses), Montreal CMA, 2011.....	82
Table 10: Total population of Anglo-Caribbean population, (single and multiple responses) by region, all ages, 2011.....	86
Table 11: Total population of Anglo-Caribbean population (single and multiple responses), by generation, all ages, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	88
Table 12: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Anglo-Caribbean population, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	89
Table 13: Average age and gender, by participants' parents' country of origin.....	91

## List of Figures

Figure 1:	Total Haitian population (single and multiple responses), by immigration status and period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, Canada, 2011.....	67
Figure 2:	Knowledge of Official Languages, Haitian Population, (single and multiple responses), by Age Group, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	70
Figure 3:	Total Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), by immigration status or period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, Canada, 2011.....	73
Figure 4:	Knowledge of Official Languages, Vietnamese Population (single and multiple responses), by Age Groups, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	76
Figure 5:	Total population of Filipino population (visible minority status) by immigration status or period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, 2011.....	81
Figure 6:	Knowledge of Official Languages, Filipino population (single and multiple responses), By Age Group, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	83
Figure 7:	Total population of Anglo-Caribbeans (single and multiple responses) by immigration status or period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, 2011.....	87
Figure 8:	Knowledge of Official Languages, Anglo-Caribbean population (single and multiple responses), by Age Group, Montreal CMA, 2011.....	90
Figure 9:	Predominant Official Language, by Target Ethnic Group.....	92

## **Preface**

This dissertation provides a four-way within-case comparison of second generation groups in Quebec. This is the first study in Quebec that focuses on systematically comparing second generation immigrant integration across racial and linguistic groups in a qualitative manner. The value of this comparison is to investigate how race and language intersect and to measure if one characteristic is more salient than the other in a top-down civic-defined national identity.

The broader contribution is that this research, rather than focusing on the potential negotiation between home ethnic and host identities, centres around the negotiation between the various host national identities that second generation immigrants are presented with from a number of sources, including those from official policies and political discourse, from the media, and from their everyday interactions, particularly with members of the host majority. Furthermore, this research also focuses on the potential competition between host identities in the context of minority nationalism, as there may be conflicting messages.

This research contributes to the literature on immigrant integration, and identity formation. It is complementary to work that focuses on the ways that immigrants maintain their ethnic identity; this research investigates the flip side of the coin, exploring the ways host identities are understood and negotiated. This dissertation contributes to the study of nationalism and citizenship in the Quebec context. By focusing on expressions and understandings of the host national identities by second generation immigrants, this research provides a new perspective on the boundaries of the host nations, complementary to previous work investigating the opinions of the political elites or dominant majority.

## Introduction

On September 18<sup>th</sup>, 2014, Scotland held a referendum for independence, with a simple question posed to its residents: “Should Scotland be an independent country?” The No camp sealed the vote with a majority 55% for staying in the UK and 45% who voted Yes to independence. The independence campaign was championed by the Scottish National Party (SNP) who promoted a decidedly civic form of nationalism (Crowther, 2015). Through all of their democratic or economic arguments, the SNP was clear to downplay any sense of requirement of independence based on ethnicity or cultural distinctiveness. In fact, only a residency requirement was needed in order to be able to vote in the referendum, and this, as a proxy measure for commitment to Scotland, was used in favour of birthright or ancestry.

This referendum is just the latest step in a long history of Scottish nationalism, including two previous referenda on Scottish devolution in 1979 and 1997. Only in the second referendum did enough of the electorate vote to approve the devolution plan, which resulted in the creation of an elected Scottish Parliament with control over most of its own domestic policy. In more recent years, Scottish political elites have made great efforts to present the nation “as a forward looking, inclusive and civic-minded movement, based around the simple idea that all who seek to be Scottish may become so” (Leith & Soule, 2011).

In evaluating how certain segments of the Scottish population voted in the referendum, it was found that over 52% of native Scots voted Yes for independence, while over 72% of those born in other parts of the UK voted No (Clegg, 2015). While those who are from other parts of the UK appear to have a strong sense of Britishness, those born outside the country voted more

closely to the native Scots with almost 43% voting for independence. In reaction to the loss, SNP Member of the Scottish Parliament Christian Allard, who himself is originally from France, stated “Scotland is the country of everyone who lives here, regardless of where they were born, and we take decisions on our future together. The diversity of Scotland’s population is a matter for celebration”.

These results and reaction in Scotland is in stark contrast to that of the 1995 referendum for independence in Quebec. On October 30<sup>th</sup>, 1995, Quebec voters narrowly voted in favour of remaining a part of Canada by a margin of 49.46% in support of sovereignty, to 50.58% who voted no. It is estimated that over 95% of the non-French Canadian population voted against sovereignty (McRoberts, 1997). After the results were announced on the night of the referendum, the then-leader of the *Parti Québécois*, Jacques Parizeau infamously said: “We are beaten, it is true, but by what, basically? By money and ethnic votes.” These words would haunt Parizeau up until his death in June 2015, as they were mainly construed as bitter and xenophobic. This legacy overshadows his attempts to include immigrant communities in the sovereignty movement particularly in the lead up to the 1995 vote.

Quebec has redefined the national community since the Quiet Revolution when the Quebec nation was defined by French-Canadian ethnicity. In the years prior to the 1995 referendum and since then, the Québécois national community has been defined territorially as well as by an adherence to a set of civic values for all citizens, including a common French public language meant to facilitate civic participation. Other values include a commitment to secularism and equality between men and women. The changes in the definition highlight the growing

importance of recognising and including non-French Canadian populations in the boundaries of the nation, including Anglophones and Quebec's "cultural communities".

Both jurisdictions see the value of the immigrant and ethnic vote in the pursuit of self-determination and both the SNP and the *Parti Québécois* made attempts to sway immigrant loyalties towards their minority nationalism by presenting a civic and inclusive identity. However, what is the most striking between these two referenda, held almost 20 years apart, is that the civic political discourse appears to have been much more convincing to the immigrant population in Scotland in 2014 than it was in Quebec in 1995.

Referenda are a time when issues of who is part of the nation are brought to the forefront, but these questions nonetheless exist in the everyday in societies in a minority nationalism situation, such as Scotland and Quebec, but also other immigrant-receiving nation-states. The process of redefining the boundaries and the debates on who makes up the nation have changed overtime with increased pluralism as a result of immigration. Judging from the discourse of the elite, these two jurisdictions have both defined their national identity in civic terms (Juteau, 2002; Leith & Soule, 2011), but are these discourses convincing for new citizens and residents? Given the specific socio-political environment, how do immigrants negotiate their identities in a minority nationalism situation? What messages do immigrants receive regarding the boundaries around these citizenships and identities, and where do they come from? Furthermore, living in a nation-within-a-nation, how do immigrants negotiate potentially competing host national identities?

This research examines questions of long-term immigrant integration, competing identities, and nationalism and citizenship with respect to second generation immigrants in the context of minority nationalism. More specifically, how do second generation immigrants, who are born and raised in such a context, negotiate the various versions of the nation with which they are presented. In order to explore this negotiation process of second generation immigrants in a society in a minority nationalism situation, I am using Quebec, Canada as a case study, and provide a within-case comparison of four different groups of second generation immigrants based on predominant racial categories and official language preferences. I explore three case-specific research questions that will help inform other cases of minority nationalism in the context of pluralism and immigration.

- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Québécois identity?**
- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Canadian identity?**
- **How do second generation immigrants perceive and experience discrimination and racism, and what effect do these perceptions and experiences have on their national Québécois and Canadian identities?**

The first chapter reviews the relevant literature and theories pertaining to the study of immigrant integration and identity formation. This chapter explains the specificities of the Quebec context with respect to the changing boundaries around Québécois identity and the potential competition between Québécois and Canadian national identities. Finally, this chapter reviews previous studies on second generation immigrants in Quebec with respect to their ethnic and national identities.



The second chapter describes the methodological research design for this study, including the field site choice, the target populations, the manner in which participants were recruited and interviewed, as well as how the data were analysed. This research was designed to compare across both racial and ethnic groups, as well as linguistic groups. I have selected two predominantly Black groups: Haitians and Anglo-Caribbeans, and two pan-Asian groups: Vietnamese and Filipino. Both the Vietnamese and Haitian groups are predominantly Francophone in Quebec, while the Anglo-Caribbeans and Filipinos tend more towards English as their preferred official language. This design will bring any significant linguistic or racial cleavages or boundaries to the forefront. This chapter also provides brief demographic profiles of the four target populations from which my sample are drawn, including the history of migration of the communities to Quebec, and the relative size of the second generation populations.

In the third chapter, the civic definitions that second generation use to negotiate their Québécois identity are explored. Furthermore, how policies, politics, and political discourse play a part in this negotiation is presented by exploring participants' narratives around language policies and the sovereignty movement. This chapter argues that while participants have civic definitions of Québécois citizenship, they also interpret, understand, and express some non-civic, and more ethnic messages about the boundaries of the Quebec nation.

The fourth chapter explores the cultural aspects of being Québécois that participants use in their negotiation of Québécois identity. The first half of this chapter explores the role of food, arts and entertainment, and cultural values in national identity formation and argues that the cultural

aspects that participants describe are rooted in an ethnic French-Canadian culture; some of which second generation immigrants find accessible, and others that they do not. The second half of the chapter explores the role of a local Montrealer identity as a facilitator and competitor in negotiating Québécois and Canadian identity.

In chapter five, the relationship between ideas of exclusion and identity is explored. The previous two chapters reveal the sense of agency that second generation immigrants have in selecting what aspects of the civic, ethnic, or metropolitan culture they factor into negotiating their identity. Chapter five argues that their perceptions of how the dominant French-Canadian population view them can foster feelings of exclusion. This chapter will also explore the disidentification strategies second generation immigrants employ in order to reconcile their own identity with their understanding of majority expectations.

Chapter six explores how second generation immigrants negotiate Canadian identity. This chapter investigates the role of Canada's reputation abroad, Canadian institutions, and policies, politics, and political discourse at the federal level. The chapter argues that much of their opinion is based on an abstract understanding and indifference, rather than experience and knowledge.

The seventh chapter explores the narrative around perceptions and experiences of discrimination and racism. This chapter makes a methodological argument about focusing on more than reported incidents to gain a more nuanced understanding of second generation immigrants' perceptions of and experiences with discrimination and racism.

The concluding chapter not only summarizes the major findings of this research, but also reviews the major contributions of this dissertation, its limitations, and implications for future research.

The findings from this study shed light on the process of negotiation of potentially competing national host identities in the context of minority nationalism. Previous research about second generation immigrants in Quebec has mainly focused on the negotiation between a home ethnic identity and the host community. This research focuses on providing insight into how second generation immigrants in Quebec negotiate Québécois identity given various messages of nationalism from a variety of sources. Given the four group within-case comparison, this study evaluates the effectiveness of a top-down civic national discourse on second generation populations in regards to their self-identification, and the influence of racial category and official language preference. The findings of this research are also unique because it compares the negotiation between Canadian and Québécois identity for these populations, and evaluates if either national identity is effective at promoting an inclusive identity from the perspective of second generation immigrants. Finally, this study looks at the experiences and perceptions of discrimination and racism in their communities and how that influences self-identification.

The findings of this study contribute to the areas of political sociology and the sociology of ethnic relations. They contribute to the study of immigrant integration, identity formation, and nationalism and citizenship. In addition to its contribution to the field of sociology, this work contributes to Canadian and Québécois public policy and that of any other pluralistic jurisdiction,

pertaining to the issues of nation building, diversity management, and discrimination. The findings are particularly relevant for societies that have situations of minority nationalism.

Referenda, like those in Quebec and Scotland, are considered crises of nationalism. However, Michael Billig (1995) argues that nationalism is omnipresent and is part of the everyday discourse and lives of its citizens. This “banal nationalism” is often unexpressed, but is always ready to be mobilised in the wake of a crisis. This research was completed at an arguably catalytic period of time in Quebec, namely during the debate on the Quebec Charter of Values, in which practices of reasonable accommodation were pitted against the need for the separation between Church and State, or *laïcité*. While these debates and the 2007 reasonable accommodation “crisis” in Quebec can be seen as extreme, they serve to bring these everyday, hidden, and often unexpressed and unquestioned assumptions about what it means to part of the nation, into the open for all citizens to question, debate, and redefine. In Quebec the assumption being challenged is, to use Jean-Francois Lisée’s (2007) terminology, who is “*nous*”?

## **1. Social Identity in the Quebec Context: A paradox of contradictions**

The following sections of this chapter review the relevant literature and present the research questions driving this research concerning the national identities of second generation immigrants in Quebec. Section 1.1 will present an approach to thinking about identity relevant for this work. Section 1.2 presents a brief review of the theoretical approaches to immigrant integration, particularly as it relates to the negotiation of different identities in the long-term outcomes of immigration. Quebec offers a unique context when studying immigrant integration in Canada, as the province has a particular social and political history that influences much of the provincial discourse and policy, including that which is related to immigrant integration and Québécois citizenship. Section 1.3 provides a brief history of Quebec through the lens of evaluating the changing approaches to immigrant integration and particularly the imagining of Québécois citizenship, or rather the changing boundaries of the Quebec nation. The next three sections present the three broad research questions driving this research that seeks to explore the potential contradictions that surface both theoretically, as well between theory and empirical findings. Section 1.4 reviews the contradictions or paradoxes second generation immigrants (and all Quebec Citizens) are presented with, both within seemingly inclusive nation-building policies, and between this vision and what is experienced in the day-to-day. This will be mirrored in the next section in regards to Canadian identity. Section 1.5 presents the potential contradiction between Canadian Multiculturalism as a nation-building project and its theoretical critiques and empirical realities. Finally, section 1.6 explored the contradictions between different racial groups and the two dominant linguistic groups in regards to their perceptions and experiences with racism and discrimination, and how it affects their potential national identities.

This is achieved by reviewing some of the empirical literature on second generation immigrants in Quebec.

### ***1.1. Theoretical Framework of Analysis of Identity***

This section presents the theoretical approach to identity that informs the research and results presented in this dissertation. Positioned between a classical essentialist and post-structuralist anti-essentialist perspective, the situational or contextual approach attributes importance to both a sense of personal agency and the structural components in which an actor finds themselves, in regards to the negotiation of their identity. In his book on second generation Arab youth in Montreal, Paul Eid (2007) concisely presents this situational framework and the underlying epistemological debate concerning identity. These approaches and debate are often applied to thinking about ethnic identity, but they should be considered as a framework for thinking about all group identities. I borrow heavily from Eid and apply his framework to my analysis of national Québécois and Canadian identities, and the understanding of these identities from the perspective of second generation immigrants in Quebec.

The classical essentialist perspective regards identity as fixed and natural. This primordialist approach views identity as informed by a corresponding homogenous and stable culture, which then results in strict boundaries of who is an insider and who is an outsider. In contrast, the post-structuralist anti-essentialist approach has considered a more actor-centred approach to identity (Eid, 2007).

In regards to second generation immigrant identity, proponents of the anti-essentialist approach reject the traditional view of an “identity crisis” of second generation immigrants being caught

“between two cultures” as an essentialist approach based on the assumption that cultures are bounded and separate entities (Baumann, 1996). Moreover, the idea of cultural hybridization should also be abandoned because it maintains the idea of pure bounded cultures coming together unchanged or eroded (Melluci, 1997; Werbner, 1997). A fluid and ambiguous notion of identity is advocated by anti-essentialists where identities are continually negotiated and transformed through history, personal experience and subjectivity (Eid, 2007).

However, Eid (2007) states that critiques of the post-structuralist approach are warranted and identity is not something that operates in open space that actors shape and transform at will in a social vacuum. He posits that any approach to identity cannot overlook the structural constraints on the power of actors to choose their identity. “In particular, the position of one’s group in the socioeconomic power structure, as well as the way members of the groups are perceived by the host society, affect one’s ability to adopt, or opt out of, ethnic labels” (p. 23).

Eid describes this approach as most closely related to the situational or contextual approach developed by authors like Nagel (1994) and Okamura (1981). In recognising the dynamic and unstable nature of ethnic identity, “the chosen ethnic identity is determined by the individual’s perception of its meanings to different audiences, its salience in different social contexts, and its utility in different settings” (Nagel, 1994). This approach is in turn heavily indebted to the seminal work of Barth (1969).

Barth defines ethnic groups as “categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves”. He understands identity as defined by its boundaries, which are the socially

activated characteristics that are used in identity construction to differentiate one group from another, or to identify other members of the same group. The boundary is relational rather than fixed, and is subject to negotiation and change, with different characteristics being activated as boundary markers. From this perspective, while identity formation is certainly a process of negotiation, Eid argues that the ‘negotiability’ of identity is restricted based on who is activating what characteristics. In other words, identity has an element of self-definition, but the choices of which identities are available are constrained by how the boundaries are understood by different actors.

In this dissertation, I am centrally concerned with the process of negotiation that second generation immigrants in Quebec have in regards to Québécois and Canadian national identity, as part of a long-term immigrant integration process. In contemporary Quebec, boundaries around who is Québécois are constantly being negotiated and renegotiated, with groups being distinguished across multiple social categories, such as language, race, or religion, often at the same time. Therefore, depending on the salience of the social category, certain groups may be ascribed an outsider status (as opposed to an insider Québécois identity), based on their real or perceived characteristics. This research is principally interested in the salience of racial or ethnic characteristics, and language categories (particularly a predominant official language category), which might influence how members of these different categories self-identify or how they are identified by others.

Similar boundaries are always in process of negotiation for Canadian identity, and the specific socio-political situation in Quebec provides two potentially competing national identities in



which second generation immigrants (and for that matter, all Quebec citizens) can integrate or assimilate into. In the rest of this chapter, I present the context for the negotiation of these boundaries around Québécois and Canadian identity, which provides the basis for the three central research questions driving this research. However first, I present the theoretical approach to immigrant integration used in this research.

## **1.2. *Theories of Immigrant Integration***

The potential ethnic and national identities of immigrants have been of interest in the literature on immigrant integration, with identificational assimilation used as one indicator of successful social integration. Over the last century, there have been changing perspectives on the endurance of “home” ethnic identities in the face of new “host” national identities for immigrants and their offspring. This section will present some of the more influential theoretical perspectives concerning identificational integration for immigrants into a host society.

The immigrant integration perspective of classical assimilation has its roots in the “Chicago school” in the 1920s from studying European immigrants to the United States (Robert E Park, 1930; Robert Ezra Park & Burgess, 1921). According to this perspective, immigrants to the United States were expected to follow an inevitable linear path of assimilation, meaning that over time, immigrant groups will become more and more similar to the host society as residential segregation declines and groups have more contact with each other.

Milton Gordon’s (1964) specification of classical assimilation proposes still a linear model, but with different stages of assimilation that occurs in the long-term over generations, where the subsequent generation is more assimilated than the last. Gordon believes that beginning with

acculturation, which is the adoption of the host society's values and norms including the language of the host society, the next stage is then structural assimilation, which is the large-scale entry of immigrants into the host society's mainstream institutions. Aspects of social integration, such as large-scale intermarriage and identificational assimilation follow. In response, this process of assimilation will result in the host society eliminating their prejudice and discrimination (attitudinal and behavioural reception assimilation) against the immigrant groups, and in the absence of value or power struggles (civic assimilation), full assimilation of immigrant groups is achieved.

Since Gordon's original reformulation, critiques of the classical assimilation method have changed the way that we think about assimilation and immigrant integration. While classical assimilation is descriptive of the experiences of early European immigrants to the US, the situation may not be as easily explained for more recent waves of immigrants to Canada. Two of the main differences that affect the extent and pace of immigrant integration are the changing demographics of immigration, and post-industrial economic context in North America (J. Reitz, 2007a, 2007b). The main source countries of immigrants have shifted from Europe to other parts of the world like Asia, Africa, and Latin America (Boyd & Vickers, 2000). This shift may add additional barriers to full integration because of the linguistic barriers (Boyd & Cao, 2009), as well as the potential for discrimination based on race or ethnicity, membership in a visible minority group, or ethno-religious identity (Model & Lin, 2002; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998). Furthermore, the post-industrial context which has seen slower economic growth has also contributed to trends of delayed integration (Picot, 2004; Picot & Sweetman, 2005).

The theoretical perspective of segmented assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993) critiques classical linear assimilation by recognising that not all immigrants will experience successful integration, but rather it depends on a combination of immigrant characteristics and host society contexts that determine the different paths and outcomes of integration. The segmented assimilation perspective centres in on the importance of social networks and social capital in the success of an immigrant. In contrast to success, one possibility is downward assimilation; a phenomenon that occurs when an immigrant group assimilates into a native group that may not be perceived as successful. For example, inner city immigrant groups to the US assimilating into the black inner city culture.

A more recent theoretical perspective is that of transnationalism, which Portes and colleagues (1999) position as a form of immigrant adaptation different from that of assimilation. With increased efficient travel and communications, it is easy to keep connections to the home country, whether via cultural values or norms, enduring national identity, or continued involvement in homeland politics or the economy. Transnational practices are becoming more commonplace in a number of immigrant receiving countries such as Canada and the US (Wong & Satzewich, 2006). However, an immigrant's integration into the host country is not necessarily hindered by continued links with people and communities from their sending country, but in fact, immigrant populations are influenced by both the host and the homeland (Ghosh & Wang, 2003).

Identifying with both the country of origin and the country of settlement is a dynamic process, which according to Berry (1997) is dependant upon the perceptions of the value of maintaining

ethnic ties and the attitudes towards the new dominant host context. Berry defines four strategies of acculturation, the process of adopting the values and identities of the host country, each classified by degree to which it occurs: marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration.

Marginalisation occurs when individuals do not have interest in maintaining their culture of their country of origin, nor do they wish to incorporate into the daily lives of the host majority. When individuals identify more with the home ethnic identity and culture, but not with that of the host country, this is the separation strategy. When daily interactions with the communities in the host country are high, while interactions with the culture of the country of origin are low, this is assimilation. Finally, integration is achieved with identification with both host and home cultures are present.

The segmented assimilation perspective, as well as the transnational perspective demonstrate that assimilation into a host society as the 'Chicago School' and Gordon (1964) originally conceived it, is not necessarily linear. Furthermore, Berry's conceptualisation of acculturation, illustrate that in some cases, adoption of the host community's values and cultural practices may not occur at all, or may coincide with some level of identification with the home country. This is particularly poignant for identificational assimilation, where it has been shown that even in subsequent generations where language, culture and customs are congruent with the host society, ethnic identity endures, even if only symbolic in nature (Gans, 1979; Waters, 1990).

Symbolic ethnicity is that which has little social cost for the individual, and can be fluid depending on the context. Ethnic or national holidays, or with specific groups of friends or

family may be times where people may be more likely to identify with their ethnic heritage. However, Waters recognizes that symbolic ethnicity can be a privilege for whites and the middle class. Symbolic ethnicity may not be an option for people of colour or visible minorities, due to either the socio-economic position of their ethnic group in relation to the majority, or due to the ascriptive characteristics that may constrain or deny them the choice for such fluid ethnic or racial identity.

The literature regarding symbolic ethnicity demonstrates that attachments to an ethnic identity can be independent from cultural and socio-economic incorporation into a host society, including identificational integration where migrants or children of migrants will identify highly with the host country, but may still identify with an ethnic identity. This approach values a sense of agency for individuals to pick-and-choose how and when they want to identify, while at the same time recognising the structural and societal limitations for some individuals to opt-in or opt-out of certain identities.

Despite these critiques, the domains that Gordon defines are still relevant in Canada, although immigrants may not travel through the stages in a linear fashion or pass through the stages at all. Cultural assimilation is often measured by acquisition of the language (Chiswick & Miller, 1994), while structural assimilation can be broken down into aspects of both economic and political integration. Economic integration is measured by indicators such as income (Chiswick & Miller, 2003; P. S. Li, 2000; Pendakur & Pendakur, 1998, 2002), occupation (Mata & Pendakur, 1999; Jeffrey G Reitz, 2001), unemployment rates (Chiswick, Cohen, & Zach, 1997; McDonald & Worswick, 1997), and home ownership (Balakrishnan & Wu, 1992; Ray & Moore,

1991). Indicators such as citizenship acquisition, representation as elected officials, and voter participation, measure different aspects of political integration (Bevelander & Pendakur, 2009; Bloemraad, 2006). The broader idea of social integration is broken up between intermarriage (Kalbach, 2002; S. M. Lee & Boyd, 2008; Milan, Maheux, & Chui, 2010) and identity.

After falling out of favour for many years because of its negative connotations to forced erasure of distinct ethnicity, the term assimilation has recently experienced a resurgence by Alba & Nee (2003), who influence my work, with their “new assimilation theory”. They distance themselves from the prescriptive promotion of assimilation, and rather view it as an organic process that occurs with increased interaction. They define assimilation as “the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences”. This is not only relevant to immigrants, but is relevant for any ethnic group, which is defined by a social boundary, or a distinction that positions some as insiders and some as outsiders. Assimilation is then the process of ethnic change, and may occur on both sides of the boundary in which the groups begin to see differences less frequently. Their definition does not imply the disappearance of ethnic distinctions, but rather assumes that ethnic markers will often remain. Alba & Nee are heavily influenced by Barth’s definition of ethnic boundaries and groups as “categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves” (Barth, 1969). My research will use Alba & Nee’s definition of assimilation to frame the process of negotiation for second generation immigrants in the Quebec context in regards to their potential integration and attachment to host identities. In other words, second generation immigrants who grow up in Quebec and are socialised into the culture of the majority will recognise cultural and social similarities between themselves and the host society, despite if they maintain an attachment to an ethnic identity or not. The potential for

ethnic identification is presumed; this research focuses on the potential attachment to national host identities.

### **1.3. The Quebec Context**

Studying immigration and diversity in Quebec provides a context unique from the rest of Canada, mainly due to the complex social and political environment present in Quebec. While constituting a large proportion of the Canadian population, Francophone Québécois remain a numerical linguistic minority within Canada, and North America, where the English language dominates. Historically, and for the larger part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, French Canadians were also a social, political, and economic minority within Canada, as well as within the borders of Quebec.

This legacy and demographic reality marks much of the political discourse in the province, particularly as it relates to immigration and diversity management within the province. The following section will present a brief recent history of immigration and diversity in Quebec, highlighting relevant policy decisions, political discourse, and events that provide context for the current climate in Quebec regarding immigrants and their families, and their inclusion or exclusion in the Québécois national identity.<sup>1</sup> This is not meant to be an exhaustive history, but rather illustrates the change over time of the boundaries that delineate the Québécois nation or national community, and therefore define who is Québécois and who is other. I begin this review of history at *la grande noirceur*, because this marks the beginning of the assertion of and tides of change to come regarding the national community in Quebec.

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<sup>1</sup> I use the term nation and national community (or identity) in a sociological sense, rather than a geo-political sense. The nation of Quebec is not intended to imply that Quebec is a nation-state, but rather the nation is understood as an “imagined community” (Anderson, 1991) with a common history and culture. The Québécois have even been recognised as a “nation within a united Canada” via a Parliamentary motion in the House of Commons at the federal level in 2006, but as of yet are not considered a nation-state, although they hold provincial authority over a number of social and political domains, such as health care delivery, pension plans, and subsidised childcare

### **1.3.1. La grande noirceur**

*La grande noirceur*, or the Great Darkness is the term often used to refer to the roughly fifteen-year post-war period (1944-1959) marked by the long reign of Quebec conservative premier Maurice Duplessis. This period is characterised by the similar economic and social change that was occurring in most Western societies; marked by large economic growth, rural exodus coupled with urban growth, the rise of the middle class, and the formation of cultural elites and public intellectuals.

During this time, mirroring the immigration patterns in the rest of Canada, migration to Quebec was seeing unprecedented post-war migration, mainly to the urban centre of Montreal. These immigrants, from mostly European backgrounds, tended to select English language acquisition rather than French language, some would argue because of the higher status that English held in relation to French, and its function as the language of business in Quebec at the time. In other words, learning English was seen as a better pathway to socio-economic success (Bourhis, 2001; Potvin, Eid, & Venel, 2007). Still others point to the function of the Catholic Church and its hold over educational institutions that viewed immigrants and non-Catholics as a menace or threat. Because the English protestant schools accepted pupils from all denominational backgrounds, many immigrants and their children integrated into Anglophone communities, rather than French linguistic communities (Bourhis, 2001).

While French-Canadians made up the majority of Quebec, in the province's largest city, Montreal as the main hub of national economic activity, most banking institutions and large businesses were owned and run by the Anglophone minority (Vaillancourt, Lemay, & Vaillancourt, 2007). Unilingual Francophones were at a serious economic and social



disadvantage and there was often clear discrimination in the workplace, where Francophones were denied entry into management positions, in favour of English speakers. This lag and relative deprivation of the French-Canadian population is the “darkness” that some authors would describe as “internal colonialism”<sup>2</sup>, where the English minority held supremacy in most economic and social domains, to the detriment of the French majority. The boundaries around the national community were defined as fixed around an ethnic defined French-Canadian identity across Canada, which was in relative subordination to English Canadians (Juteau, 2002)<sup>3</sup>.

The Québécois national community did not exist at this time, but rather it was an ethnic French-Canadian identity that formed an “imagined community” in relation to a dominant English-Canadian identity. This French-Canadian identity was to the exclusion of not only the British, but also the new immigrant groups from Europe, who mainly opted to adopt English rather than French as their dominant official language.

### **1.3.2. La révolution tranquille**

As the French-Canadian intelligentsia in Quebec began to grow during the post-war economic expansion, so did a discontent of the relative disadvantage that French-Canadians experienced in their own province, as well as sentiments of an increased threat to the survival of the French language due to the language shift towards English within Quebec. Dubbed *la révolution tranquille* or the Quiet Revolution, the 1960s and 1970s were marked by a clear separation of the Catholic Church and state in favour of secularism or *laïcité*, coupled with a liberalisation of the Quebec people as they themselves began to move away from the church. More importantly, the Quiet Revolution was a time where the Quebec nation redefined and strengthened itself through

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<sup>2</sup> See Hechter (2000) and McRoberts (1979)

<sup>3</sup> André Pratte’s (2007) essay questions the validity of some the common understandings of history during this period and prior. He challenges the “myths” concerning the degree of domination by the English and the level of modernisation in Quebec.

a new national identity, separating itself from an ethnic French-Canadian identity towards a shared territorially based cultural identity. The introduction of the term Québécois is seen in this era, where French-Canadian residents of Quebec were defined as the national community, to the exclusion of Anglophones and “cultural communities” (Juteau, 2002)<sup>4</sup>.

Under the slogan *Maître chez nous* (masters of our own house), Quebec nationalist parties rose to power and enacted a number of policies to raise the profile of the French language and French-Canadian culture, and to promote a Québécois nationalist agenda. Most notably is the adoption of *la charte de la langue française* (Charter of the French Language) otherwise known as Bill 101, in 1977, which made French the official language of Quebec and enacted legislation concerning the workplace and education. In regards to immigrants, it made French schools mandatory for school aged immigrant children, or children of immigrants, who traditionally were more likely to choose education in English. This policy ensures that Francophone Québécois remain in the French school system as well.

Furthermore, during this time, as economic, political, and social policy was being transferred from the Church to the provincial secular state, the province of Quebec began to repatriate some powers from the federal government in regards to immigration. Under section 95 of the constitution, Quebec plays a key role in the selection of economic immigrants planning to settle in the province and the province’s adjusted points system gives more weight to knowledge of the French language. The first immigration agreement was signed in 1971; and the Canada-Quebec Accord of 1991 now governs this partnership, which now includes Quebec assuming all

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<sup>4</sup> A number of seminal writings during this time helped articulate this definition and the motivations and goals of Québécois society, as based on a common history of subordination; Fernand Dumont’s *Genèse de la société québécoise*, Pierre Vallières’ *Nègres blancs d’Amérique*, and Herburt Aquin’s essay *The Cultural Fatigue of French Canada*.

responsibility for selecting economic immigrants to the province and for immigrant integration, including the comparable transfers of federal funds to provincial coffers to implement such activities.

Culminating the end of the Quiet Revolution, the first Quebec referendum on the question of sovereignty was held in 1980, where ultimately only 40% of the electorate voted for sovereignty. Within these results, an overwhelming majority of the non-French Canadian population rejected this option (Blais & Nadeau, 1984), ushering in a different political elite-defined vision of who is a Québécois. If the sovereignty movement was going to succeed, it was necessary to make it an attractive option for all of those in the province, not just the French-Canadian ethnic majority.

### **1.3.3. Between Two Referenda**

Juteau (2002) contends that in the fifteen-year period after the 1980 referendum, efforts were made to define a pluralist territory, but not until later were similar efforts made to define a pluralist national community. In the 1980s, there were efforts made to officially recognise non-French-Canadian groups, and ensure their rights in the protection, maintenance, and enhancement of Anglophone groups and the “cultural communities” of Quebec. Beginning in the 1990s, there was a shift to include all residents of Quebec in the conceptualisation of the national Québécois community, by for example, including references to *les Québécois des communautés culturelles* in official policy documents. For the first time, those from immigrant origins, although still distinguished as making up the “cultural communities” of the province, were considered Québécois nonetheless.

However, the efforts to include diverse communities in the national discourses through official government documents did not appear to be successful at convincing these groups to embrace the national project of sovereignty. In 1995, following the results of the narrow win of the no-side with just 50.58% of the vote, compared to 49.46% in support of sovereignty, Jacques Parizeau, Quebec's premier at the time, famously quipped that the vote was lost due to "money and ethnic votes"<sup>5</sup>. While his comments are seen as divisive, he was somewhat correct, as it was later estimated that over 95% of the non-French Canadian population voted against sovereignty, compared to 60% of the French-Canadian population (McRoberts, 1997).

#### **1.3.4. Post-1995 to Present Day**

Following the 1995 referendum, a new civic-based national community has emerged as the official discourse in Quebec. Juteau (2002) argues that the introduction of the *citoyenneté québécoise* is closer to the French republican conceptualisation of a national community, where the civic contract is the glue that holds people together, and that this identity as a citizen of Quebec is to hold primacy over any recognition of cultural, political, or ethnic belonging. The boundaries delineating who is Québécois are based on an attachment to the territory and its common civic culture (A. G. Gagnon & Iacovino, 2006; Venne, Chodos, & Blair, 2001). The French language is seen as an essential public good that provides access and facilitates active participation in shared Quebec institutions. The French language in Quebec and the term Québécois is conceptualised as "de-ethnicised" (Armony, 2010; Juteau, 2002; Maclure, 2003; Oakes, 2004b) and are no longer only associated with French-Canadians, but rather all citizens of Quebec. With this in mind, immigrants and their children, as well as the historical Anglophones

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<sup>5</sup> Widely interpreted as anti-Semitic, in reference to the large Anglophone Jewish population in Montreal that was fiercely on the No camp, other interpretations of the "money" aspect of the comment refer to the well funded NO camp, which would later be revealed to have been propped up by millions of dollars of federal funds in the Sponsorship Scandal.

in Quebec can be Québécois if the civic values are respected and followed. These values and behaviours are defined from above through policy and government discourse.

This top-down promotion of a “de-ethnicised” Québécois identity is emphasised in the Quebec policy approach to immigrant integration; interculturalism. Bouchard and Taylor contend that interculturalism policy institutes French as the common language of intercultural relations; cultivates a pluralistic orientation that is concerned with the protection of rights; preserves the necessary creative tension between diversity, on the one hand, and the continuity of the French-speaking core and the social link, on the other hand; places special emphasis on integration and participation; and advocates interaction (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 121). In other words, Interculturalism supports immigrant integration, but allows for and encourages private forms of ethnic expression. At the same time as the immigrant is to change to become more deeply rooted in a civic culture of Quebec, the majority French speaking culture is to equally interact and as a result may undergo transformation as well. The policy defines a majority French-speaking core culture and specific civic values of Quebec that immigrants are intended to participate in.

Mc Andrew (2007) agrees with the claim that the focus on civic versus substantive culture as a common ground has largely “de-ethnicised” the debate in Quebec regarding diversity management. Both McAndrew and Bouchard & Taylor agree that this focus is a direct result of the idea that in Quebec, linguistic assimilation cannot be taken for granted. However, while Quebec interculturalism commits itself to equal opportunity, there has been a “lack of leadership in addressing the issue of ethnic inequality and exclusion” (Mc Andrew, 2007) in favour of addressing linguistic and cultural issues. Salée (2007) makes a similar argument when observing

that Quebec's approach to diversity management is deeply rooted in the context of the ambiguity of the Quebec national project, and the "fragile majority status" hypothesis that consistently excludes ethnic minorities. Therefore, while interculturalism is meant to include ethnic minorities, in practice it actually may continue to exclude because of the lack of focus on reducing social and economic inequalities, or a continued discourse that marginalises ethnic or linguistic minorities from the French-Canadian or Francophone Québécois majority.

A civically bounded Québécois citizenship is not only expressed in interculturalism policy, but is also expressed in more recent policies and discourses happening in the province of Quebec. A particularly current topic at the time of my field work was the debate regarding the *Parti Québécois* proposed legislation that would, among other things, ban overt religious symbols from provincial public service jobs as an assertion of the separation between church and state, or the secularism of the state. Bill 60, officially named the *Charte affirmant les valeurs de laïcité et de neutralité religieuse de l'État ainsi que d'égalité les femmes et les homes et encadrant les demandes d'accommodement* (Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests) was colloquially referred to as the Quebec Charter of Values, or sometimes just the Charter. It was first announced in May 2013, coincidentally the same month I began my field work, and was officially introduced in September 2013, then was subsequently scrapped when the PQ government was defeated by the Liberals in the provincial election of March 2014, a few weeks before I wrapped up my field work.

The Charter was met with a mix of support and public outcry. While some decried the adverse effect that the Charter would have on non-Christian religious minorities, particularly Jewish and Sikh men, and Muslim women, others supported the framing of the Charter in terms of maintaining the neutrality of the state. While the timing of my field work arguably could be severely biased by the introduction of the polarising Charter, I believe that it was an opportune time to happen to be doing my field work, because it reaffirmed the top-down civic-defined boundaries or limitations placed around what it means to be Québécois. Most directly effecting religious minorities, the Charter represents one of many policies that is marketed as helping define, promote, and protect an a civically bounded Québécois culture.

Other examples include the recommendations from the Bouchard-Taylor Commission report on reasonable accommodation from 2007<sup>6</sup>, and the subsequent pick-and-choose fashion in which they were later implemented; the required document for prospective immigrants in which they must declare that they have read, understand, and commit to what are defined as Québécois values<sup>7</sup>, and even the civil marriage vows that must be spoken at all legal civil marriages in Quebec<sup>8</sup>. All of these examples affirm the state-defined Québécois values that the Charter was marketed as supporting, namely the secularism of the state and the equality between men and women. But like interculturalism, the policies and discourse take place in the context of the “fragile majority status”, and may also result in continued inequality and exclusion because of

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<sup>6</sup> Officially named the *Commission de consultation sur les pratiques d'accommodement reliées aux différences culturelles* (Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences)

<sup>7</sup> Since 2008, the Quebec government requires that all immigrants applying to immigrate to Canada via Quebec sign a *Declaration on the common values of Québec Society*. The values are listed on the Quebec Government's website at <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/en/choose-quebec/common-values/index.html> and the Declaration is attached to all applications for permanent residence. See example here (on page 7 of 9): <http://www.immigration-quebec.gouv.qc.ca/publications/en/dcs/Application-selection-certificate-dyn.pdf>.

<sup>8</sup> See Appendix III of the Officiant's guide for marriages and civic unions, which requires the officiant to read out certain articles of the civil code to both intended spouses. These codes could be seen as reinforcing the Quebec defined value of the equality between the spouses and applying specific standards on how that may be carried out. For example, both spouses are expected to maintain their respective last names. (Directeur de l'état civil, 2010-2011)

the ethnic (or ethno-religious) core culture that is at the centre of the civic culture of Québécois citizenship.

While I understand that the Charter may not actually represent many individual Québécois citizens' values, the fact is that it is based on "values" that Quebec has affirmed time and time again, in the policies above, just to name a few. The Charter was certainly divisive and indeed many Québécois Francophones came out against it as well. However, rather than an isolated inflammatory event, I would argue that its severe polarising effect is actually a benefit to my research, as it forced people, who may not have otherwise, to think about what the characteristics are that define Québécois identity, and what their personal place may be within that community.

In addition to resulting in a unique political context regarding integration and identity, this precarious majority status of French-Canadians in Quebec is exacerbated by the issue of the double majority in Quebec, namely that a now dominant Francophone and a historical Anglophone community exist, either one of which immigrants may find affinity with.

Interculturalism and other related integration policies, while attempting to protect the rights of Anglophone and other cultural communities, may have the unintended effect of further excluding ethnic and linguistic minorities because of the focus on cultural rather than social and economic integration and a minority discourse that excludes non French-Canadians or non-Francophone Québécois from the Québécois national community.

#### ***1.4. Civic Québécois Nationalism***

Defining the Québécois national community has been an iterative approach; over time being informed from above, by elites and policy makers, and from below, by the social circumstances



and voting patterns of the electorate. Beginning with the early ethnic French-Canadian approach in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and then motivated by nationalism, moving towards a territorial definition of the Québécois to the exclusion of non-French-Canadians, elites played a significant role in creating and defining the Québécois nation. The demographic realities of Quebec, with its historical Anglophone community and growing cultural communities due to immigration, informed the redefinition to one as distinguished by a pluralistic territorial Québécois. Finally, following the results of the 1995 referendum, where the non-Francophone Québécois population did not accept the national project, a top-down civic approach to Québécois citizenship now defines the national community. This civic approach is argued to de-ethnicise the Québécois community, and is based in knowledge and mastery of the French language as a catalyst to fulfilling civic duties. However, can a civic approach to citizenship be completely de-ethnicised?

There is a common dichotomous view of citizenship or nationalisms as following either a civic or ethnic model (Brubaker, 1992; Kunovich, 2009; Smith, 2005; Zubrzycki, 2002), which have also been associated with Quebec over different periods of time. Zubrzycki defines civic nationalism as a nation with a common political space, with a defined set of institutions, values, and political projects. The nation avoids the primordial assumption, and is viewed as a political construct with specified principles or values of belonging. In opposition, ethnic nationalism takes on a primordial identity where a nation is defined as a community of common descent which cannot be acquired, nor escaped (pp. 278-279).

However, Zubrzycki and Bloemraad, Kortewag & Yurdakul (2008) contend that civic and ethnic citizenship models are best thought of as ideal types, and that in reality and practice, most nation-states espouse both civic and ethnic characteristics reflected in their policy. Furthermore, some characteristics can be considered both civic and ethnic, depending on the context in which it is applied. For example, language is usually given an ethnic designation, due to its link with ethnicity or culture. However, some maintain that because language is acquirable by new citizens, it could be considered a civic criterion for citizenship (Anderson, 1991; Oakes, 2004a).

In the case of Quebec, as pluralism increases within the province, there are debates on the redefinition of what it is or who can be a true Quebecois (Armony, 2010; Bourhis, 1994). Within this debate, civic and ethnic nationalism exist, where civic nationalism is inclusive of immigrants and ethnocultural groups as long as they learn French and participate in civic life by obeying laws, voting, and paying their taxes. Cultural and identificational assimilation are not requirements for membership and are a matter of personal choice. On the other side of the spectrum, ethnic nationalists would believe that not only is it necessary to speak French and participate in civic life, but they would also endorse the idea of immigrant groups taking on particular cultural and political orientations. At the extreme of the spectrum, some ethnic nationalist would exclude immigrants and ethnic groups and maintain that a true Quebecois would be one that has French-Canadian ancestry, has Quebecois French as a mother tongue, and be Christian (Bourhis, 1994).

The civic-ethnic nationalist dichotomy exists as ideal types, but there is some variation within and between these types, and individuals and groups differ in their definitions and

understandings of identity. While the rhetoric of many of Quebec's integration and national policies appear civic in nature, there is a clear conformity model in place, where linguistic and cultural assimilation is desired, if not expected. Furthermore, the dominant majority's view of Quebec citizenship is often times very ethnic based (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008). This means that even those of the second generation who adopt French with a Québécois accent and espouse the values similar to that of the dominant majority, they may never be seen by some as full members of the Quebec nation in comparison to ethnic French-Canadians.

In Bourhis et al. (2008), they find that Québécois Francophones have elements of both ethnic and civic understandings of national belonging to Quebec, with the ethnic understanding being slightly more prominent than the civic. The ethnic conceptualisation is characterised by a nation based on bloodlines and in the case of Quebec would include having French as a maternal language, speaking French with a Québécois accent, being born and raised in Quebec, and having Québécois ancestors. The civic conceptualisation is based on voluntary criteria, which is accessible to all, independent of ethnic or cultural backgrounds. In the Quebec context, this would include the knowledge and use of the French language irrespective of accent, knowledge and protection of Québécois culture, adherence to the democratic values of Quebec, obeying the laws of Quebec, and voting in provincial and municipal elections.

They find that those Québécois Francophones with more ethnic conceptualisations of national belonging are more likely to have assimilationist, segregationist, and exclusionist acculturation orientations. These three orientations are generally associated with less contact with and

negative views of immigrant populations<sup>9</sup>. Finally, they find that these three acculturation orientations are more likely to be directed towards “devalued” migrants which are considered to have more negative stereotypes attributed to them depending on their country of origin, socio-economic status, the perceived similarity of their culture, their language and values to that of the host culture, and whether or not they are visible minorities. Therefore, Bourhis, Barrette & Moriconi (2008) conclude that while both civic and ethnic conceptions of Québécois are present among the Québécois Francophone population, the ethnic conception is more prominent towards immigrants from visible minority groups.

There is a dissymmetry regarding what the policies intend to achieve regarding the definition of the boundaries of “good” Québécois citizenship, and how their critics, the host majority, and potentially the larger targeted citizenry, interpret those policies. Second generation immigrants serve as an interesting test case, as they grow-up and are socialised into the host culture via the education system, television, work, friends, neighbourhood, and music (Potvin, 2008) but may continue to be excluded because of their racial, ethnic, religious or linguistic group membership. This is particularly salient when the category for differentiation is visible or audible, such as race, religious markers, language or accent.

In the context of a top-down civically bounded Québécois identity, the first goal of this report aims to identify the ways that second generation immigrants from visible minority groups identify or do not identify as Québécois, by asking the following research question:

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<sup>9</sup> According to Bourhis, Barrette & Moriconi (2008) an assimilationist orientation is characterised by a desire or expectation from the host society that immigrants will renounce their cultures of origin in favour of the culture of the dominant majority, to eventually be considered part of the host society. Segregationists on the other hand, do not desire that immigrants adopt or influence and change the host culture, but at the same time accept that they will preserve their own cultures of origin. Exclusionist orientations reject that immigrants will give up their own cultures, but also object to them adopting or influencing the host culture. In this orientation, the host culture does not welcome immigrants because they are seen as contaminating the dominant culture.

- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Québécois identity?**

I have chosen to use “Québécois” to describe the provincial national identity. While “Canadian” and “*canadien(ne)*”<sup>10</sup> are used interchangeably when translating between English and French, the same cannot be said for “Quebecer” and “*Québécois(e)*” (Maclure, 2003)<sup>11</sup>. In everyday parlance, for example on the news or spoken by politicians, “Quebecer” is used in English to refer to the people of Quebec, just as “New Yorkers” is used to describe the people of New York. “Québécois” can also be used to simply describe the people of Quebec, but it can and often does have different meanings to different people, including the participants of this research project.

The speaker and the listener, or the writer and the reader, may ascribe different characteristics or boundaries around both Quebecer and Québécois, but the boundaries negotiated around Québécois identity are of particular interest because of the potential dissymmetry around who may be included. This research project tests the success of the proliferation of Québécois citizenship, by probing into the negotiation process that second generation immigrants undertake in self-identifying as “*Québécois*”. However, I will not change the terminology of the participants themselves, in which case they may use both Quebecer and Québécois, but rather the analysis that is to follow in subsequent chapters will be around second generation immigrants’ negotiation with Québécois identity.

Various provincial national identities are not the only host national identities available to these second generation immigrants, but some have argued (Banting & Soroka, 2012; Bilodeau, White,

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<sup>10</sup> Historically referred to French-Canadians, but this has generally fallen out of favour in recent years.

<sup>11</sup> In the translator’s preface for Maclure’s book, Peter Feldstein discusses the inadequacy of translating directly Québécois and Quebecer, as it often means different things to different people. I use some of his logic to here to describe my term choice.

& Nevitte, 2010) that the Quebec context provides an environment of competition between Canadian and Québécois national identities. The second research question explores this potential by asking:

- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Canadian identity?**

Finally, theoretically and empirically, discrimination and racism is thought to play a major role in the lives of visible minorities in Canada and within the province of Quebec. However, there have been conflicting results between different minorities groups in how they perceived and experience discrimination, as well as the effect that it may have on their various social identities. The third, and final research question targets this contradiction by asking:

- **How do second generation immigrants perceive and experience discrimination and racism, and what effect do these perceptions and experiences have on their national Québécois and Canadian identities?**

A review of the literature motivating these last two questions will be provided below in the next two sections. The chapter to follow will present the methodological approach.

### ***1.5. Negotiating Competing Nationalisms: Canada vs. Quebec***

One of the main defining features of Canadian identity, particularly in relation to incorporating immigrant groups, is multiculturalism. Multiculturalism in Canada can be defined in a number of ways. Fleras (2010) specifies 5 potential ways one can think about multiculturalism; “as (1) an empirical fact (of what is), (2) an ideology (what ought to be) with a corresponding array of ideas and ideals, (3) an explicit government policy and programs (what is proposed), (4) a set of practices for promoting political and minority interests (what really is), and (5) a critical discourse with a commitment to challenge and change (what must be)” (p. 291).

Multiculturalism as a policy has been Canada's approach to diversity and integration. Since 1971, the four stated aims of official Multiculturalism have been to support the cultural development of ethnocultural groups; to help members of ethnocultural groups overcome barriers to full participation in Canadian society; to promote creative encounters and interchange among all ethnocultural groups; and to assist new Canadians in acquiring at least one of Canada's official languages. However, official Multiculturalism is not static; "the state has regularly revised the policy and its rhetoric in accordance with competing ideas about the work Multiculturalism should do" (Chazen, Helps, Stanley, & Thakkar, 2011, p. 1).

There have been profound policy shifts since 1971, with a different set of goals and foci for integrating immigrants in each era. During the Trudeau era of Multiculturalism from its inception to the 1980s, the focus was on cultural and ethnic preservation and celebration. The Mulroney era ushered in a more equity focused agenda, where inclusion and anti-racism were the goals. However, by the mid 1990s, another change shifted the policy focus towards social cohesion and civic models of inclusion (Walcott, 2011, p. 21).

The purpose and goals of Canadian Multiculturalism can be seen as a way for all ethnocultural groups to be an important defining part of Canada, by valuing different cultures and actively attempting to remove barriers that may hinder full participation. However, Canadian Multiculturalism has been criticised for its outcome being mainly symbolic and converging towards a discourse of intolerance.

A study of the 1988 federal election reveals that the effect of Multiculturalism policy is mainly symbolic when it comes to political representation and legal protection against discrimination (Stasiulis & Abu-Laban, 1990). In the election, ethnic minority and immigrant candidates showed some success by winning nominations, but the results also demonstrated that established parties placed minority candidates in “unwinnable” ridings, which resulted in no increase in ethnic or immigrant representation. The authors point to the relatively low priority of MC policy, as a way to reinforce the marginality of ethnic minorities and immigrants. The low budget, low human resources, and low profile ministers usually delegated to the department charged with implementing Multiculturalism policy, are evidence of this low priority. According to these authors, the effectiveness of Multiculturalism on political incorporation was minimal at this time, due to its “marginal state policy” status, and mainly symbolic outcomes.

Furthermore, in his analysis of Canada’s discourse of immigrant integration in policy statements, immigration debates, and academic writings, Li (2003) finds that there is a common underlying endorsement of conformity to native-born Canadians “and a monolithic cultural framework that preaches tolerance in the abstract but remains intolerant toward cultural specificities deemed outside the mainstream” (p. 315). Henry et al. (2000) repeats this analysis by claiming that the discourse of tolerance and sensitivity present in Multiculturalism has the underlying premise that the dominant way is superior, and similarly sets limits on tolerance and what differences are tolerable (p. 30).

Similar to the province of Quebec, the integration and nation-building tools that Canada employs may present a contradiction. While Multiculturalism is meant to put all cultures in Canada on



equal footing, there is often a symbolic and real conformity to the English and French “founding nations” that may have both symbolic and real consequences in regards to inequality, including differences in terms of inclusion in or identificational assimilation with the Canadian national community. In other words, while Canada says that immigrants and visible minorities are simply just one of many equal parties in Canada, there may be feelings of and real exclusion of these “non-conforming” minorities, which may influence how second generation immigrants of visible minority backgrounds negotiate their Canadian identity. The empirical results show that feelings of exclusion among the second generation may be the case in regards to both Canadian and Quebec identity.

Reitz & Banerjee (2007) look at various measures of social integration among the Canadian population and find that visible minorities adopt a Canadian identity less frequently than their white counterparts. However, following along with the idea of new assimilation where in the long run, difference between immigrants and their children and the host society will decrease, the proportions of those second and third generation immigrants who adopt a Canadian identity increase for all groups in subsequent generations. However, visible minority groups are less likely to have a sense of belonging to Canada than their white counterparts, and in contrast to the expectation of more similarities over generations, is the more perplexing finding that second generation immigrants are less likely to have a sense of belonging to Canada than earlier generations.<sup>12</sup>

Second generation immigrants are often born in the country that their parents immigrated to and therefore will not face the same socio-economic, linguistic, and cultural barriers that their parents

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<sup>12</sup> For critiques on Reitz & Bannerjee’s analysis, see Jedwab (2008) and Palmer (2006).

face due to the heavy influence of their secondary socialisation in the education system. This sense of exclusion or lack of belonging among the second generation cannot be attributed to other forms of inequality such as economic or political, but the authors believe that perception of discrimination may play a part. Second generation immigrants were more likely to claim that they had experienced discrimination, and Reitz and Banerjee have attempted to explain this difference through the increased expectation of second generation immigrants for recognition of their social rights based on their place of birth.

The results of a lower sense of belonging for second generation immigrants is exacerbated in Quebec, where there is a national minority competing for immigrant identification. Given the contextual realities of shared federal and provincial powers for immigration and integration, it is important to consider the effect of the competing federal Canadian identity on Québécois identity. Under this shared system, the federal government retains control over the family reunification process, and the provincial and the federal governments choose Government Assisted Refugees jointly. However, it should be noted that the federal government has the final approval of all immigrants, is chiefly in charge of controlling acquisition of citizenship, while Quebec controls aspects of integration, such as French language training, which is also a site of cultural education.

Banting & Soroka (2012) argue that this complex shared power over immigration policy between two levels of government creates potentially mixed and sometimes competing messages for immigrants on issues concerning the host society in which new immigrants are joining.. Using the Ethnic Diversity Survey (EDS) from 2002, they find that in Canada, visible minority

respondents are less likely to report a sense of belonging to Canada, and that this likelihood decreases for the second-generation, but increase again in the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation. Significantly, the gap between majority and minority respondents is the largest for those who are in the second generation. In Quebec, the likelihood of feeling a strong sense of belonging to Canada is generally lower for all groups (majority and minority groups). This may be an indication that Quebec nationalism is successful in gaining immigrant loyalties. However, the results for a strong sense of belonging to ones province only show wider disparities between second-generation visible minorities and their majority counterparts in Quebec. In other words, the lower sense of belonging to Canada is not offset by a stronger sense of belonging to Quebec. Possible explanations such as country of origin, socio-economic status, perceptions of discrimination and even language were not significant variables contributing to a low sense of belonging.

The second research question will explore this complicated relationship second generation immigrants in Quebec have with Canadian identity. Not only is there the potential for exclusion based on the contradicting messages of Multiculturalism policy, which defines the national community, but there is also the potential for the competition for loyalties between Québécois and Canadian identities to further complicate the situation. Banting & Soroka find that Canadian identity is less likely among second generation immigrants in Quebec, but that it is not because they are identifying more with Quebec. Furthermore, Bilodeau et al. (2010) investigated this potential competition for national loyalty of immigrants in Quebec and find that 42% of Canadian-born Québécois view their province more positively, but only 16% from more traditional (European) and 24% from non-traditional source countries express a more positive

feeling towards Quebec than Canada. Their work further demonstrates that this ineffective transfer of positive feelings towards Quebec to immigrants is divided along linguistic lines. “Immigrants who speak French at home tend to develop political loyalties that are similar to those of the local population. By contrast, those who speak English or another language at home tend to exhibit orientations that are more federal than those of the local population.” They find that their findings are consistent with previous studies looking at support for sovereignty and the Parti Québécois and its linguistic divisions (Lavoie & Serré, 2002). Bilodeau et al’s study focuses on first generation immigrants rather than the second, but it might be reasonable to conclude that official language preference may be a factor in the results of the both the first research question dealing with Québécois identity, and the second central research questions of this dissertation:

- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Canadian identity?**

The literature reviewed in this chapter not only defines and justifies the research questions explored, but also informs the research design and methodology. Chapter 2 gives an in-depth look at the methodology and research design, as well as the details of populations studied and the sample participants. The next section presents the qualitative empirical findings regarding national identity, both Québécois and Canadian among the second generation in Quebec, with a focus on the populations targeted in this dissertation.

### ***1.6. Social Identity & the Second Generation in Quebec: Factoring in Discrimination***

According to Potvin (2008), there is a dearth of research and debate on the second generation in Quebec. She states that before the mid 1990s, most research made little distinction between young immigrants to the province and children of migrants born in Quebec. “But given the

statistical reality of social inequalities persisting over time (high unemployment, problems at school, etc), the second generation youth from visible minorities have become a focus of concern and major issue” (p. 99) for both governments and within immigrant communities themselves. In the research that has been completed thus far, the concept of the second generation is often reserved for children of the post-1965 immigrants from non-European migratory waves, identified to be from visible minority groups.

One of these first groundbreaking studies in Quebec on the second generation that discussed social identity was produced by Meintel (1992), which showed that Chilean, El Salvadorian, Greek, and Portuguese immigrant youth in Montreal viewed their own identity as multidimensional. They considered themselves to be Canadian and Québécois, but distinct from other white French-Canadian Québécois (*de souche*). Other studies that followed with different ethnic groups have shown similar results. Méthot (1995) is one of the most thorough studies on the young Vietnamese population in Quebec, but is focused exclusively on migrants who immigrated to Canada as children. From her work, she creates a typology of six identity strategies that ranges from full identification with their ethnic community to full identification with the host society. In addition, there is a valuing of their origins, a valuing of a mixed identity or the best of both worlds, an avoidance of any ethnic or cultural identification, and finally, the creation of a new collective identity that fit with their experiences. Dorais (2004) and Dorais & Richard (2007) who have mixed immigrants and second generations in their samples, conclude in their work with the Vietnamese community in Quebec, that even though immigrant youth and second generation youth often strongly identify with Vietnamese culture and values, they also at the same time, identify as Québécois or Canadian.

Similarly, research that has been done on the Haitian community (M. Labelle, Frenette, & Salée, 2001; Lafortune & Kanouté, 2007; Pégram, 2005; Potvin, 1997, 1999, 2007) has attempted to create typologies around second generation identification. Haitian second generation immigrants usually identify at least partially with a Haitian ethnic identity, often in a cultural manner similar to the Vietnamese populations, but also in an essentialist manner in which they view their Haitian identity as something intrinsic in their history and being. At the same time, these authors have identified a civic identification with national identities, such as an attachment to the French language in the case of Québécois identity and commitment to democratic and civil society institutions in the Québécois and Canadian identity. Furthermore, Potvin's work also distinguishes a racial identification with the Black community. Labelle et al. (2001) also find this to be true in the Jamaican community.

There is significantly less research on the second generation Anglo-Caribbean community in Quebec as compared to the Haitian population<sup>13</sup>. However, Labelle et al. defines a similar typology among the Jamaican population, including Jamaican identity, hyphenated identities, a Canadian identity, a racialised Black identity, and an identity that avoids ethnic or cultural recognition. Furthermore, they find that both the Haitian and the Jamaican populations view Canadian national identity and citizenship positively, and appreciate the quality of life and relative peace that they enjoy in Canada. In relation to Quebec citizenship, both groups are wary of the civic values<sup>14</sup> defined by the state, such that they do not reflect their reality or desires. Finally, both groups described the detrimental effect of racism and discrimination on the life

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<sup>13</sup> For some early studies on the Anglo-Caribbean immigrant population in Quebec see Laferrière (1983) and Locher (1984).

<sup>14</sup> Labelle et al. (2001) investigate sentiments around the civic values of French as the common public language, a common cultural heritage, and a recognition of the historic rights of the Anglophone community.

chances of racialised minorities in Quebec that persists because of prejudice attitudes that are not often brought to the forefront.

There is also very little research about the Filipino second generation population in Quebec, but of the work that has been done, differences in perception of racism was noted between Caribbean and Filipino immigrant and second generation youth, with the Filipino youth having a more positive outlook than the Caribbean ((Rousseau, et al., 2009). This contradicts some of the other work done with Filipino communities in other parts of Canada, where Filipino youth perceive that they are largely excluded from the stereotype of the successful Asian student or model minority (Mendoza, 2012) and feelings and processes of exclusion within Canada are common, which reinforces a strong Filipino identity (Pratt, 2003). Other work has been done comparing the Filipino and Caribbean populations in Montreal, but they centre around problematic relations in school and within the family (Hassan, Rousseau, Measham, & Lashley, 2008; Rousseau, Hassan, Measham, & Lashley, 2008).

A possible explanation for these varied results between Quebec and Canada regarding identity within the Filipino community, could be that the Quebec studies consisted of more first generation immigrants than second in the Filipino sample, and the Mendoza and Pratt's studies were largely second generation. It has been posited that the second generation may feel more victimised by racism and discrimination because as Canadian-born they have more expectations of equality and recognition of social rights and citizenship (Jeffrey G. Reitz & Banerjee, 2007).

In these studies, the presence of “home” ethnic identity is almost always set up in contrast to the integration into or attachment to a “host” national identity, such as Québécois or Canadian. However, it should be noted that the continued presence of a home ethnic identity is not viewed as necessarily problematic by the authors<sup>15</sup>, but rather the focus of these studies has been to describe and explain the process of negotiation that occurs between an ethnic identity, and a multitude of other possible identities. Some of the studies above have touched upon how second generation youth identify with the national identities available to them, but it has been far from the focal point. However, the common finding is that there is civic and cultural identification that second generation immigrants have with Québécois and Canadian identities, mainly due to their socialisation in schools and neighbourhoods.

Using Alba & Nee’s (2003) new assimilation approach, my research begins from a place where social integration into potential host identities is assumed to be an organic process that occurs over time. However, this integration is neither prescriptive and nor does it necessarily coincide with a comparable decline in ethnic identity. In fact, the continued presence of an ethnic identity is not thought to hinder the potential of additional identifications with national communities. With this in mind, this research assumes the potential for identification with an ethnic identity and seeks to further explore the process of negotiation second generation immigrants have in relation to the competing national identities (Québécois and Canadian) that are present in the Quebec context. In other words, I am not exploring the multitude of identities to create a typology of second generation immigrant identity, but rather I am focusing on how they might

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<sup>15</sup> Dorais & Richard (2007) say that the extensive research by Deirdre Meintel and her students at Université de Montréal generally took this counter position against the earlier work in the 1980s that would view the pluralism of identities as a psychological problem, a dysfunction, a crisis, or pathological.



negotiate identifying with the host identity options available to them, namely the provincial and federal national communities.

Despite the common identifications with Québécois and Canadian national identities, according to Pégram (2005) there are conflicting results between second generation ethnic groups. Méthot (1995) and Dorais & Richard (2007) describe generally positive relations with the host society among the Vietnamese community, as does Rousseau et al. (2009) in relation to the Filipino community. However, Meintel (1992), Potvin (1997, 1999, 2007, 2008) and Labelle et al. (2001) describe experiences with the host society marred by discrimination and racism. The research from these studies indicate that in Quebec, Black second generation immigrants face a more severe form of discrimination than their Asian counterparts.

Given these findings, and those presented above from Bilodeau et al. (2010) regarding the differences along linguistic lines immigrants have in regards to identity with the province or federal national community, this research investigates the intersection of race and language and its effect on the how second generation immigrants in Quebec negotiate their Québécois and Canadian identities. More generally, the third research question is:

- **How do second generation immigrants perceive and experience discrimination and racism, and what effect do these perceptions and experiences have on their national Québécois and Canadian identities?**

By creating a four-group comparison methodology, I am able to explore the differences and similarities between two racial groups with two different official language preference groups. Are these different perceptions of Québécois and Canadian identities between Asian and Black second generation immigrants still relevant? How do Anglophone and Francophone second

generation immigrant groups differ in their process of negotiation to identify as Québécois and Canadian? Three of the groups selected (Vietnamese, Haitian, and Anglo-Caribbean) have been studied in Quebec in regards to their social identity, as mentioned above in this brief review. The fourth group is Filipino, an Asian group, that in Montreal, tend towards a preference for English rather than French. A more thorough description of the methodology and the groups selected will be presented in chapter 2.

### **1.7. Conclusion**

Within Canada, the Quebec political environment is unique. While there are other nationalisms or self-determination movements from Aboriginal groups or even Acadians in the Maritimes, these groups have yet to claim political and territorial success to the same scale as Quebec. Furthermore, these groups may not have the capacity to institute policy on their citizens nor do they have the expectation to integrate migrants into their communities to the same degree.

Internationally, there are comparable cases of minority nationalisms (Keating & McGarry, 2001; Kymlicka & Straehle, 1999) like Quebec, sometimes referred to as peripheral nationalisms (Hechter, 2000), sub-nationalisms (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2004), or sub-state nationalisms (Tierney, 2005). The common cases are found within Europe and include Britain in reference to their relationship with Scotland and Wales, Spain and its federalist arrangement with Catalonia, Belgium and its multinational consociationalist arrangement, and Switzerland with their four nationalisms. The first two can be considered even closer to the Quebec case because there is the presence of a dominant nationalism versus the smaller. As compared to the last two cases, which have two or more nationalisms with roughly equal weight.

Therefore, while Quebec is in a unique position within Canada, this research has implications for other European countries with competing internal nationalism, and for cities like Montreal (i.e. Barcelona, Brussels) that are becoming more and more pluralistic due to immigration. Within those nations-within-a-nation, there is the potential for competition for immigrant integration, loyalty, or affections between at least two versions of nationalism.

This research is unique within the immigrant integration literature both because of the focus on the various contradictions present in these Québécois and Canadian nationalisms and but also because of the unique research design that investigates the differences that may exist between two different racial groups, and two official language groups in Montreal. The contradictions that may be confronted by second generation immigrants in Quebec are three-fold; first, there is a possible contradiction between what the top-down policy that defines a civic Québécois nationalism, and a bottom-up definition that promotes an ethnic Québécois nation. Similarly, the Canadian national identity defined by Multiculturalism is meant to include all citizens, but may be contradicted by a strong message of dominant group conformity, which may result in exclusion of those who are unable conform. Lastly, the final contradiction may be in the competition between Québécois and Canadian identity. These national identities can potentially be compatible with each other, but they can also be in competition for immigrants' social and political loyalty. There are differing results across racial and ethnic groups, as well as across linguistic groups, which justifies this unique research design to be discussed in the next chapter.

## **2. Methodology & Population Profiles**

This dissertation is derived from qualitative data collected in Montreal through a series of interviews with 56 different second generation immigrants from four different ancestral origins; Haitian, Vietnamese, Anglo-Caribbean, and Filipino. Participants were eligible to participate if they were between the ages of 18 and 35 years old, defined themselves as belonging or identifying with one of those four groups, are a child of at least one parent born outside of the country, and if they themselves were born in Quebec, or arrived to Quebec by the age of six. The sections below discuss methodological choices, as well as the sample population, recruitment techniques, interview process, and procedure for analysis. The chapter also provides short demographic profiles on the four target groups.

### ***2.1. Field Site: Montreal***

Montreal<sup>16</sup> is the ideal place to do conduct this research on visible minority second-generation immigrants for two central reasons. The first is that Montreal is where these second-generation populations are located. As you will see below, the majority of the population of interest (90% or +)<sup>17</sup> is located in Montreal. While the populations living in other less diverse regions of Quebec could be of interest, recruitment proved to be difficult due to the small size and need for anonymity of the population. I contacted key informants in Gatineau and Quebec City, but these leads did not produce any direct contacts with potential interviewees.

Participants hailed from all over the City of Montreal and its suburbs, and even some smaller municipalities outside of the greater Montreal area. Most participants grew up in Montreal, but a

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<sup>16</sup> When I refer to Montreal, this will include the Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) of Montreal, which includes the City of Montreal, other municipalities on the Island of Montreal, and many of suburbs North, South, East and West of the island. I am using the term for the sake of brevity, and I will specify certain municipalities or neighbourhoods when appropriate.

<sup>17</sup> % of the Quebec target group population that lives in Montreal: Haitian – 94%, Vietnamese – 91%, Filipino – 96% & Anglo-Caribbean – 95%

few participants spent significant periods of their childhood in the regions of Quebec. However, at the time of the interview, all participants were living in or within an hour commute of Montreal. While I am studying second generation immigrants' identification with Québécois and Canadian national identities, these results are not necessarily representative of the feelings of second generation immigrants who live in the other regions of the province, where English-French bilingualism is less common, and where racial and ethnic diversity is not as present or visible.

Secondly, Montreal as a field site is ideal because it is the site of much of the contestation around issues of language and the preservation of Quebec as a distinct society. This contestation is a result of two major demographic realities; 1) Montreal as the hub within Quebec of historical and recent immigration from outside the country; 2) Montreal being the home to the province's largest historical English language minority, which provides an additional host majority for migrants and non-migrants alike to integrate into, contributing to this "fragile majority status" discussed in the last chapter. Therefore, Montreal provides an ideal location for challenging ideas of the nation because of its linguistic, ethnic, and racial diversity.

## **2.2. *Target Populations***

While I refer to my participants as second generation, I also included participants who are part of the 1.5 generation (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988). Second generation immigrants are those who are born in the Quebec, and have at least one parent born outside of the country. The 1.5 generation describes children who arrived in the host country as a migrant in their pre-teen years (12 years of age and below). Following the work of researchers in the past (L. J. Dorais & Richard, 2007; Eid, 2007; M. Labelle, et al., 2001), I include participants from 1.5 generation immigrants, as

their assimilation patterns are deemed to be similar to those of the second generation. However, I put my age cut off at arriving in Quebec by the age of 6, to ensure that most of the participants' primary education took place in the province. Otherwise, I am using a standard definition from Statistics Canada, and from immigrant integration literature published on this population, and using the term "second generation immigrants" to refer to the population of interest.

Four particular groups, based on countries of origin of parents of are interest in this research; At least one parent of the participants is from Haiti, Vietnam, an Anglo-Caribbean country<sup>18</sup>, or the Philippines. These groups were selected based on their contrasting group demographics in Montreal specifically as it relates to racial category and predominant official language<sup>19</sup>. As will be presented below, the Haitian and the Vietnamese groups in Montreal, the majority of the populations tend to speak French more often, rather than English, both in the home and at work. The inverse is the case for the Anglo-Caribbean and Filipino populations, where English is more prevalent. While there is racial and ethnic diversity in all four of these groups, in Montreal, the majority of the population from Haiti and Anglo-Caribbean countries are Black<sup>20</sup>, while those from Vietnam and the Philippines fall under a broad Asian racial category.

As discussed in chapter 1, there are varied results in regards to attachments to national identity between Anglophones and Francophones in the province of Quebec, and feelings of exclusion, including experiences with racism and perceptions of the host community between Black and Asian second generation immigrants. The four-group design, by racial category and

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<sup>18</sup> This includes children of at least one parent who immigrated from Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Kitts, Montserrat, St. Lucia, Trinidad & Tobago, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines

<sup>19</sup> Predominant is defined as the language in which they were educated in primary and secondary school, or their first official language.

<sup>20</sup> 107 720 out of a total of 111 570 (96.6%) identified Haitians in Montreal identified as Black, when asked what visible minority category they belong to. Similarly, 10 365 out of 11 180 (92.7%) self-identified Jamaicans in Montreal also identified as Black; 4 255 out of 5 820 (73.1%) self-identified Trinidadians or Tobagonians also identified as Black; 4 830 out of 5 040 (95.8%) self-identified Barbadians also identified as Black.

predominant official language group, is intended to address some of these conflicting results by looking at the intersection of these two characteristics on the process of negotiation of Québécois and Canadian identity and how discrimination and racism may influence this negotiation. However, it is not my assumption that there is uniformity within these large linguistic groups, or racial categories, but rather it is exactly the assumption of intersectionality that drives this research.

The intersectional approach argues that racial category, class, and gender will affect individual and group identity, life experiences, and position in society. While there is disagreement on which base of social inequality has the greatest impact, the understanding is that each of these bases are simultaneously interrelated systems of privilege and oppression (Stasiulis, 1999). In the Quebec context, language as a base of social inequality is also considered to intersect with race, class, and gender. The differences across groups are discussed throughout the analysis, but is most prominent in chapter 7 which discussed participants experience and perceptions of discrimination.

### **2.3. Demographic Profiles of Target Populations**

The following sections provide a brief history of migration of the target population groups to Quebec, and a demographic snapshot of the groups in Montreal, based on the 2011 National Household Survey (NHS)<sup>21</sup>, and data compiled by the *Ministère d'Immigration et Communautés Culturelles* (MICC) from the NHS. Each section will discuss the immigration pathways of the group, helping to paint a picture of trajectories of the parents of the second generation

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<sup>21</sup> The National Household Survey (NHS) replaced the mandatory long-form census in 2011. It was widely criticised for its sampling procedure which made the survey voluntary and therefore jeopardised its ability to generate a random sample, and therefore a representative sample. The concerns of the non-response bias remains potentially high for visible minorities, but this potential diminishes in large urban centres (Sampling and Weighting Technical Report, Statistics Canada, 2015: <http://www12.statcan.gc.ca/nhs-enm/2011/ref/reports-rapports/sw-ep/99-002-x2011001-eng.pdf>). I am using data from the NHS as the most current information available on the populations of interest

participants, as well as some statistics regarding period of migration, the size of the second generation population, the neighbourhood and municipally concentrations within the greater Montreal area, linguistic demographics, and some labour market and socio-economic indicators in order to compare them to the larger Montreal population.

It should be noted that while my research participants include both the second generation and some of the 1.5 generation, the data below are often only available in regards to the entire self-identified ethnic group, and when the second generation is specified it only refers to the Statistics Canada definition of those born in the country, with at least one parent born outside of the country. Furthermore, when at all possible, data are given at the Montreal CMA level, but some data are only aggregated at the provincial level.

### **2.3.1. Haitians in Montreal**

There were two major waves of migrants out of Haiti into Quebec<sup>22</sup>, with the central push factor being the two Duvalier regimes that spanned over three decades. François Duvalier, commonly known as “Papa Doc”, rose to power in 1957 and soon began a regime of violence and repression, enforced through his loyal paramilitary group, commonly known as the *Tonton macoute*.

Beginning as early as the late 1950s after Papa Doc came into power, the first wave of Haitian migrants began to trickle into Quebec. These first migrants were mainly upper-class professionals, who were well educated and fluent in French, one of the official languages of Haiti. Many were in the health and education fields and although when they arrived they were

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<sup>22</sup>Quebec was not the only receiving country of these Haitian waves of migration; France and the United States were also major destination countries.



hoping to eventually return to their country of origin, they took up prominent jobs in the province as the political situation in their country continued to be undesirable, and secured themselves as part of the professional class in Quebec. A surge in this first wave occurred when Papa Doc proclaimed himself “Président à vie” (President for life) in 1964. By the end of this first wave in 1971, there were 3790 Haitians living in Quebec (Micheline Labelle, Larose, & Piché, 1983; Pégram, 2005)

Before his death in 1971, Papa Doc declared his successor: his then 19-year old son, Jean-Claude Duvalier, commonly known as “Baby Doc”. Although some viewed Baby Doc’s rule as less repressive than his father’s, the “*macoutes*” continued their intense intimidation tactics to suppress any political opposition. This continued violence caused Haitians from all socio-economic backgrounds to leave the country, up to and beyond Baby Doc’s regime, which ended in 1986. Post 1986, the country experienced continued political turmoil and instability, forcing many Haitians to emigrate.

Through the 1970s, 80s and 90s, Haitian migrants continued to flow into Quebec. These second wave migrants tended to take up jobs in the manufacturing and service sector, and were much less educated than their earlier counterparts. They often did not speak fluent French, but rather were only fluent in French-based Haitian Creole, which is considered another language rather than a dialect of French. This wave also included some family class sponsored migrants of the earlier wave.

The Haitian second generation immigrants of Montreal is a mix of children of these professional families and these more working class migrants. Some have French as their maternal language, while others' parents may have passed down Creole. In most cases though, as French was already known to many of these parents, many of these children are predominantly Francophone, rather than Anglophone.

In Statistics Canada's National Household Survey of 2011, there were 119 185 identified Haitians<sup>23</sup> living in Quebec. Overall, the Haitian community in Quebec is the largest within Canada, with almost 87% of the Canadian Haitian population living in Quebec<sup>24</sup>, and almost 94% (111 570) of those in Quebec living in Montreal (MICC, 2014b).

Within Montreal, the majority of Haitians live in the City of Montreal in a variety of neighbourhoods. There are large concentrations of Haitians in Montreal-Nord (21.1%)<sup>25</sup>, Villeray-Saint-Michel-Parc Extension (17.1%), and Rivière-des-Prairies-Pointe-aux-Trembles (16.2%). Outside of the City of Montreal, there are large concentrations of Haitians in Laval and the Montérégie (South Shore) regions of the Montreal CMA.

**Table 1: Three highest concentrations of Haitians (single and multiple responses), in Montreal CMA, all ages, 2011.**

City of Montreal	72475
Montreal-Nord	15325
Villeray-Saint-Michel-Parc Extension	12385
Rivière-des-Prairies-Pointe-aux-Trembles	11745
Laval	18235
Montérégie	9720

Source: MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique haïtienne au Québec en 2011.

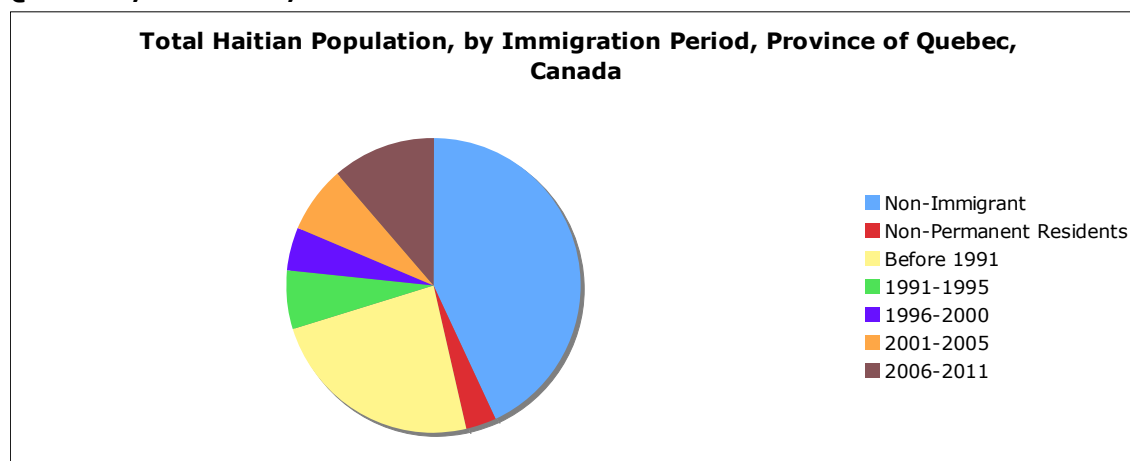
<sup>23</sup> This includes all respondents who identified "Haitian" as at least one of their ethnic backgrounds.

<sup>24</sup> Haitian population in Canada = 137 995

<sup>25</sup> Proportions of Haitians living in specified neighbourhood are in comparison to the City of Montreal Haitian population of 72 475, all ages (MICC, 2014b).

The Haitian population in Quebec is more than half (53.4%) first generation immigrants, with native-born Haitians accounting for approximately 43% of all Haitians in Quebec. Based on the period of arrival of the Haitian immigrants in the province, a steady stream of immigrants have settled in the province over the past 20 years, with a jump in the period between 2006 and 2011, most likely due to an increase in family sponsorship following the earthquake in Haiti in January 2010 (Mehler Paperny, 2010).

**Figure 1: Total Haitian population (single and multiple responses), by immigration status and period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, Canada, 2011.**



Source: MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique haïtienne au Québec en 2011.

In Montreal, the Haitian population is still predominantly first generation (57.8%), the second generation accounts for quite a healthy proportion (38.3%) of the entire Haitian population in Montreal. Almost half of the second generation population is younger than 15 and the other half is between the ages of 15 and 34, which comprises the main demographic of interest in this research. The third generation and beyond is slowly growing as the Haitian immigrant population becomes more established.

**Table 2: Total population of Haitians (single and multiple responses), by generation, Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	<b>N</b>	<b>% of Total Population</b>
<b>Total Population (All Ages)</b>	111570	100.0%
<b>1st Generation</b>	64540	57.8%
<b>2nd Generation</b>	42715	38.3%
<b>Under 15 years</b>	19850	46.5%*
<b>15-24 years</b>	<b>11645</b>	27.3%*
<b>25-34 years</b>	<b>8480</b>	19.9%*
<b>35+ years</b>	2740	6.4%*
<b>3rd+ Generation</b>	4310	3.9%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011028.

\*% of Total 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation Haitian population

Using the category of second generation immigrants ages 15 to 34 years to roughly estimate the size of the target population, 20 125 is a relatively small number of people to draw from in a large metropolitan area of Montreal. The Haitian population is the largest of the four groups targeted, and this estimate may contribute to the difficulties I had in reaching the second generation population who are spread out all over Montreal's expansive geography<sup>26</sup>.

The Haitian population in Montreal has the largest proportions of Francophones out of the four groups of interest, however the proportion of French speakers varies depending on which measure of language one uses. By looking at the changes over time, from the various maternal languages to French as a home language, Québec policy makers can assess how successful their linguistic integration policies might be. But Arel (2002) cautions against the measure of "home language" in order to measure the number of immigrants who experience a language shift to French because this measure is more likely to provide a linguistic picture of a generation ago and may actually underestimate the favourable trend towards French. It does not consider that many of the second-generation immigrants may still speak their maternal language with their

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<sup>26</sup> Second generation immigrants aged 15 to 34 in Montreal CMA who identified as Haitian, 20 125; Vietnamese, 6 180; Filipino, 3 085; Anglo-Caribbean, 5 025. Using the publicly available NHS data, it is not possible to distinguish between the 1.5 generation and those who immigrated when over the age of 12. Therefore, using the second generation statistics may be an underestimation of the target population size in Montreal.

immigrant parents at home, but that they have adopted French as their language most used in public and French may become their home language once they start a home of their own.

Therefore, I will present multiple measures of language knowledge use to give a fuller picture of the language preferences and tendencies of each target group.

Almost half of Haitians in Montreal are uniquely maternal French speakers, with an additional 5.7% who have more than one maternal language, one of which is French, totalling 55% of the Haitian population that has French as a mother tongue. The other major mother tongue group is a non-official language (40.5%), most likely Haitian Creole and the large proportion is probably due to the large first generation immigrant population.

**Table 3: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Haitian population (single and multiple responses), Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	<b>Total Population by Mother Tongue*</b>	<b>Total Population by language most often spoken at home*</b>	<b>Total Population (15+ years) by language most often spoken at work**</b>
English	2.3%	3.1%	7.4%
French	49.2%	70.2%	82.9%
Non-Official Language	42.6%	17.7%	0.3%
English and French	0.3%	0.8%	8.8%
English and Non-Official Language	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
French and Non-Official Language	5.3%	7.7%	0.2%
English, French and non-official language	0.1%	0.3%	0.3%
<b>Total French</b>	<b>55.0%</b>	<b>79.0%</b>	<b>92.2%</b>

\*Total Haitian population, all ages in Montreal is 111 570.

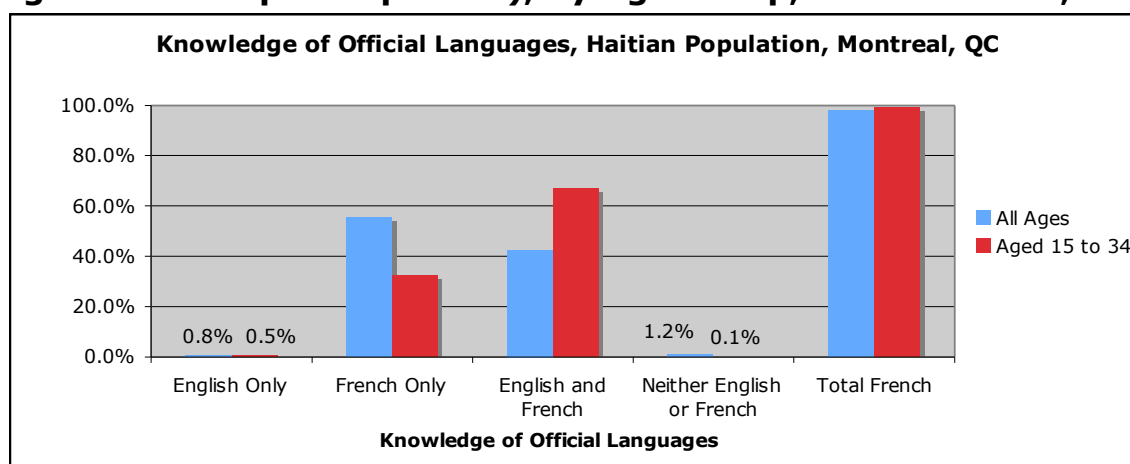
\*\*Total Haitian population, 15 years and over who worked since January 1, 2010 in Montreal is 56 405.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

The proportion of French speakers increases to 79% when looking at the statistics of those who use French as a frequent language in their home, and even more so when measuring those who use French as a central language at their work (92.2%). Finally, of those Haitians in Montreal,

over 98% of them have enough knowledge of the French language to carry on a conversation, compared to only 43.3% who can do this in English. When we look at the young population between the ages of 15 and 34, almost all Haitians speak French, with a marked increase in the proportion that is bilingual as compared to the Haitian population in Montreal as a whole<sup>27</sup>.

**Figure 2: Knowledge of Official Languages, Haitian Population, (single and multiple responses), by Age Group, Montreal CMA, 2011.**



Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

Compared to the general Montreal population, the Haitian Montrealese population is less educated, with only 19.1% of the population between 25 and 64 years of age with a university certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor's level or above, compared to 29.6% of general Montrealers<sup>28</sup>. In addition, the unemployment rate in Montreal based on data from the 2011 NHS was 7.7%, compared to 12.7% for the Haitian Montreal population. These poor socio-economic outcomes for the Haitian population also translate into poor income statistics, where the average and median income of the Haitian population in Montreal over the age of 15 is \$27 221 and \$18 157 respectively, compared to the Montreal average and median income of \$38 281 and \$28 306<sup>29</sup>. Finally, the low-income rates for the Haitian population are much higher than in

<sup>27</sup> Aggregated data on language knowledge and use were not publicly available for specifically the second generation.

<sup>28</sup> Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

<sup>29</sup> Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

the general Montreal population, with over 25.1% of the population whose income is below the after-tax low-income measure (LIM-AT)<sup>30</sup>, compared to 17.9% for all of Montreal. These statistics however, lack the depth of analysis of additional variables that intersect with the population outcomes, such as gender, age, level of education, as well as immigrant status, and time since arrival.

### **2.3.2. Vietnamese in Montreal**

There are three significant early waves of Vietnamese migrants to Canada (Chan & Dorais, 1998; L. J. Dorais & Richard, 2007). Vietnamese nationals began arriving in Quebec as early as 1950. In these early years, they arrived in Canada as students and while many returned back home, a number of these temporary migrants stayed in Canada, with about 75% settling in Quebec. These, mostly male, students spoke French as their second language and attended Quebec's French post-secondary institutions. For those who settled in Quebec, they often became professionals, such as engineers, health professionals, and public servants. In 1974, there were approximately 1 100 Vietnamese students or ex-students residing in Quebec (Chan & Dorais, 1998).

Following the communist victory in Vietnam in April of 1975, Canada opened its doors to Vietnamese refugees, seeing a quick surge of the Vietnamese population in Quebec in just a few short years. With about 6 500 Vietnamese refugees coming into Canada, about 65% of them settled in Quebec as they had relatives who were already living in the province. By the end of 1978, approximately 5 050 Vietnamese refugees were living in Quebec. These refugees were mainly urban middle class families who were ethnically Vietnamese; many who spoke either French or English (Chan & Dorais, 1998).

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<sup>30</sup> This line is set at half the median of adjusted household after-tax income.

The third wave of Vietnamese migrants was very different from their predecessors, both ethnically and in its socio-economic diversity. The “boat people” began to arrive in 1979, and surged through until 1981 but continued until the early 90s; they were from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds, from peasants to professionals and from rural to urban backgrounds. Many did not speak English or French, and were often arriving in Canada with few to no relatives already settled. The early surge was more often than not ethnically Chinese (Sino-Vietnamese), but the proportion of ethnic Vietnamese increased over time. Between 1979 and 1991, Quebec received about 22,000 Vietnamese refugees, but a number of them left the province for other Canadian provinces.

Like the Haitian population, many of the second generation in Quebec are children of these middle-class professionals who migrated earlier to Quebec, but they will also be children of refugees or family class migrants who may have faced linguistic and educational barriers to middle class life.

In the 2011 National Household Survey, there were 42 480 identified Vietnamese living in Quebec. Overall, the Vietnamese community in Quebec accounts for about 19% of the Canadian Vietnamese population (220 420), and over 91% of those in Quebec are living in Montreal (38 960)<sup>31</sup>.

Within Montreal the majority of Vietnamese live in the City of Montreal in a variety of neighbourhoods. However, there are large concentrations of Vietnamese in Villeray-Saint-

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<sup>31</sup> Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011028.



Michel-Parc Extension (20.8%)<sup>32</sup>, Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce (11.6%), and Saint-Laurent (10.6%). Outside of the City of Montreal, there are large concentrations of Vietnamese in the Montérégie (South Shore) and Laval regions of the Montreal CMA.

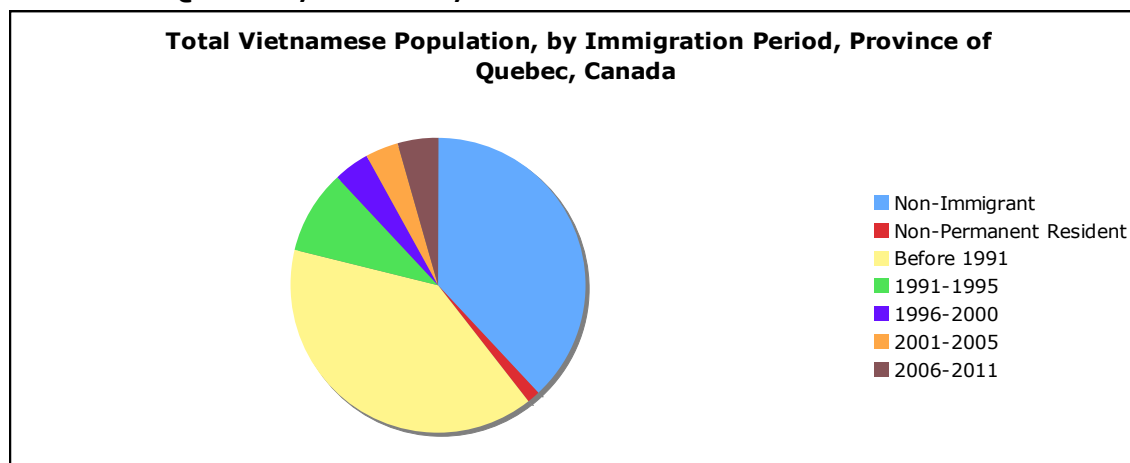
**Table 4: Three highest concentrations of Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), in Montreal CMA, all ages, 2011.**

City of Montreal	27735
Villeray-Saint-Michel-Parc Extension	5760
Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce	3215
Saint-Laurent	2940
Montérégie	5435
Laval	3545

Source: MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique vietnamienne au Québec en 2011.

Of those Vietnamese in Montreal, almost two-thirds of them are immigrants, with most of them being early arrivals before 1991. While Vietnamese immigration has continued to flow into Montreal, it has slowed down since the mid 1990s, with the majority of Vietnamese immigrants choosing to settle elsewhere in Canada.

**Figure 3: Total Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), by immigration status or period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, Canada, 2011.**



Source: MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique vietnamienne au Québec en 2011.

<sup>32</sup> Proportions of Vietnamese living in specified neighbourhood are in comparison to the City of Montreal Vietnamese population of 27 735, all ages (MICC, 2014e).

The second generation accounts for just over one-third of the entire Vietnamese population in Quebec (38%), and is also a relatively young population. Over half of the second generation Vietnamese population in Montreal is under the age of fifteen, and an additional 45% of the second generation population in Montreal is between the ages of 15 and 34.

**Table 5: Total Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), by generation, all ages, Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	<b>N</b>	<b>% of Total Population</b>
<b>Total Population (All Ages)</b>	38960	100.0%
<b>1st Generation</b>	24495	62.9%
<b>2nd Generation</b>	13880	35.6%
<b>Under 15 years</b>	7325	52.8%*
<b>15-24 years</b>	<b>4315</b>	31.1%*
<b>25-34 years</b>	<b>1865</b>	13.4%*
<b>35+ years</b>	375	2.7%*
<b>3rd+ Generation</b>	585	1.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

\*% of Total 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation Vietnamese population

The linguistic profile of the Vietnamese community, like that of many communities in Montreal, varies depending on the indicator used. If using the indicator of mother tongue, the majority of the Vietnamese population (76.2%) has a maternal language that is a non-official language of Canada, most likely Vietnamese or perhaps a Chinese dialect in the case of the Sino-Vietnamese who came from Vietnam. Only 20.4% of the Vietnamese population have French as at least one of their maternal languages. The number of French speakers increases if measuring language most often spoken at home, where 32.1% of the Vietnamese community speaks French often in their homes. While this number may appear low, when looking at the younger populations, such as those between 15 and 34 years of age, the number of people of Vietnamese decent who speak French in the home increases by almost 10%.

**Table 6: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Vietnamese population (single and multiple responses), Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	<b>Total Population by Mother Tongue*</b>	<b>Total Population by language most often spoken at home*</b>	<b>Total Population (15+ years) by language most often spoken at work**</b>
English	3.1%	6.6%	21.2%
French	16.9%	26.1%	54.6%
Non-Official Language	76.2%	59.7%	6.8%
English and French	0.1%	0.4%	14.5%
English and Non-Official Language	1.0%	1.6%	0.5%
French and Non-Official Language	2.5%	5.4%	0.8%
English, French and non-official language	0.1%	0.3%	1.5%
<b>Total French</b>	<b>19.7%</b>	<b>32.1%</b>	<b>71.4%</b>

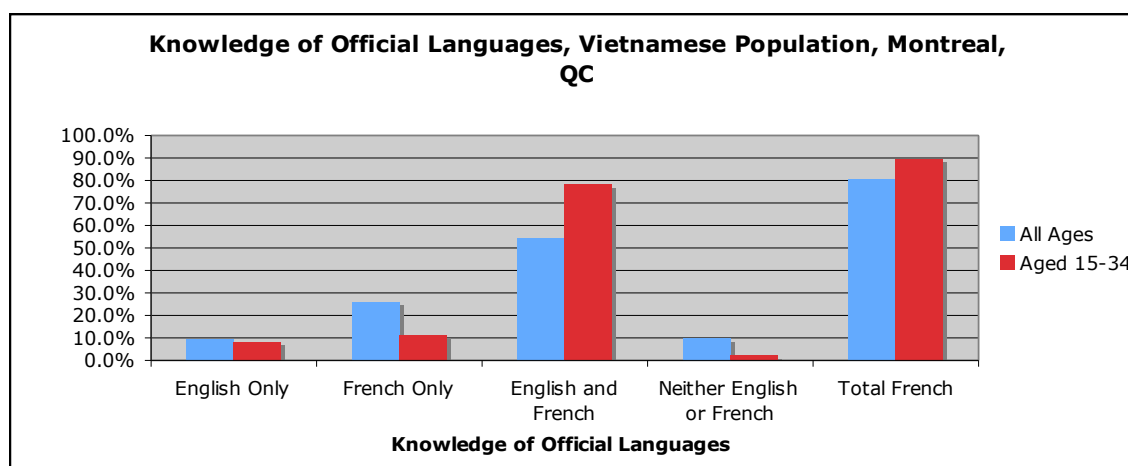
\*Total Vietnamese population, all ages in Montreal is 38 960.

\*\*Total Vietnamese population, 15 years and over who worked since January 1, 2010 in Montreal is 20 060.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

The figures almost double when measuring the proportion of Vietnamese persons 15 years and over, who speak French often at their workplace (71.4%), as well as the large proportion who have knowledge of the French language (82.6%). While this last figure about knowledge of the French language is below that of the general Montreal population (91.1%), much of the difference is most likely due to those who do not speak English or French (9.7%), possibly from the new immigrant population. Furthermore, the Vietnamese population between the ages of 15 and 34 has a higher rate of knowledge of French than the Vietnamese population of all ages.

**Figure 4: Knowledge of Official Languages, Vietnamese Population (single and multiple responses), by Age Groups, Montreal CMA, 2011.**



Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

Based on aggregate 2011 NHS data, the Vietnamese population have a higher proportion of those aged 25 to 64 with university certificates, diplomas or degrees (35.5%) as compared to the general Montreal population (29.6%). However, this does not necessarily translate into a higher average or median income; the Vietnamese population 15 years and older has an average income of \$33 213 and a median income of \$20 761, compared to the larger Montreal population's average income of \$38 281 and a median income of \$28 306. This may be partly due to the larger unemployment rate of 10.6% for the Vietnamese population compared to 7.7% for the Montreal population. Furthermore, the Vietnamese population has a higher rate of low income than the general Montreal population, with over 23.3% of the population whose income is below the after-tax low-income measure (LIM-AT)<sup>33</sup>, compared to 17.9% for all of Montreal.<sup>34</sup> These figures are aggregated and may differ depending on number of demographic characteristics.

<sup>33</sup> This line is set at half the median of adjusted household after-tax income.

<sup>34</sup> Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

### **2.3.3. Filipinos in Montreal**

The Filipino population in Canada and Quebec is divided into two waves and are distinguished by their way of entry into the country and their resulting socio-economic demographic details (McElhinny, Davidson, Catungal, Tungohan, & Coloma, 2012). Beginning in the 1950s through to the mid-1970s, this first wave of Filipino immigrants entered Canada as permanent residents to fill labour market shortages in specific fields, particularly the health field<sup>35</sup>. The peak of this first wave was in 1974 (McElhinny, et al., 2012), but after this the portrait of the Filipino immigrant to Canada changed remarkably.

From the late-1970s, an increasing number of Filipinos in non-professional occupations entered into the country, facilitated by the labour export policy of the Marcos administration and the Canadian government's active recruitment of Filipino domestic workers through such programs at the Foreign Domestic Movement (FDM) and its current day successor, the Live-In Caregiver Program (LCP). Overall, Kelly, Astorga-Garcia & Esguerra (2009) report that about 20% of all Philippine-born immigrants in Canada, arrived as principal applicants or dependants under the a domestic worker category from 1980 to 2005.

The FDM was created in 1981 in order to meet the labour market need for affordable homecare, in which Canadians were unwilling to perform. Participants would enter Canada as temporary migrants and after two-years of live-in service would be eligible to apply for permanent residency and sponsor their family to join them. The LCP functions in a similar fashion, however when the program was introduced in 1992, the eligibility requirements for entry were

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<sup>35</sup> Valerie G. Damasco (2012) discusses the recruitment of Filipino nurses and nurses assistants directly by Ontario hospitals in the 1950s and 1960s.

more stringent than its predecessor, in the name of improving the quality of care (McElhinny, et al., 2012).

These two waves of Filipino migrants differed in two major ways, which can have other major effects to the socio-economic success of immigrants and their families. The first is in terms of the status that migrants have when they entered into the country and if that allows them to immigrate with their family at the same time. The first wave entered as landed migrants and usually arrived with their dependants at the same time. The second wave experienced temporary status in Canada prior to their landing, at which point their family was able to join them after their successful completion of the program and landing processing time. This difference can have reverberations in terms of length of time before reunification with children, as well as an effect on marital relationships (Eric, 2012, p. 134).

The second marked difference is the occupational fields in which migrants of each wave were recruited to work once they entered in Canada. While both waves were recruited to fill specific labour shortages within Canada, and in most cases arrived with a job waiting, the first wave more often than not worked in professional middle-class occupations, while the second wave were recruited to work in more working-class occupations, despite some of the high educational qualifications of many of the participants. The consequences for entering Canada in their working-class positions can have the negative consequence of de-skilling, which would make it more difficult to move into a different domain of work once settled in Canada (Kelly, et al., 2009). This may also affect the way that the Filipino community is perceived in Canada, which can affect their future job prospects (Eric, 2012).

Finally, while the two waves have these differences, the Filipino migration experience that is common across the waves is the gendered experience of it. The Filipino population in Canada is disproportionately female (58% female)<sup>36</sup> in comparison to the general population. This is mainly due to the female dominated occupational realms in which Filipino migrants are recruited, such as nursing and domestic work. The gendered experience of migration in the Filipino community is an important aspect to consider when discussing the social and economic integration of the population as a whole, as it can have implication on household earning power, marital relations, perception of the community, and finally the opportunities for intra or intermarriage.

The second generation Filipino community in Montreal will be mixed socio-economically as well, with the older second generations more likely to have parents from middle class professional backgrounds, while the younger cohorts may be children of live-in caregivers or comparably working class individuals.

Most Filipinos live in Ontario and British Columbia, with large contingents in Manitoba and Alberta as well. Comparatively, the Filipino population in Quebec is small. In the 2011 National Household Survey, there were 34 140 identified Filipinos living in Quebec. Overall, the Filipino community in Quebec accounts for only 5.2% of the Canadian Filipino population, and almost 96% of those in Quebec are living in Montreal<sup>37</sup>.

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<sup>36</sup> 247 585 out of a total of 436 190 of all Filipinos in Canada in 2006, all ages were female.

<sup>37</sup> Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011028.

Within Montreal, the majority of Filipinos live in the City of Montreal (87.8%)<sup>38</sup> primarily concentrated in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce neighbourhood (56.6%)<sup>39</sup>.

Otherwise, the next largest concentrations are in the region of Montérégie and the City of Dollard-des-Ormeaux.

**Table 7: Three highest concentrations of Filipinos in Montreal CMA, all ages, 2006<sup>40</sup>**

City of Montreal	21850
Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce	12360
Saint-Laurent	935
Pierrefonds-Roxboro	885
Montérégie	2420
Dollard-Des Ormeaux	1710

Source: MICC. (2010). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique philippine recensée au Québec en 2006.

The majority of the Filipino population in Montreal are from immigrant origins (68.4%), and over time, the number of Filipino migrants has steadily increased over the years with a large number arriving in the 5-year period between 2006-2011, in spite of a small dip in the five-year period prior.

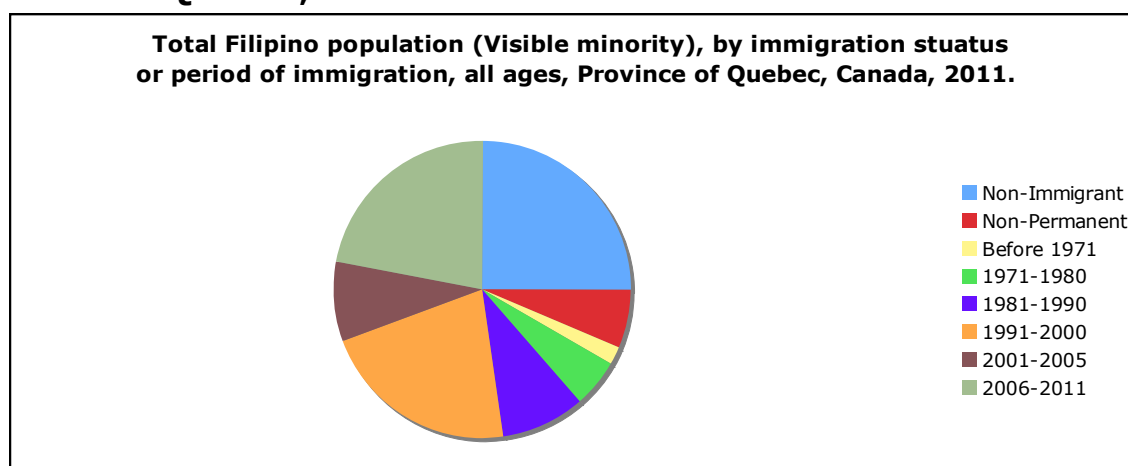
<sup>38</sup> 21 850 Filipinos live in the City of Montreal, of the 24 895 Filipinos in the Montreal CMA.

<sup>39</sup> Proportion of Filipinos living in neighbourhood are in comparison to the City of Montreal Filipino population of 21 850, all ages. (MICC, 2010)

<sup>40</sup> MICC did not make available a profile for the Filipino population using the 2011 National Household Survey data, therefore the concentrations by neighbourhood are based on 2006 Census data. I do not expect the neighbourhoods where there are concentrations, nor the proportions to change, based on the absence of change for the other groups of interest, but certainly the total numbers have increased given growth in this community as a whole.



**Figure 5: Total population of Filipino population (visible minority status)<sup>41</sup> by immigration status or period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, 2011.**



Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011030.

While most of the Filipino population in Montreal is first generation, almost 26% of the population is second generation. Like the other groups, this sub-group is overwhelmingly young, with almost 95% of second generation Filipinos being between below the age of 35, with almost 60% of those under the age of 15.

**Table 8: Total population of Filipino population (single and multiple responses), by generation, all ages, Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	N	% of Total Population
<b>Total Population (All Ages)</b>	32745	100.0%
<b>1st Generation</b>	23735	72.5%
<b>2nd Generation</b>	8485	25.9%
<b>Under 15 years</b>	5045	59.5%*
<b>15-24 years</b>	<b>2065</b>	24.3%*
<b>25-34 years</b>	<b>1020</b>	12.0%*
<b>35+ years</b>	355	4.2%*
<b>3rd+ Generation</b>	520	1.6%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

\*% of Total 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation Filipino population

Linguistically, on all measures, the Filipino population are predominantly Anglophone rather than Francophone, more so than any of the other three target research groups. Although the

<sup>41</sup> MICC did not provide comparable data for the Filipino group based on single and multiple ethnic origin responses, but the NHS considers Filipino as a visible minority category. The number of visible minority Filipinos is slightly lower than that of the estimate of Filipinos based on ethnic origins, as presumably some respondents with a Filipino background may not identify themselves as visible minorities.

majority of the Filipino population has a non-official language mother tongue, most likely Tagalog or another Filipino dialect (60%), a large majority also have English as one of their mother tongues (37.5%), while only 3.6% have French as one of their maternal languages. Furthermore, speaking only English in the home is the norm for almost 46% of the Montreal Filipino community, with only 5.1% of the population using French often in the home.

**Table 9: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Filipino population (single and multiple responses), Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	<b>Total Population by Mother Tongue*</b>	<b>Total Population by language most often spoken at home*</b>	<b>Total Population (15+ years) by language most often spoken at work**</b>
English	27.4%	45.9%	79.4%
French	2.4%	3.2%	7.6%
Non-Official Language	60.0%	32.8%	0.5%
English and French	0.9%	1.3%	11.1%
English and Non-Official Language	9.0%	16.2%	1.2%
French and Non-Official Language	0.1%	0.1%	0.0%
English, French and non-official language	0.2%	0.5%	0.2%
<b>Total French</b>	<b>3.6%</b>	<b>5.1%</b>	<b>18.9%</b>

\*Total Filipino population, all ages in Montreal is 32 740.

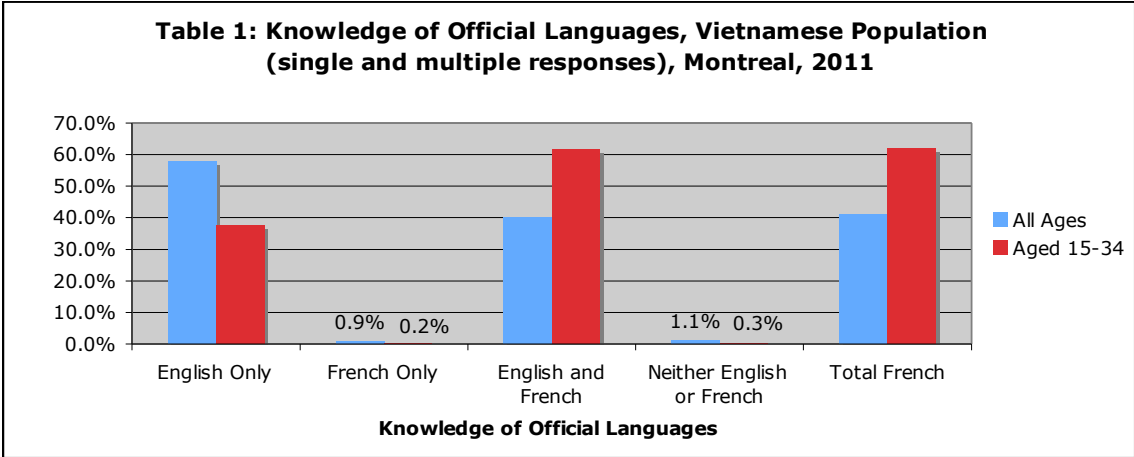
\*\*Total Filipino population, 15 years and over who worked since January 1, 2005 in Montreal is 19 835.

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

Almost 80.0% of the Filipino population speaks only English in their workplaces, compared with only 18.9% who speak French as at least one of their common work languages. The numbers increase to 41% of Filipinos when the measure for language is having knowledge of the French language, but this is compared to almost 98% who know English. The percentage of those with knowledge of French further increases when looking at the age group of interest, with 62% of Filipinos aged 15 to 34 have enough knowledge of French to carry on a conversation. The relatively low rates of knowledge of the French language is most likely due to the large number of new immigrants and the relatively smaller proportions of second and third generations who

would have grown up in French in Quebec, as compared to the other target groups. As with the other groups, there is increased bilingualism among Filipino youth, as compared to the Filipino population as a whole.

**Figure 6: Knowledge of Official Languages, Filipino population (single and multiple responses), By Age Group, Montreal CMA, 2011.**



Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

Based on aggregate 2011 NHS data, the Filipino population has a higher proportion of people with university certificates, diplomas or degrees at the bachelor level or above (34.1%) as compared to the general Montreal population (29.6%). However, this does not translate into a higher average or median income; the Filipino population has an average income of \$26 321 and a median income of \$21 600, compared to the larger Montreal population’s average income of \$38 281 and a median income of \$28 306. Despite these lower group income statistics, the percentage of the Filipino population in Montreal with incomes below the LIM-AT (15.7%) is close to the wider Montreal figure (17.9%). Furthermore, the Filipino community in Montreal has lower than average unemployment rate, at 6.6%, versus 7.7% for all of Montreal. These statistics are independent of analysis based on demographic characteristics, such as age, gender, education, and immigrant status.

#### **2.3.4. Anglo-Caribbeans in Montreal**

Providing a profile of the Anglo-Caribbean community in Montreal is quite different than the preceding three communities. As the others are rooted in origins from mainly one country, the Caribbean or West Indies are made up of a number of countries with colonial histories from Britain, France, the Netherlands, Spain, or Denmark. Second generation immigrants from the British West Indies are selected for this research particularly because of their history with the English language, and I will be referring to persons in Canada with ancestral roots from these countries as Anglo-Caribbeans<sup>42</sup>.

While the publicly accessible data from the 2011 National Household Survey include many of the countries from the British West Indies, some key demographic information is not available due to small numbers at the CMA level that could identify individuals. Therefore, while some of the broader data can be aggregated from all the sub-ethnicities associated with the Anglo-Caribbean group, the Montreal level data only include the three largest groups; Jamaican, Barbadian, and Trinidadian & Tobagonian. In addition, some distinctions that could fall under the Anglo-Caribbean group were excluded due to the lack of precision of the terms, such as West Indian or Carib. This could result in an under representation of the Anglo-Caribbean community in the data provided in this profile.

The Anglo-Caribbean population in Quebec is a small population, but has a long history of settlement in the province; one which is mirrored by the patterns of immigration being experienced by the Filipino community today. Prior to 1955, a few thousand Anglophone

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<sup>42</sup> Anglo-Caribbean includes those persons with origins in Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Grenada, Jamaica, St. Kitts, Montserrat, St. Lucia, Trinidad & Tobago, and St. Vincent and the Grenadines. More generic ethnic designations such as Carib, West Indian, or Caribbean were not included in the statistics as they were found to be imprecise. Therefore, the population of Anglo-Caribbeans may in fact be larger than what is reported below.

Caribbeans entered Canada, with only a few hundred settling in Quebec. Most of these migrants were well educated (i.e. teachers, nurses) but worked centrally in domestic work (M. Labelle, et al., 2001).

Not until 1955 under the West Indian Domestic Schema, did larger numbers of Jamaicans and Barbadians begin coming to Canada, as part of the active recruitment of Caribbean women to work as domestic workers. Almost all of the participants were women, and many of them were well educated in the health and education fields, but used the program to gain a foothold to enter Canada legally. Under this Schema, women who completed one year of domestic service with a contractually approved employer, were granted landed status and could apply for Canadian citizenship after 5 years. “It is estimated that by 1965, Canada had admitted some 2690 Caribbean women under the second domestic scheme; this figure exceeded the number of all Caribbean immigrants to Canada before 1945” (Mensah, 2010). This program was cancelled once the universal points system was introduced in 1967. Once these changes to the immigration policies in Canada were enacted, it resulted in significant increases in the number of Anglo-Caribbean migrants into the country.

While Anglo-Caribbean immigration to Canada is steady at a few thousand per year, only a small percentage of these migrants choose Quebec in which to settle. For example, over 85% of the Canadian Jamaican population lives in Ontario with the majority in the Toronto area, while only 5% lives Quebec. In the National Household Survey of 2011, there were 32 090 identified Anglo-Caribbeans living in Quebec. Overall, the Anglo-Caribbean community in Quebec accounts for about 8% of the Canadian Anglo-Caribbean population, and almost 95% of those in

Quebec are living in Montreal. The largest three groups account for 82.6% of the Anglo-Caribbean population in Quebec, with Jamaicans with the largest proportion (40%), followed by Trinidadians & Tobagonians (20.3%) and then Barbadians (17.4%).

**Table 10: Total population of Anglo-Caribbean population, (single and multiple responses) by region, all ages, 2011.**

	Canada	Quebec	Montreal
Jamaican	256,915	12,725	11,820
Trinidadian/Tobagonian	68,225	6,505	6,190
Barbadian	34,340	5,580	5,335
Grenadian	14,885	1,930	1,870
Vincentian/Grenadinian	14,180	3,095	3,050
St. Lucian	6,645	825	805
Antiguan	3,635	300	275
Bermudan	2,760	85	70
Bahamian	2,505	450	430
Kittitian/Nevisian	2,225	230	230
Montserratian	820	365	365
<b>Total</b>	<b>407,135</b>	<b>32,090</b>	<b>30,440</b>

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011028.

The Anglo-Caribbean community is, like the other target groups, concentrated in the City of Montreal, but the large concentrations will depend on what particular Anglo-Caribbean ethnic group one is a part of. Jamaicans are concentrated in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce neighbourhood<sup>43</sup>, Lachine<sup>44</sup>, and also in the Sud-Ouest<sup>45,46</sup>, while Barbadians and Trinidadians are found in large numbers in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce neighbourhood, as well as Lasalle, and in Pierrefonds-Roxboro<sup>47</sup>. There are also significant contingents in the Montérégie region for all three of the largest groups.

<sup>43</sup> 2 030 out of a total of 7 335 Jamaicans (27.7%) in the City of Montreal live in the Côte-des-Neiges-Notre-Dame-de-Grâce neighbourhood

<sup>44</sup> 1 560 out of a total of 7 335 Jamaicans (21.3%) in the City of Montreal live in Lachine.

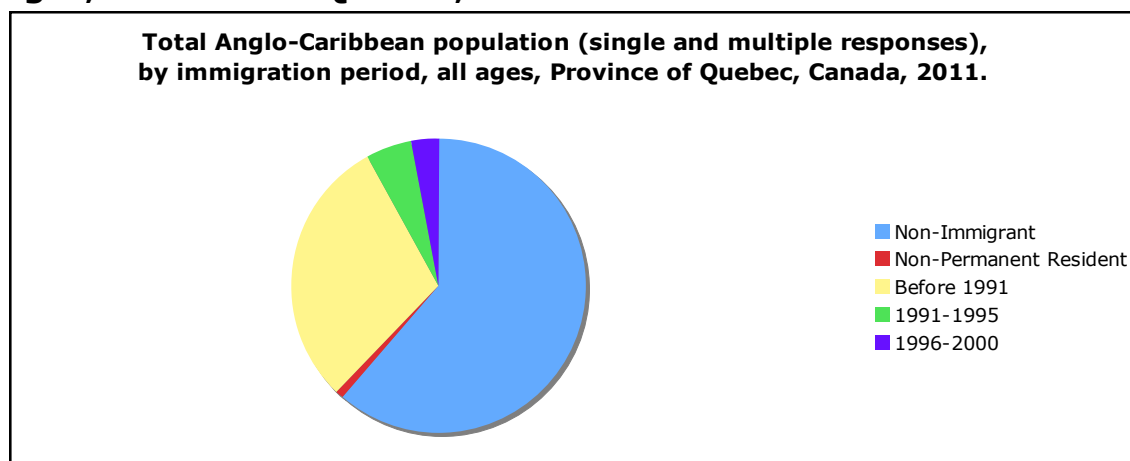
<sup>45</sup> 830 out of a total of 7 865 Jamaicans (11.3%) in the City of Montreal live in Pierrefonds-Roxboro.

<sup>46</sup> Source: (MICC, 2014c) Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique jamaïcaine au Québec en 2011.

<sup>47</sup> From a total of 3 630 Trinidadians & Tobagonians in the City of Montreal, there are 955 in CDN-NDG (26.4%), 675 in Lasalle (18.6%), and 545 in Pierrefonds-Roxboro (15.0%). Source: (MICC, 2014d) Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique trinitadienne au Québec en 2011. From a total of 3 370 Barbadians live in the City of Montreal, there are 1035 in Lasalle (30.7%), 765 in CDN-NDG (22.7%), and 530 in Pierrefonds-Roxboro (15.7%). Source: (MICC, 2014a) Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique barbadienne au Québec en 2011.

The Anglo-Caribbean population, based on the three largest groups in Montreal have the longest history in Quebec and Montreal of the four target groups, where most of the population is non-immigrant (61.5%), and for those that have an immigrant background, most migrated prior to 1961. Immigration from Anglo-Caribbean countries to Quebec has slowed down in more recent years, with less than a thousand migrants arriving from Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago, or Barbados from 1996 to 2000.

**Figure 7: Total population of Anglo-Caribbeans (single and multiple responses)<sup>48</sup> by immigration status or period of immigration, all ages, Province of Quebec, 2011.**



Sources: MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique jamaïcaine au Québec en 2011; MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique trinitadienne au Québec en 2011; MICC. (2014). Portrait statistique de la population d'origine ethnique barbadienne au Québec en 2011.

Furthermore, given that they are long standing community in Quebec and specifically in Montreal, the proportion that the second-generation accounts for is the largest of all four target groups (45.4%). In addition, while still a significantly younger population, within the second generation, those aged below 35 years account for the smallest proportion (81.3%) as compared to the other groups whose proportions were all above 90.0%. Furthermore, the third generation

<sup>48</sup> Includes aggregated data of the largest three Anglo-Caribbean groups in which data were available; Jamaican, Barbadian, and Trinidadian & Tobagonian.

of Anglo-Caribbeans accounts for 15% of the whole population, indicative of the longer history that this group has in Montreal, and the rest of Canada.

**Table 11: Total population of Anglo-Caribbean<sup>49</sup> population (single and multiple responses), by generation, all ages, Montreal CMA, 2011**

	<b>N</b>	<b>% of Total Population</b>
<b>Total Population (All Ages)</b>	23350	100.0%
<b>1st Generation</b>	9230	39.5%
<b>2nd Generation</b>	10605	45.4%
<b>Under 15 years</b>	3610	34.0%*
<b>15-24 years</b>	<b>2730</b>	25.7%*
<b>25-34 years</b>	<b>2295</b>	21.6%*
<b>35+ years</b>	1970	18.6%*
<b>3rd+ Generation</b>	3520	15.1%

Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

\*% of Total 2<sup>nd</sup> Generation Anglo-Caribbean population

As expected, the linguistic profile of the Anglo-Caribbean population in Montreal is strongly Anglophone, but more likely to speak French than the Filipino population who has a larger proportion of new immigrants who may not have had the time to learn French yet.

Approximately 90.2% of the population speaks English as at least one of their mother tongues, with a total 9% who speaks French as at least one of their maternal languages. There is a very slight increase in the proportion that speaks French often in their homes, with just over 10% of the population claiming this.

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<sup>49</sup> Includes aggregated data of the largest three Anglo-Caribbean groups in which data were available; Jamaican, Barbadian, and Trinidadian & Tobagonian.



**Table 12: Mother tongue, language most often spoken at home, and language most often spoken at work, Anglo-Caribbean<sup>50</sup> population, Montreal CMA, 2011.**

	<b>Total Population by Mother Tongue*</b>	<b>Total Population by language most often spoken at home*</b>	<b>Total Population (15+ years) by language most often spoken at work**</b>
English	89.1%	89.1%	70.5%
French	8.2%	9.1%	18.3%
Non-Official Language	1.4%	0.4%	0.0%
English and French	0.7%	0.8%	10.9%
English and Non-Official Language	0.4%	0.2%	0.0%
French and Non-Official Language	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%
English, French and non-official language	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%
<b>Total French</b>	<b>9.0%</b>	<b>10.3%</b>	<b>29.2%</b>

\*Total Anglo-Caribbean population, all ages in Montreal is 23 350.

\*\*Total Anglo-Caribbean population, 15 years and over who worked since January 1, 2010 in Montreal is 11 205.

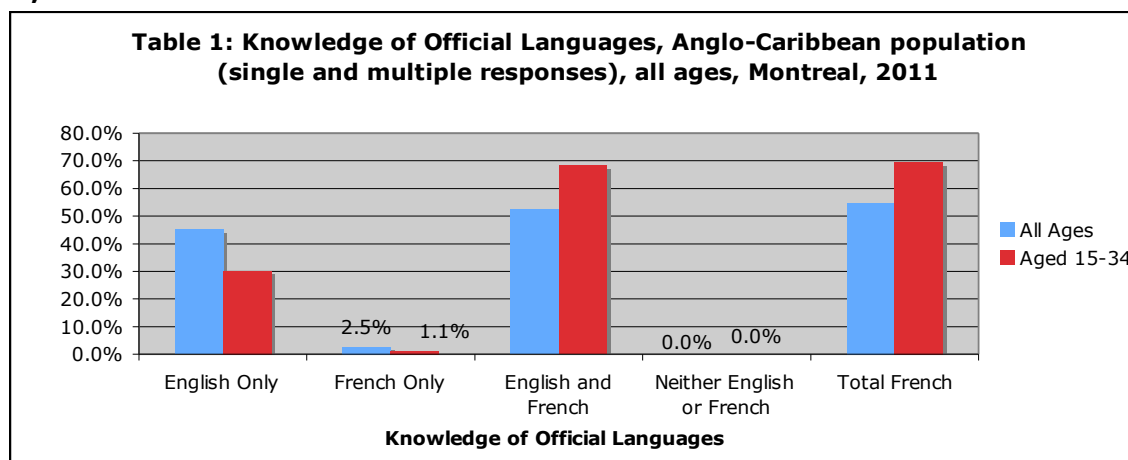
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

At work, the majority of Anglo-Caribbeans speak primarily English, while almost 30% speak French as one of their principle languages of work. Finally, the percentage of Anglo-Caribbeans who have knowledge of French increases to almost 55%, but when only accounting for those between the ages of 15-34, the proportion of those who have enough knowledge of the French language to carry a conversation increases to almost 70%.

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<sup>50</sup> Includes aggregated data of the largest three Anglo-Caribbean groups in which data were available; Jamaican, Barbadian, and Trinidadian & Tobagonian.

**Figure 8: Knowledge of Official Languages, Anglo-Caribbean<sup>51</sup> population (single and multiple responses), by Age Group, Montreal CMA, 2011.**



Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

The Anglo-Caribbean population as a whole in Montreal is much less educated than the general Montreal population and the three other groups. Within the three largest Anglo-Caribbeans groups, only 18.7% have a university certificate, diploma, or degree at a bachelor's level or above, compared to 29.6% of all Montrealers. The unemployment rates of the largest three groups range from 12.0% to 14.4%, well above the Montreal unemployment rate of 7.7%. This may account for the lower than average income ranges for the three largest groups (\$27 385 to \$29 324) and median ranges of income from (\$21 301 to \$25 700) that the three largest Anglo-Caribbean groups experience compared to the Montreal population. Finally, the Anglo-Caribbean population has either comparable or higher rates of low income (17.6% for Trinidadians and Tobagonians; 25.5% for Barbadians; 28.3% for Jamaicans) as compared to the Montreal population (17.7%). These figures are independent of a deeper analysis based on demographic characteristics would might affect socio-economic outcomes.

<sup>51</sup> Includes aggregated data of the largest three Anglo-Caribbean groups in which data were available; Jamaican, Barbadian, and Trinidadian & Tobagonian.

## 2.4. Sample Participants

The data for this study are drawn from my fieldwork conducted in Montreal, Quebec, Canada from May 2013 to April 2014. The principle data are 56 semi-structured interviews I conducted with a sample of second-generation immigrants living in and around Montreal at the time of the interview. As a whole, the sample included 30 female-identified participants and 26 male-identified participants. The age of participants ranged from 18 to 35 years with an average age 26.8 years of age. Relatively equal numbers of interviews were conducted with each of the four ancestral groups, with 15 Haitian participants, 13 Vietnamese participants, 13 Anglo-Caribbean participants, and 15 Filipino participants. Almost all of the participants were born in Quebec, with only 4 participants being born outside of the country, but arriving to the province by 6 years of age.

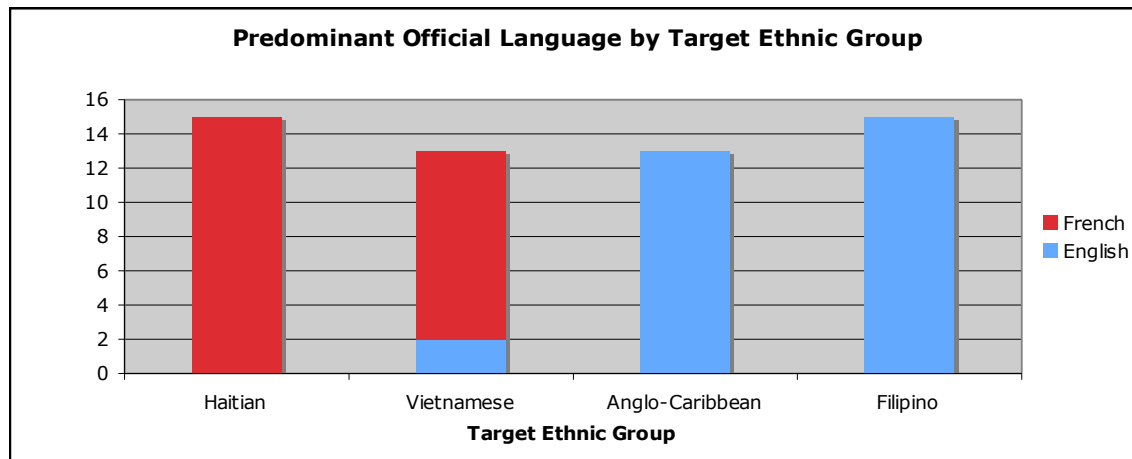
**Table 13: Average age and gender, by participants' parents' country of origin**

	<b>Average Age (years)</b>	<b># Female</b>	<b># Male</b>	<b>Total</b>
Haiti	26.3	6	9	15
Vietnam	29.5	8	5	13
Anglo-Caribbean	27.1	7	6	13
Philippines	24.8	9	6	15
<b>Total</b>	<b>26.8</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>56</b>

On the two salient characteristics of race and language, the research participants are generally representative of their larger ethnic groups' general population in Montreal. The predominant official languages of the sample generally fall along the expected linguistic lines, with Haitian and Vietnamese participants being predominantly Francophone, while the Anglo-Caribbean and Filipinos are predominantly Anglophone. The only exceptions are two Vietnamese participants who defined themselves as more Anglophone than Francophone. A table of participants listed by their pseudonym, with accompanying demographic data such as age, gender, whether they

were born in Quebec or their age of arrival to Quebec, and predominant official language, are provided in Appendix AA.

**Figure 9: Predominant Official Language, by Target Ethnic Group**



Regarding racial categories, there are some notable variances within the sample groups, with at least four participants self-identifying as mixed race, and at least two of the Anglo-Caribbeans did not identify themselves as Black, but rather from a predominantly South-Asian Caribbean ancestral background. I did not ask participants to identify their race or racial category, however this information came to light during the interview process. Furthermore, at least two people identified themselves as ethnically Chinese, but their parents were from Vietnam.

## **2.5. Recruitment**

Participants were recruited through a number of different channels, including outreach through a number of community organisations or groups, some ethnic group specific, but some that serve the general public. Examples include research and art networks, sports leagues, community centres, and neighbourhood non-profit organisations<sup>52</sup>. Finding second generation immigrant participants proved to be difficult, as organisations that work on migration issues have mainly a

<sup>52</sup> I did not ask for permission to name the organisations, and will not do so, as the target population generally consisted of a minority within many organisations, and they may be easily identified if the organisations were named.

first generation immigrant clientele based on legal, economic, and social needs. Ethnic specific organisations also tended to be mainly first generation immigrants, and those with children, often had children younger than 18, of which I did not have ethical approval to interview.

To aid in recruitment, I attended a number of community events in an attempt to present my research and gain direct and indirect contacts with my target population. These events proved useful as contacts were made with key informants who were able to connect me with leaders in organisations who work with the target population, or directly with participants who agreed to be interviewed. Some examples of key informants include community organisers, a Member of Parliament, Directors or Presidents of community groups, researchers, and university and college instructors, and other professionals who had access to these populations<sup>53</sup>.

In addition, some participants were found by word of mouth through student groups, listserves or facebook groups that dealt directly with networks of specific ethnic groups or more broadly people of colour. While my ethics approval did not permit me to post a call for research participants independently through my own social media accounts, I was able to contact administrators or key informants who were helpful in posting my research needs on my behalf, and instructing interested parties to contact me directly via email or telephone.

Finally, some participants were recruited through a method of snowball sampling in which people who already participated in my research would refer friends or acquaintances that would be eligible and interested in participating. A total of 8 participants of the sample of 56 were recruited through this method. The use of key informants with personal and professional

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<sup>53</sup> Again, I did not seek permission to name these key informants, as it may identify their organisations and potentially some sample participants.

networks of second generation immigrants and snowball sampling was a necessary way to access this population who do not have traditional organisations targeting their needs.

## **2.6. Interviews**

Interviews were conducted in either French or English, based on the preferred stated language of the participant. My fluency in both languages allowed me to conduct all interviews. Of the total 56 interviews, 36 were completed in English, while 20 were completed in French. However, a total of 6 participants chose to have their interviews conducted in English when their predominant official language was French. This was done always at the preference of the participant, who was usually working, studying, or planning to study predominantly in English at the time of the interview. It should however be mentioned that all participants were to some degree bilingual, with their knowledge of the other official language allowing almost all of the participants to work and function daily in both languages, despite if they actually did so. Given this, in all of the interviews at one time or another, all participants spoke at least a few words of the other official language in which the interview was being conducted.

Interviews followed a semi-structured format and were often based on the participants' responses to a preliminary questionnaire that was distributed by email to them and completed prior to the interview in either hardcopy or electronic format. The interviews provided an opportunity for respondents to elaborate or explain their selections. The questionnaire and the interview guide are provided in Appendix DD and CC respectively.

Interviews took place in a number of settings, at the preference of the participants. I offered a quiet space at McGill University to meet if the participant preferred, and while many took

advantage of this, I also met participants in their workplaces, their homes, or in neighbourhood cafes or restaurants. In addition, I also met two participants at my home, as it was the most convenient location for them. All interviews were conducted face-to-face and lasted anywhere from approximately 50 to 120 minutes.

This research received ethical approval from the Research Ethics Board of McGill University. Participants volunteered their time and were not monetarily remunerated. Their participation required informed consent (see Appendix BB and DD) and participants were assigned a pseudonym and all other names they may mention have also been altered for the purposes of this research, in order to maintain anonymity and confidentiality.

## **2.7. Analysis**

Interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed in their original languages primarily by two research assistants<sup>54</sup>, one who worked with the English interviews and one who transcribed the French interviews. Since all interviews contained words or phrases in the other official language as well, it was necessary for the research assistants to have knowledge of both languages and Québécois slang that was often used by participants during interviews. Therefore, both research assistants spoke both English and French, and were familiar with Québécois slang due to their education in the French Québécois education system.

Coding of original transcripts was done with the help of qualitative data analysis software, MAXQDA. Analysis was done on the transcripts in their original languages, and quotes are presented in the language in which the interview took place. Translations of French excerpts are my own, and any errors in the interpretation from written French to English are my own.

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<sup>54</sup> Two additional research assistants completed one French interview transcription each.

Initially, broad codes that were relevant to the primary focus of the study were used, such as those related to Québécois or Canadian identity, and discrimination and racism. Upon further readings of the transcripts, these larger codes were broken down to account for the multiple ways that participants negotiated these identities. These larger themes are what account for the organisation of the chapters in this dissertation, with the subsections emerging from the subsequent coding processes.

In the following five empirical chapters, the narratives of the complex process of negotiation of host national identities are presented along certain themes. However, these themes do not necessarily emerge in isolation, but rather various, often contradictory and paradoxical themes are present in the narratives, both across and within groups, as well as within individuals. Because of this complexity in the data, it became apparent that the process of negotiation is more accurately represented with the qualitative data, rather than the quantitative data.

The number of participants that identify with a certain host identity becomes empirically incomparable once the motivations for identification are revealed. For example, a participant who identifies as Québécois because of their feelings of cultural immersion (chapter 4) versus another who identifies in spite of their feelings of exclusion (chapter 5), reveal completely different aspects of the process of negotiation and these aspects can exist within one individual as well as across groups. Rather than focusing on “how many” identify with certain identities or not, this dissertation instead focuses on the “why” people identify. This focus is more effective



at evaluating the potential success of the civic top-down policies in both Quebec and Canada, and will provide insight on where potential barriers to inclusion remain.

As such, in the remainder of this dissertation, a quantification of the themes is not present. This is in keeping with the focus on the *process* of negotiation of host national identities among the second generation, which will be revealed as just that; a dynamic process within individuals, as well as within and across groups.

## Darlène: A ‘True’ Québécois

I feel terrible. I run frantically out of the otherwise empty nook at the back of the café to grab some napkins. When I return to Darlène, she is still crying. She takes the handful of loose napkins and is very thankful for my gesture, but at the same time apologetic and embarrassed that she has become so emotional. I find it difficult to comfort her, as the words do not instinctively roll off my tongue in French. I am preoccupied as I desperately try to remember how I said I would deal with such a situation in my ethics application. She is adamant we press on and is trying to talk through her choking tears. Insistently I stop the digital recorder, only thirteen minutes into the interview.

Despite our rough beginning, after a short debrief, Darlène consents to continuing our interview. Darlène is a 26-year old woman who was born and raised on the island of Montreal. Her mother is from Haiti originally, but arrived to Canada with her family when she was just a child. Darlène is one of a few mixed race people I interviewed.

Darlène later goes on to describe herself as Québécois through and through. French, rather Québécois French, is her *langue de coeur* (language of the heart), and English is only used when completely necessary. She was born in Quebec and grew up immersed in the Québécois culture. She describes her love and appreciation for many aspects of Québécois culture, and mentions by name, filmmakers (Xavier Dolan, Micheline Lanctôt), musicians (Alex Nevsky, Dumas, Fanny Bloom, Robert Charlebois, Ariane Moffatt) and writers (Stéphane Dompierre) whom she is a fan. She revels in some of the traditions of the province, such as going to the *cabane à sucre* (sugar shack) and the *bouffe de terroir* (local food). Despite this adoration for the “home-grown”,

Darlène is not as enthusiastic about what she describes has become the mainstream Quebec culture, such as the *bouffe de casse-croute* (diner food) or some of the popular pop music that has come out of the reality television singing competition *Star Académie* (Star Academy) or play on the CKOI, a French-language Top-40 radio station in Montreal.

In addition to the tangible aspects of Québécois culture, Darlène views the intangible cultural characteristics in herself as well.

*« Je suis Québécoise, mais j'ai un «flow» et un «swag» d'haïtienne. J'ai un corps d'haïtienne, mais mes valeurs, mon instinct, mes réflexions, mes décisions sont tout le temps plus portés vers quelque chose de québécois »*

(I am Québécois, but I have a “flow” and a “swag” of a Haitian. I have a Haitian body, but my values, my instincts, my reflections, my decisions are all the time more from something Québécois).

She sees a distinct Québécois way of life, where the values and way of thinking is different from not only her Haitian side, but as the interview continues, also from a Canadian perspective.

Darlène's mind, in contrast to her “Haitian body” is solely Québécois and she had always thought of herself as otherwise indistinguishable from her Québécois cohorts.

While she is a proud Québécois, she is also a Montrealer. She compares life in Montreal to life in Quebec City, the second largest city in the province of Quebec, a place where she has spent some time during her post-secondary education.

*« Comme à Québec, c'est ça qu'il manque. Québec est straight, pour moi, est platte parce qu'il manque de la culture, il manque une diversité culturelle et le côté de la dualité des langues, ça manque. Ici, tu as tout. Tu peux te perdre à Côte-des-Neiges et tu peux aller manger indien. La Petite Italie. Il y a tout. Le marché Jean-Talon. Mais à Québec, t'as une direction, t'as un marché. La culture fait la vie, fait la diversité, et la culture fait aussi que le Québec. Le fait qu'il soit éclaté comme ça, c'est ça qui est le fun. »*

(“Like in Quebec City, this is missing. Quebec is straight, for me, is boring because it is missing the culture, it is missing cultural diversity and the duality of language aspect, this is missing. Here, you have it all. You can get yourself lost in Côte-des-Neiges and you can go eat Indian

food. Little Italy. There is everything. The Jean-Talon market. But in Quebec City, you have one direction, you have one market. The culture makes life, makes diversity, and the culture also makes Quebec. The fact that it is eclectic like this, it's this that is fun.”)

Her attachment and affinity to Montreal is based not only on the amenities that living in a large metropolitan provides, but Montreal is also representative of cultural diversity and an English-French bilingualism that she believes is “fun” and breathes life into Quebec. Her perspectives of Quebec as a whole are based on those observations and the life she lives in Montreal, as distinct from that of the regions.

Darlène is not devoid of an immigrant ethnic identity either, and admits that she continues to struggle with the balance of her “two ethnicities”; namely her “Haitian body” and her Québécois mind. However it is not this struggle that has caused such an emotional outpouring this day in the café with virtually a complete stranger. Rather it is a realisation that that even though she feels Québécois and identifies as such, she herself has unknowingly set barriers and limitations on who can and is included in that definition, and that this is a common notion she recognises may be more widespread in Quebec than she had anticipated.

*« C'est ça que je trouvais un peu raciste, un peu discriminatoire. C'est comme tous les... c'est comme, là, je voyais mon amie [une immigrante récente de Belgique] et je me dis «ok, tu vis, tu travailles ici...» mais dans ma tête, elle ne sera jamais Québécoise parce que.... mais même si elle va avoir ses papiers, est-ce que tu peux devenir Québécois? Est-ce que quand tu veux immigrer... ou est-ce que... et ma mère, elle, est arrivée très tôt ici et elle est Québécoise, mais dans ma tête à moi, elle ne le sera jamais. Mais pourtant, elle, on dirait que c'est son but... qu'elle ne dit pas, mais ça fait longtemps qu'elle vit d'une certaine façon beaucoup plus à la «québécoise» qu'à l'haïtienne. C'est comme... dans ma tête à moi, elle ne sera jamais vraiment Québécoise, mais elle, c'est ça qu'elle veut ».*

(“It's this that I find a bit racist, a bit discriminatory. It's like all that...it's like...I see my friend [a recent immigrant from Belgium] and I say to myself “ok, you live, you work here”, but in my head, she will never be Québécois because...but even if she has her papers, can you become Québécois? Is it when you want to immigrate...or is it...and my mother, she arrived very early here and she is Québécois, but in my head, to me, she will never be. But yet she, it seems like it's the goal...but she doesn't say that, but it's been a long time that she has lived a certain way, much more Québécois than Haitian. It's like...in my head, to me, she will never be Québécois, but she, it's what she wants”).

Despite her outward “civic” definition of being Québécois, where living and working in the province are strong criteria, Darlène finds herself shocked to realise that she truly does not think like this. But rather, in her opinion, she and many other Québécois have maintained an exclusive definition of who can be Québécois. Her disappointment and regret at this realisation has upset her to the point of tears, as she did not anticipate the society that she loves, appreciates and identifies with, may not actually see her mother, or perhaps even herself, as part of it. Despite her feelings of attachment and solidarity with Quebec, her “Haitian body”, the fact that she looks physically different or because she is the child of an immigrant, her and others like her, may be denied membership in this community she holds so close to her heart. Not only by the larger community, but also, as she realised in this moment, by herself.

Despite her feelings of attachment and solidarity with Quebec, Darlène finds herself disappointed and sad that there may be societal limitations on who can be Québécois, which she has herself internalised. If she can question the membership of her friend and mother as Québécois, what is preventing others from doing so, as well as questioning her membership and identity as Québécois?

While not all of my research participants identifies as much with Quebec as Darlène does, nor are they as struck by their own opinions as she was, her understanding of who is a Québécois is representative of many themes drawn out of my interviews with second generation immigrants in Montreal. These themes are representative of a narrative of the different ways that second generation immigrants in Montreal negotiate their Québécois and Canadian identity.

The next three chapters will explore in-depth the ways that Québécois identity is negotiated. Chapter 3 looks at the various civic ways that second generation immigrants use to negotiate their Quebec identity, including how they feel about specific public policies, institutions, and discourses that they believe are often at the forefront in the Quebec context. Chapter 4 explores the more cultural aspects of Québécois society that participants use in their negotiation of their identity as well as the metropolitan context of Montreal and how it influences the how second generation immigrants may identify as Québécois. Chapter 5 presents a discourse of exclusion based on the perceived essentialist definition of being Québécois and how second generation immigrants negotiate this definition using strategies of disidentification. Chapter 6 describes the perceptions of Canadian identity for second generation immigrants living in the Quebec context. Chapter 7 explores these second generation immigrants' experiences and perceptions of discrimination and racism in Quebec and Canadian society, and how this may influence their negotiation of these potential national identities. Finally, the conclusion provides a summary of findings, main contributions, as well as discusses the limitations and implications for further research.

### **3. The Civic and the Political Québécois Identity**

In chapter 1, the unique political context of the province of Quebec is presented. The top-down approach of the Quebec government in defining Québécois citizenship is one that is rooted in territory and civic characteristics. More specifically, citizens of Quebec are defined as those people who live in the territory and ascribe to a number of civic values, such as French as the common public language, a secular state, and the equality between men and women. This chapter will look at how second generation immigrants negotiate Québécois identity by exploring their understandings of civic and political life in Quebec and how they believe their values may or may not match up with that of the larger Québécois community.

#### **3.1. *The Civic Quebecois***

The civic view of Québécois identity is one where being Québécois is defined by voluntary and accessible characteristics, such as working, paying taxes, voting, and actively participating in the community. What is considered active participation differs among participants, but this pathway to identification is based on characteristics that are available to most, including second generation immigrants. From this perspective, language is viewed as a civic quality, as participants do not attach additional requirements to it, such as a fluency, accent, or having it as a maternal language, which can result in exclusion of many immigrants and second generation immigrants. The alternate view of language as exclusionary will be discussed in a subsequent chapter (section 5.1). However, just as Darlène realised, there are often limitations on this civic definition, and many participants believed similarly that being born and raised in Quebec was a necessity for Quebec membership, thereby often excluding their immigrant parents.

Thinking about Québécois identity through a civic lens borrows from the classic dichotomy of civic versus ethnic nationalism or citizenship. Zubrzycki (2002) defines civic nationalism as a nation with a common political space, with a defined set of institutions, values, and political projects. The nation avoids the primordial assumption, and is viewed as a political construct with specified principles or values of belonging. In opposition, ethnic nationalism takes on a primordial identity where a nation is defined as a community of common descent which cannot be acquired, nor escaped (pp. 278-279). However, there has been a global move by contemporary liberal states to channel their citizenship towards a civic designation that is defined as more inclusive and appears consistent with the social democratic values of diversity and human rights. As reviewed in chapter 1, Quebec could arguably be taking this approach with a defined set of civic values that help guide interactions between citizens.

Some participants certainly agree with a strict civic designation, such as Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, who says a Québécois is « *quelqu'un qui vit, qui travaille au Québec et qui paie ses impôts ici, et qui a le droit de vote* » (“someone who lives, who works in Quebec at who pays their taxes here, and who has the right to vote”).

Lise defines specific characteristics which implicate oneself in the Québécois society, and all of which can be acquired or achieved. She defines a quintessentially civic definition of what it means to be a Québécois, based on political constructs, such as living and working within a given territory, the requirement of paying taxes that contributes to physical and social infrastructure, as well as the right to vote, which can be acquired only by citizenship to Canada,



and by virtue, Quebec. In her opinion, one does not actually have to vote, but rather should at least hold the right to do so.

Similarly, Maude a 33 year-old child of Vietnamese immigrants, believes that

*« Pour être une vraie Québécoise, pour moi, c'est, oui, vivre et travailler, comme ça tu t'imprègnes de tous les référents du pays. Ça te permet d'avoir un style de vie, de voir comment la société fonctionne, bouge, interagit entre elle. Donc, oui, pour être une vrai Québécoise, je trouve ça important d'y vivre et d'y travailler. Je ne pense pas que le Français qui rêve de venir au Québec, mais qui n'a jamais vécu au Québec, puisse se considérer comme un Québécois. Je trouve ça important de vivre activement dans une société pour pouvoir se considérer comme un membre actif et participant de cette société. »*

(“To be a true Québécois, for me, it's, yes, to live and to work, like this you become involved in all the referents of the country. This permits you to have a lifestyle, to see how the society functions, move, interact with it. So, yes, to be a true Québécois, I find it's important to live here and to work here. I don't think that the Frenchman who dreams of coming to Quebec, but who has never lived in Quebec can consider himself a Québécois. I find that it is important to live actively in a society to be able to consider yourself like an active member and participant in this society.”)

Expanding on what Lise suggested, Maude believes that living and working here will lead to a better understanding and interaction with larger society. It is this *active* element that she believes will help people identify with being Québécois. In addition to participating in the civic constructs in society, there is also an element of participating in the cultural activities. The cultural aspects of Québécois society are seen as important for integration and identification, but they are not seen as to be in conflict with other ways of living. Bernadette, a 31 year-old from the Vietnamese target group, says

*« C'est important d'habiter ou d'avoir habité au Québec. De participer dans les activités culturelles, ça fait partie de...de s'intéresser au moins à la culture québécoise. Parler la langue française. S'intéresser aussi à la région, je crois...la spécificité de la région, les gens qui y habitent et tout ça. »*

(“It is important to live or to have lived in Quebec. To participate in the cultural activities, that is part of...to be interested at least in the Québécois culture. To speak the French language. To be interested as well in the regions, I believe. The specificity of the region, the people who live here and all that.”)

At minimum, Bernadette thinks that having an interest in the culture is necessary, which is a direct result of living and working in the province. It will help to understand the people and the different parts that make up the province. Annick, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant believes that a Québécois is someone who gets to know numerous cultures of Quebec, not just the dominant one. She believes this interaction shows a desire to actively participate in society by trying to be a part of it. In her opinion, an active effort must be made to meet different kinds of Québécois and speak the language.

“...make an effort to integrate [into] the society you’re living in right now, that can make you a Quebec citizen for me, more than just pay[ing] taxes... because if you pay taxes because you live there, you don’t have the choice. But when you go home, you talk your mother tongue, and you don’t try to integrate with other Quebec people, or other...you don’t make friends that are not outside of your cultural circle, that’s not being a Quebecer for me. I feel like you’re not integrating, you’re not making the effort to really be a part of the society... We all came from other places, so I feel like interacting with different people, learning the official language of the place, I feel like that’s really integrating the society and making an effort to be a part of it.”

Language is a common topic when discussing what defines a Québécois. Language is discussed in a subsequent chapter (section 5.1) as a tool to exclude many second generation immigrants, but there are also perceptions of language from a more civic perspective. Considering language a civic characteristic would mean that it does not need to be one’s maternal language, or that one has to be fluid in it, but rather language is viewed as an inclusive tool that allows people to participate in society, whether it is the political, cultural, or social realm, because they will be able to communicate and understand their co-citizens. Annick views language as a gateway to participating in society, and Immanuel and Mary, two Filipino second generation youth has similar views about the language requirement in order to be considered Québécois.

“...live in Quebec, being able to speak some sort of French. For me, that’s considered as a Québécois..”

- Immanuel, a 19-year old Filipino second generation immigrant

“Speak French of some sort, whether it’s level 1, 2, 3 or whatever French, that makes you Québécois.”

- Mary, a 22 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

While they believe that French is a requirement, they do not necessarily require a specific level of French, or a specific “sort” or accent. Karine echoes these comments by saying « *T’es pas obligé de le parler [français] de manière fluide, mais il faut que tu aies un minimum d’intérêt.* » (“You are not obliged to speak [French] in a fluid manner, but it’s necessary that you have a minimum of interest.”). She further emphasizes that language is acquirable and that it is a pathway to participation and identification. The 23 year-old second generation Vietnamese says:

*« C’est sûr que la langue va aider à l’identification culturelle, mais si tu n’as pas la langue, c’est une barrière, mais ça n’empêche pas nécessairement. Parce que le fait de ne pas parler la langue, ça ne veut pas dire que tu ne vas pas l’apprendre, non? Mon copain il parle anglais et turc, mais là, il est au Québec et il est comme «le français, j’ai envie de l’apprendre.» Ça, c’est un pas vers l’obtention de l’identité d’ici parce qu’il montre de l’intérêt pour la culture du Québec. Ce n’est pas obligé d’être la langue en premier. Comme si tu t’identifies par d’autres choses au Québec, la langue vient ensuite parce que c’est un processus. C’est correct. »*

(“For sure the language is going to help with cultural identification, but if you don’t have the language, it is a barrier, but it doesn’t necessarily prevent it. Because the fact that you don’t speak the language, this does not mean that you are not going to learn it, no? My boyfriend, he speaks English and Turkish, but he is in Quebec and he is like ‘French, I want to learn it.’ This, it is a path to obtaining the Quebec identity because it shows an interest in the culture of Quebec. It is not necessary to be your first language. Like if you identify with the other things in Quebec, the language will come after because it is a process. It’s ok.”)

It does not need to be someone’s maternal language, and for Karine, they at minimum should show an interest in learning French, as she views it as part of the culture of Quebec. Garrett does not necessarily view it as part of the culture, but rather as a result of being raised in Quebec. Language is not his only requirement, but he believes at minimum a base-level knowledge should be acquired.

“...we just have to be born here, and to at least know and speak a bit of French. Even at that... I mean the French is really not the biggest thing, but if you’re born here, you most likely know how to speak French, I would think so, at least know how to speak French or understand it, not like completely oblivious. Cause in school, you have no choice but to learn French and if your parents came from out the country, you have to go to French school.”

While the French language is identified as a strong characteristic defining Quebec, participants also consider English-French bilingualism an important characteristic. Despite that Quebec is officially a unilingual province, Montreal often functions as a bilingual (or multilingual) city, with many boroughs and provincial services offering services in English.

“I don’t know maybe it’s ridiculous to say those were obvious but like you know live in Quebec and follow the Quebec laws, yea I mean, otherwise why am I here? But then I put bilingualism as a huge thing, because I think to reject one or the other, like I live in Quebec but I’m not French, or I live in Quebec but I’m not gonna learn English, it’s kind of again being closed off to what I believe to be equal parts of an identity.”

Evelyn, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant has common civic requirements such as living in Quebec and following the laws, but she also views both English and French as part of the rich history of Quebec and believes that being bilingual demonstrates respect for both of these sides. This understanding may be in part due to a Montreal-centric view, which is discussed more at length below (section 4.2). Gabriel, a 20 year-old Filipino cohort also describes a bilingual “feel” to Quebec and views this as a positive characteristic about Quebec.

“I do consider myself to be slightly Québécois, like I said, but I’m not white. I guess being able to talk English and French is sort of [the] feel of Quebec, despite being... still French right, the official language? There’s a lot of English speakers, and that’s one of the great things about Quebec. The ability to speak both.”

While French is seen as a requirement by Gérald, the 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant “ideally” would like Québécois to mean bilingual.

*« On ne peut pas être vraiment Québécois si on ne parle pas français, mais idéalement, le Québécois devrait parler le français et anglais ou du moins, se faire comprendre dans les deux langues. »*

(“You can not really be Quebecois if you do not speak French, but ideally, the Quebecois should speak French and English or at least be understood in the two languages.”)

The promotion of bilingualism or multilingualism can be viewed as the more liberally democratic choice in the promotion of civic nationalism (Laitin, 2007). Not only does it recognise the language rights of a substantial minority within Quebec, but it also has the potential to provide more choice based on personal interests. None of these participants are advocating against learning French, as they recognise the value that it has for participating in society, but rather they would like to promote bi or multilingualism.

Finally, within the civic Québécois perspective is viewing attachment to and identification as Québécois as based solely on the being born in the geographical area. While this quality allows participants to include themselves in the definition of who is Quebecois, it in fact treads into territory that excludes new immigrants and even their parents who may have been here for a many years. This conflict can be seen below.

Kurt, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant says that his only attachment to the Québécois identity is the fact that he is born here. He otherwise does not identify very strongly as Québécois.

“I sort of identify myself as a Québécois just for the fact that I was born here, so that’d be the only thing, right?”

Similarly, Hector, a 19 year-old mixed-race Filipino second generation immigrant says:

“Like I said before, talking about Quebecer, to me is just geographical representations of I highly see myself as a Quebecer because I was born here. I am from here. For now, I don’t see a reason to move, so I see myself as part of this geographical location. When I talk about identifying myself as a Quebecer, that’s really what I mean.”

Hector only associates his personal identity with the land and the fact that he was born within that territory. He does not factor in any cultural aspects or sentimental attachments. Iven, a 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant agrees.

*« C'est vraiment comme le fait que je sois né ici. Lorsque j'ai vu identité québécoise, ce n'était pas par rapport nécessairement à tout ce qui est véhiculé [dans le questionnaire]. comme le fait que je sois né ici, je suis un Québécois, je suis un Canadien. C'est, comme je dis, je fonctionne plus avec mes valeurs...C'est vraiment plus mes valeurs comme l'amour, le partage, l'entraide et tout ça...Oui, je suis né ici. C'est pas une question identité à la culture, peu importe ce que les ancêtres ont fait. Moi, vraiment, je parle de qu'est-ce que je veux, à quoi j'aspire. »*

(“It is really the fact that I was born here. When I saw ‘Québécois identity’, it was not necessarily in relation to all that was conveyed [in the questionnaire], like the fact that I was born here, I am Québécois, I am Canadian. It’s, like I say, I operate more with my values...it’s really more my values of love, sharing, mutual aid and all that...yes, I was born here. It’s not about identity of culture, no matter what the ancestors did. Me, really, I am talking about what I want, and what I aspire to.”)

He explicitly says that his attachment, which he considered very strong, is not at all cultural, but that the fact that he was born here makes him Québécois<sup>55</sup>. Similarly, Hélène describes a civic definition of who is a Québécois, including both the Anglophone and the Francophone populations born in Quebec.

“It’s not just because you barely speak French that you’re not Quebecer. Cause I feel there’s this ideal with my French friends, that they feel the Anglophones don’t identify themselves Quebecer just because they don’t speak French. Which is not true, because my Anglophone friends would be like well ‘I’m Quebecer’, it’s just the fact that they don’t speak that much French. But a true Quebecer yeah, would be born and raised here, take on the culture or the ideas of it. For example... free healthcare for everybody, participate in voting...”

She defines culture via political constructs, and names the value of universal healthcare and civic participation as important qualities to being a Québécois. However, she maintains that birth within Quebec is also necessary. The idea that birthplace can and does exclude people from being considered Québécois is a diversion from the civic definition, and rather because a

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<sup>55</sup> In previous studies on second generation immigrant identity, authors have identified a subsection of informants that reject ethnic identities in favour of more holistic human identity (L.-J. Dorais, 2004; L. J. Dorais & Richard, 2007; Méthot, 1995). Of my participants, this was not a common sentiment, but could clearly be attributed to Iven who reiterated his commitment to his personal humanistic values, rather than anything attributed to ethnic or national identities.

birthplace cannot be acquired after the fact, falls into the category of an ethnic national definition. Kenneth also comes to the same conclusion. The 23 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant says:

“To be honest, it’s really because I’m born in Quebec. I’m Quebecer. Nothing really... culture wise, I know that... I don’t know much about Quebec, but I feel like I’m just Quebec, I don’t know how else to explain it... You’re born in Quebec. Your parents are also Québécois. Well, you don’t have to have parents that are Québécois, you can be born in Quebec but have family that’s... immigrant here...[My Parents] don’t speak French. They immigrated to Quebec. I feel like I’m more Québécois than my parents.”

His hesitance when defining if he could be included in who is considered a Québécois mirrors the internal conflict that Darlène experienced during our interview. She has a “feeling” that she is Québécois, but is well aware of the boundaries that others and even herself, place on the label. As it was for Darlène, it is difficult for Kenneth to consider his parents as Québécois. Just as language can be a tool for inclusion, the lack of particular language skills can also be a way to exclude. While Kenneth saw himself as a Québécois, and other children of immigrants like him, he did not have the same feelings in regards to his parents because they could not speak French.

Hélène has a change of heart in mid-thought during her interview when she realises that her definition may exclude some people. She says:

“Myself, I feel like it’s Quebecer to be born and raised here, but I mean, my parents came here, they live here, they pay tax, they vote, they see themselves as Quebecer too.”

We can see here that she is conflicted. She wants to be able to include her parents, but above she is well aware that her friends and society at large have an “ideal” and that many people fall out of this category. Sentiments like Hélène’s or Kenneth’s, where certain groups of people are excluded from being considered Québécois, or where there are different ‘types’ of Québécois, will be discussed further in chapter 5. That chapter will explore the conflict between personal

ideal definitions of the participants and also that of the state, with what participants believe is the common definition among the Québécois Francophone majority, which is further reproduced in political discourse and the media.

The Québécois national community defined within civic boundaries fell into three distinct narratives thus far. The first is through participating in cultural and civic life by which can be achieved by living and working in the province. This is facilitated by the second narrative, which concerns language as tool for facilitating exchange. Not only is some knowledge or interest in the French language required, but there is also appreciation and support for the duality of English-French bilingualism in Montreal. Finally, in line with the boundaries that the Quebec nation has established for defining the national community, Québécois identity has elements of territoriality, where the boundaries of the nation are defined by the boundaries of the province. However, this narrative also bleeds into a more ethnic definition whereby participants include the concept of birthright within the province, to distinguish who is Québécois. The remainder of this chapter will explore the various political institutions, policies, and discourses that are considered by second generation immigrants in their negotiation of Québécois identity.

### **3.2. *The Political***

Expanding on the civic definition of Québécois identity discussed above is the attachment to Quebec political institutions, policies, and discourses that are perceived to define Quebec. Among participants there is a strong attachment to the social democratic, bordering on “socialist” or “communal” values that are the basis of numerous Quebec political institutions, such as the education, the health care, and the universal childcare systems.



Because of the unique socio-political history of Quebec, one of the central features of Quebec's political arena is the various institutions and policies that promote and protect the use of the French language and Québécois culture in public spaces (see chapter 1). This includes the Charter of the French Language or Bill 101 which dictates the language of instruction and the language of industry signage among other things, the *Office québécois de la langue française* (OQLF) which is the institution which polices and enforces the various language laws, and linguistic criteria in immigration selection specific to the province of Quebec, to name a few. In addition, at the time of my field work, a number of specific policies were being debated in *Assemblée Nationale*, the Quebec legislature, regarding limiting access for Francophone students to English CEGEPs<sup>56</sup> and the secular charter<sup>57</sup> which would ban overt religious symbols from all jobs in the public sector, including colleges and universities, hospitals, and day cares.

While participants express empathy for the desire to protect and promote the use of the French language in Quebec, there is also a narrative of dislike for the methods used and to what measure these objectives are achieved, particularly at the expense of three characteristics that participants value in their vision of Quebec society. First, the focus on the promotion and protection of language and culture in Quebec is seen to be at the expense of the other social issues that are seen as equally or even more important, such as public services and maintaining infrastructure. Secondly, the focus on French language is perceived to be at the expense of other languages, particularly the promotion of English-French bilingualism or multilingualism, which they relate to upward mobility both for individuals and the society as a whole. Thirdly, the concentration on the protection of French language and Québécois culture is believed to be at the expense of

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<sup>56</sup> CEGEP stands for Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel and is a publicly pre-university college in the province of Quebec. Bill 14 in regards to CEGEPs, sought to have English CEGEPs with limited capacity to prioritize Anglophone student before considering Francophone students.

<sup>57</sup> See section 1.3.4 for more details

diversity, particularly targeting immigrant groups and religious minorities. This perceived xenophobia is not only identified through individual interactions, but also manifests itself in the media and policy discourse.

Similarly, while many are not proponents of sovereignty, many people can empathise with the reasons and rationale behind it. However, supporters and non-supporters are wary of two main issues. First, the economic uncertainty and the lack of details on what could be logistical, concern many participants. Secondly, many are concerned with the treatment and inclusion of minorities in the sovereignty movement, which makes them question their place in a sovereign Quebec, as either someone who falls into that category or someone who values the diversity that Quebec, and Montreal especially has to offer. Second generation immigrants interpret messages about the boundaries around Québécois identity from political institutions, policies, and discourse present in Quebec society and use these in their process of negotiation of Québécois identity.

### **3.2.1. Quebec as Leftist**

“I’m privileged to have free tuition fee, that’s what makes me Québécois. I’m serious [laughs].”

While Mary is exaggerating when she says “free”, she does profit from a very heavily subsidised tuition rate that allows her to attend CEGEP and receive a professional degree for mere hundreds of dollars a year, as opposed to thousands or possibly tens of thousands of dollars in the rest of Canada or the United States. While the fact that she was born in Quebec and can profit from Québécois student rates is one way that she is Québécois, her statement also demonstrates that this “privilege” is something that she values and attaches to. The fact that there is a heavy

subsidy in the first place and that it is a value of the society in which she lives in to provide affordable education, is something that makes her identify as Québécois.

An accessible education system is not the only institution in which second generation immigrants appreciate and attach to in Quebec society. Rather it is a representation of a larger political sentiment thought to be permeating through Quebec; one that is “socialist” and communally supportive, where the state provides public goods and services to its citizens that address inequalities that supports the whole of society.

When participants were asked what the characteristics are of Quebec that they find appealing, participants pointed to this overall dominant leftist or “socialist” political ideology present in Quebec, and name some of the institutions that they believe represent this sentiment, such as the education system and the health system.

*« Au Québec, les valeurs qui sont véhiculées, qui sont très bien acceptées, c'est le partage des biens communs, le socialisme, le syndicat. Ce n'est pas mauvais en soi. »*

(“In Quebec, the values that are conveyed, that are very well accepted, it's the sharing of well being, socialism, unions. It is not a bad thing.”)

- Dominique, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« J'aime aussi c'est que c'est collectif. C'est collectif. Ça c'est un changement majeur. Dans toute la société c'est collectif. On travaille tous. Par exemple, le système de santé... on travaille tous pour l'éducation. »*

(“I like as well that it's collective. It's collective. That is a major change. In all parts of society, it is collective. We all work. For example, the health care system, we all work for education.”)

- Olivier, a 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« Et aussi, j'aime bien au niveau de l'éducation, au niveau de la santé qui est une accessibilité pour tous. Je crois que ça, ça représente bien les Québécois et qu'on travaille très fort pour que toutes les personnes de toutes les classes, de toutes les couleurs, peu importe d'où tu viens, ton niveau de scolarité, on va essayer que tout le monde ait accès aux besoins primaires où aux besoins comme par exemple l'éducation et la santé. »*

(“I like as well the level of education, the level of health, that is accessible to everyone. I believe that this, this represents well the Québécois and that we work very hard for all the people of all

classes, of all colours, no matter where you come from, your level of education, we are going to try for everyone to have access to basic needs or needs such as education and health.”)

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Oui, la vision de la société, le rôle de la place de l'État de la société aussi. On paie comme beaucoup de taxes, beaucoup d'impôts, mais on s'attend aussi à recevoir des services qu'il n'y a pas forcément dans le reste du Canada comme l'éducation accessible, l'éducation postsecondaire et enseignements supérieurs. »*

(“The vision of society, the role of the state in society as well. We pay a lot in taxes, a lot of taxes, but we also expect to receive the services that there is not necessarily in the rest of Canada, like accessible education, post secondary education and higher education.”)

- Gilles, a 22 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

While a public health system is not unique to Quebec, even within Canada, the perspective of participants is that the vision of a communal Quebec is relative to their understandings of other jurisdictions they are familiar with, whether it is other parts of Canada, North America, or their parents' countries of origin.

“Healthcare. That's the best. That's the best thing that Canada, or Quebec has, it's the healthcare. Giving everyone a chance to stay healthy. So regardless if you're working at McDonald's, or whether you are a doctor or a lawyer, you all get the same healthcare. [...] Healthcare I think that's nice, because seeing how the U.S., how people are really sick and have to go to work, like knowing they have a disease and have no way of paying for it. I find that's so sad, 'cause it's just so much of the population working class can't get serviced.”

- Carly, a 19 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Il y avait des garderies qui a augmenté à sept dollars et au Québec, ça faisait un tollé, je m'en rappelle et au Canada c'était comme «franchement... c'est quoi l'affaire d'avoir des garderies... les femmes ont juste à rester à la maison...»*

(“There was the day care that was increased to seven dollars and in Quebec, this caused an outcry, I remember and in Canada it was like “really, what's all this business to have day cares, women just stay at home.”)

-Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« Oui... avoir l'assurance santé, avoir un système d'éducation, avoir des moyens pour pouvoir monter dans la société jusqu'à un certain degré, c'est très attirant. Je vais répondre à ta question de la manière la plus pragmatique possible. Ma mère est venue au Québec. Il y a quelque chose qui l'a attirée au Québec : c'est la possibilité d'avoir une vie meilleure. Ça c'est attirant. Tout le reste, que ce soit manger de la poutine, aller à la Saint-Jean, boire du sirop d'érable, ça c'est en deuxième lieu. Ça c'est vraiment comme... it's at the back of the track. C'est comme... it's cool et c'est cute... mais vraiment, ce qui est le plus attirant c'est la différence de niveau de vie entre ce qui est disponible entre certains pays du Sud et ce qui est disponible ici. »*

(“Yes, to have health insurance, to have an education system, to have the resources that can elevate in a society to a certain degree, that is attractive. I am going to respond to your question in the most pragmatic way possible. My mother, came to Quebec. There is something that attracted

her to Quebec. It is the possibility to have a better life. This is attractive. All the rest, whether eating poutine, going to Saint-Jean, drinking maple syrup, that is in second place. That's really like 'it's at the back of the track.' It's like, 'it's cool, it's cute', but really, what is the most attractive is the difference in the standard of living between what is available in certain countries in the global south and what is available here.”)

- Émile, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

While participants view the social welfare state as a mostly positive attribute, at least one participant points out that it can go too far at the expense of ignoring the public purse. Gérald, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Très progressiste en fait dans les valeurs politiques.... On est toujours très... assurance maladie, éducation gratuite, les frais de santé gratuits, les frais de bien-être social, etc. Très socialiste, finalement. Ce que je trouve bien en quelque part, mais il faut en même temps avoir une certaine réalité économique qui va avec ça à laquelle, là. [...] On a l'éducation presque gratuite ou presque payée à totalité par le gouvernement et là, il y a un nombre de débats de carrés rouges l'année passée qui voulaient l'éducation gratuite. Donc, après ça, l'autre étape c'est presque se demander simplement l'habitation gratuite et les frais alimentaires gratuits. Donc, je trouve qu'au Québec, on est très socialiste, mais peut-être un peu trop. »*

(“Very progressive in political values. We are always very...health insurance, free education, the cost of healthcare free, the cost of social well-being, etc. Very socialist, finally. It's this that I find good in part, but at the same time, we must have a certain economic reality to go with that. [...] We have nearly free education or nearly totally paid by the government, yet there are a number of red square debates last year who wanted free education. So after that, the next step is almost to ask for free accommodations, and free food costs. So, I find that in Quebec, we are very socialist, but maybe too much.”)

Like Mary, participants are grateful to be able to benefit from services that the state provides, whether it is accessible health care, affordable education, or publicly provided daycare that allows parents, particularly mothers, to return to work. However, appreciation for the political ideology and institutions does not necessarily mean that they identify as Québécois. For example, Carly and Olivier each claim a very weak Québécois identity, while the others who are quoted above report a relatively strong Québécois identity, including Gérald who has some critiques about Québécois socialist mentality. Whether it results in a strong or a weak Québécois identity, political institutions and the life that they can provide for in Quebec are involved in the negotiation of this identity. These considerations are part of the civic culture that second

generation immigrants look to when negotiating their own Québécois identity. In Quebec, there are a number of other dominant issues in the political landscape that take up space in the discourse that are part of the civic culture that second generation immigrants consider when negotiating their Québécois identity. Namely, the most important issues mentioned by participants were the promotion and protection of the French language, and the related issue of sovereignty.

### **3.2.2. Promoting and Protecting the French Language and Québécois Culture**

Participants, both Anglophone and Francophone, love the French language, are happy that they are able to speak French, and appreciate that French is part of their city, province, and country. Furthermore, they understand the history and the vulnerable position that Quebec is in, in regards to the minority status of French within Canada, and North America. In principle they support the protection and promotion of the French language and Québécois culture, however, it is often the methods and the resulting consequences that participants take issue with. Particularly, participants are opposed to the focus on the French language and Québécois culture at what they see as at the expense of other public services, at the expense of other languages, and at the expense of diversity.

Annick, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant describes her empathy for Québécois who she feels are unsure of the future of the French language in Quebec.

“I feel like Quebecers are not insecure but really protective of their heritage in terms of history, because Canada is a young country compared to Europe. For a long time, Quebec tried to be independent from Canada, so I feel like they’re insecure in terms of people coming here and speaking English most of the time. That’s why they’re trying to reinforce the laws about the language and everything. But you can see that as being insecure or being really protective of their culture, which is understanding [sic] because they’re surrounded with English provinces and English... you have the United States down there, and all provinces of Canada. I feel like that’s a

really good character trait for Quebecers, that they're really protective of what they really care about."

She sees a level of passion in the protection and promotion that she is able to respect and empathise with. She understands that Quebec is a minority French territory within an English nation, with an English superpower just south of the border, whose media and influence dominate in many domains in Canada and the world. She thinks that it's a noble pursuit to protect something that you feel so strongly about. For Hector, a 19 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant, the pride of the Québécois people is a pride for him as well, as he can appreciate the passion that is behind it.

"I guess they are proud of their culture. Anyone [who] is proud of their culture, I would support that. If you have a culture, support it, display it, be proud of it. Québécois certainly are proud of their culture. They feel like preserving it. They have a lot of pride, and that's something to be happy about, to be proud of."

Annick and Hector represent participants who are supportive of the passion and determination that Québécois have concerning the preservation of their language and culture in an increasingly globalised world, where English is the language of international business and affairs. As I present some of the reasons that participants do not appreciate the pursuit of this preservation, it will be clear that there is an internal conflict in terms of their empathy for the objective, and their belief that the means to the end is detrimental to an overall healthy and successful society.

#### **3.2.2.1. At the Expense of Other Issues**

The first reason that participants may disapprove of the governmental focus on preservation of language and culture is because it is seen to take away funds from other public services and take attention away from what some people view as the "real" issues.

*« J'aime pas le «caque caque » qui se brasse en ce moment. Il devrait plus focuser sur des vrais enjeux comme l'éducation, la santé avant d'amener un débat comme celui de la charte. Je trouve*

*que c'est un débat... pas nécessairement inutile... qui doit se faire parce qu'il y a tellement de communautés culturelles, mais ça ne serait pas une priorité dans mon gouvernement. »*

(“I do not like the [noisy debate] that is happening at this moment. It should be more focused on the real issues like education, health, before bringing a debate like the one of the Charter. I find that it is a debate...not necessarily useless, that which is needed because there are many cultural communities, but this is not a priority in my government.”)

Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant is particularly referring to the Charter which was marketed by the PQ as an expression of secular values and the equality between men and women, as an integral part of Québécois culture. It was critiqued for implicitly targeting non-Christian religious groups where visual markers such as Jewish yarmulkes, Sikh turbans, and Muslim veils were to be banned from any provincial public sector jobs, including but not exclusive to universities, hospitals, and daycares<sup>58</sup>. While she agrees that having a discussion about the place of cultural communities in the province is an important one, she does not see it as a priority, when “real” issues around education and healthcare remain. She did not specify what the “real” issues are, but others offered up issues in which they believe are more important than those that preserve and promote the Québécois language and culture.

Speaking about the French language, Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant says

“I think we just don't have to be angry about it all the time. It dominates the conversation a lot in the news and politics. Some signs being targeted - really? We are going to pay \$60,000 a year to language inspectors to shut down stores when we could be paying some more doctors? I think when you try to balance this issue over that issue - really? The letters are not big enough? Versus we have no paediatricians? That's what bothers me. I just think it is ridiculous when you think of it in relative terms of what's really needed in this province. Bridges are falling down, they are crashing on people, and the signs are too small? That hurts me. When you asked that question, I think the root of it is because I think there are other things we could be focusing on that affect other people. Like I couldn't find a paediatrician for my kid, and that bothered me a lot. I had to actually pay a private paediatrician, and that's huge. I follow the rules, I speak French. I feel like there are other things that should be taken care of first. The doctor situation is big.”

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<sup>58</sup> More about the Charter is in section 1.3.4.



The language inspectors that Abby mentions, refers to the *office québécois de la langue française* (OQLF) which is the governmental body that monitors and enforces the language laws in the province, such as those pertaining to public signage and materials distributed and used by the public, as well as the language of work. While the OQLF is an important institution that is meant to ensure that French is the common public language, Abby believes that the issue is frivolous given the other concerns she has. This may be particularly due to a number of issues in 2013 concerning the OQLF that gained both national and international attention.<sup>59</sup> She also referred to the state of disrepair that some of the public infrastructure is in, such as bridges and roads, should be addressed prior to what she sees as a minor issue, namely the prominence of the French language in signage.

For Abby, these issues should take precedent over those that appear to her as superficial. The lack of doctors and falling bridges can cost potential lives<sup>60</sup>. Potential lives of citizens like her, who “follow the rules” by “speaking French”. Nancy is a bit more vague, but echoes the concern that there are other more important issues. She also talks about infrastructure, the health care system, and education, but is more generally concerned with the way that the city is divided by language and culture issues, rather than united on issues that could improve life in the city for everyone.

“I just think that they’re focusing on things that don’t really matter. [...] Fix the potholes, you know. [...] The health system, I guess. I don’t know. Schools, I don’t know. Do stuff that improves the city, not... ever since this whole thing has been going on, everybody’s been fighting

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<sup>59</sup> Most notably was what was dubbed “PastaGate” in the English media, where a popular Italian restaurant and bar on Saint-Laurent was asked to remove Italian names from their French menus, such as pasta, antipasti, and calamari, in lieu of their French equivalents. Once the restaurant went public with what they believed was an abuse of power by the OQLF, other businesses went public with their requests from the OQLF, such as changing steak to bifteck on a cooks grocery list to covering up the English on/off on a hot water switch (CBC News, 2013b). The supposed PastaGate received international attention, and in the end the decision was reversed (CBC News, 2013a).

<sup>60</sup> On September 30<sup>th</sup>, 2006 a concrete overpass in Laval, a suburb of Montreal, collapsed killing 5 people, and injuring an additional six. An inquiry into the deadly collapse concluded that no one person was responsible, but rather a “chain of causes” spanning 35 years was to blame (CBC News, 2007a). This is not the only accident to occur due to faulty infrastructure, as in 2011 a 15-metre slab of concrete fell from in a Montreal tunnel. Luckily, no one was injured (CBC News, 2011).

with Anglophones. ‘Oh you don’t speak French, I’m not gonna talk to you. I’m not gonna serve you because you don’t, you’re an immigrant’ or stuff like that.”

Nancy was educated in French, speaks French well, and works in a bilingual environment, but is predominantly Anglophone. Nonetheless, her parents have always had working class jobs in Canada, and have never quite improved their French language skills. She has seen them be denied service and treated poorly because they struggle in French, and these experiences have certainly informed her opinion of not only the governmental focus on language and culture, but the consequential expectations of the Québécois citizenry that her parents have had negative interactions with. These incidents of perceived discrimination will be addressed in more detail in a chapter 7.

Lise finds that the focus on acquiring the language and culture is at the expense of the socio-economic integration of immigrants.

*« Parce que je trouve lorsqu'on parle d'intégration, une des choses qu'on mentionne beaucoup c'est la culture et la langue, mais... une des choses que pour moi je trouve les plus importantes... pour se sentir vraiment partie prenante d'une société ça doit passer par la job. Ça doit passer par le fait d'avoir un emploi. [...] Souvent, dans les discours.... J'ai beau m'identifié comme nationaliste et souverainiste, mais dans les discours du Parti québécois en particulier, ce que je trouve dommage c'est justement qu'ils insistent tellement sur la langue et sur la culture à acquérir, au lieu d'aller vers l'emploi »*

(“Because I find when we talk about integration, one the of the things that we mention a lot is the culture and the language, but...one of the things that for me I find the most important...for feeling really involved in involved in society, this must happen through a job. It must happen through having a job. [...] Often, in the discourse...I have identified myself as a nationalist and a sovereigntist, but in the discourse of the *Parti Québécois* in particular, I find it a shame that they insist so much on acquiring the language and the culture, instead of going into employment.”)

She particularly roots this problem in the discourse of the *Parti Québécois (PQ)*, who at the time of our interview was the party that formed the provincial government. Lise is generally a supporter of the PQ because of their nationalist agenda, but takes issue with the way in which they pursue it, namely their insistence on acquisition of language and culture rather than focusing

on job acquisition. If the government were to focus more on the socio-economic integration, she believes that the interactions at work with other Québécois would certainly aid in this pursuit of linguistic and cultural acquisition. In addition, this interaction will build understanding for other cultures among the Québécois, which could lead to less conflict and division.

Lise is not the only person who targets the policies of the PQ; Imelda believes that the PQ generally would like to eliminate English language education in favour of French language education. She believes that this is not the way to solve this problem, but rather more money should be infused into the education system, rather than eliminating the competition.

*« Il me semble que c'est Pauline Marois qui voulait enlever les cours d'anglais en disant que la langue française était en train de se détériorer. En enlevant les cours de langue anglaise, ça ne va pas, en tout cas, pour moi, je ne crois pas que ça va aider nécessairement à améliorer la langue française. Pour moi, je trouve que la richesse qu'on a ici, c'est d'apprendre plusieurs langues et ces langues nous permettent de voyager, d'apprendre sur d'autres cultures, d'apprendre d'où vient l'histoire et la culture des autres pays également. Ce n'est pas en enlevant d'autres langues que le français va être meilleur. Mets plus d'argent dans l'éducation, des enseignants, donne plus de fonds au niveau du cours en tant que tel... c'est ça le problème. C'est pas d'éliminer d'autres langues qui va faire que ce sera mieux. »*

(It seems to me that it is Pauline Marois who wanted to take out the English courses and said that the French language was in the process of deteriorating. To get rid of the English language courses, this is not going to, in any case, for me, I do not believe that it is going to necessarily help ameliorate the French language. For me, I find that the richness that we have here, it is to learn many languages and these languages permit us to travel, to learn about other cultures, to learn where the history of the culture of other countries as well. It is not in getting rid of other languages that French will be better. Put more money in education, in teaching, give more money to courses, this is the problem. It is not to eliminate other languages that is going to make it better.”)

Imelda uses a hyperbolic statement to refer the PQ proposed Bill 14 that intended to partially extend the requirement of French language education requirement that is laid out in Bill 101 to the level of CEGEPs, by moving francophones down the list of priority for English language CEGEPs. Pauline Marois maintained that Francophone students would still be able to learn English, but through English courses in French CEGEPs, rather than attending an English institution. While the PQ was not eliminating English courses, Imelda interpreted Bill 14 as a

step in that direction, in which case, she did not see this as helpful for promoting the French language, but rather more money should be directed towards French language education.

Again, education policies are mentioned as another issue that should take precedence over that those related to language and culture dissemination that continue to dominate the daily discourse in Quebec. This section has presented the opinion of second generation immigrants that despite their love and appreciation of the French language, and their support for the promotion of it, they believe that it should not be at the expense of what they perceive as more pertinent issues, such as health, education, infrastructure, and the economy. These sentiments are part of the negotiation process when second generation immigrants consider what aspects of Québécois identity they value and can attach to. The next section will explore the value of bilingualism and multilingualism that second generation immigrants perceive as in conflict with values they often associate with Québécois identity.

The method of combating the loss of the French language with the elimination of the English or other languages is the second central reason that participants believe the focus on the French language and culture promotion and preservation is detrimental. Not only does it take away from other essential services as discussed in the section above, it is often viewed as at the expense of promoting additional languages, particularly English, which are important in this globalised economy where English is considered an international language. Promoting French at the expense of bilingualism or multilingualism is thought to be a policy that hinders the competitiveness of the Quebec market, but also of Quebec labour and individuals.

### **3.2.2.2. *At the Expense of the Competitiveness of Bilingualism or Multilingualism***

“It never hurt anybody to learn a second language.”

- Garrett, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Garrett speaks English as his maternal language, but also speaks French. He realises the value of a second language and what it is able to offer him, not only in Quebec, but also outside of Quebec, in the rest of Canada and the rest of the world. He also spoke about the benefits, particularly in the private industry, that knowing multiple languages offers to individuals, namely upward mobility and increased wages. Others agree, and boast bilingualism or multilingualism as an asset for themselves.

As mentioned above, participants love, appreciate, and are even proud of their ability to speak French. To some degree, all of the participants are English-French bilingual or even multilingual. All of the Anglophones spent time studying French at some point in their lives and either went to or are going to great lengths to continue to improve their French, whether that is working or studying in French, moving to more Francophone regions of Quebec, or even just practicing with their friends. The Francophone participants also often decided to study and learn English, but also picked up English informally in travels, work, or even just in their leisure time through television and movies. Many of the participants also have a third language or dialect that they speak with their parents in their home, such as Vietnamese, a Chinese dialect, Tagalog, or Creole. Because of this trend towards bilingualism and multilingualism among the second generation, they believe that these traits should also be valued in Québécois society.

Immanuel, a 19 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant views the method in which the preservation of French in Quebec is achieved, as at expense of the promotion of bilingualism.

“I think they wanna preserve the language more... I guess maybe they are working too hard on preserving the French language, and trying to diminish the English language. Maybe promoting the English language also, and being bilingual more than protecting the French language would be positive.”

I think that Immanuel makes an important distinction here. It is not the promotion of English in lieu of French that he is a proponent for, but rather it is for bilingualism. He does not want to see French diminish or deteriorate, but rather he would like to see both languages promoted as positive. More specifically, Beth and Jean-François both believe that encouraging multiple languages is good for the overall economy of Quebec. Beth, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant says that if “you want to build a community that is competitive in the global market, multiple languages is always an add-on.” Similarly, Jean-François says

*« Je trouve que la décision du pouvoir de l'élite est forte parce que c'est elle qui influence le reste, mais si elle met la switch et ok, peut-être si on mettait des écoles bilingues, ce serait une force au Québec à la place, mais c'est l'élite qui décide. »*

(“I find that the decision making power of the elite is strong because it is them who influences the rest, but if they make the switch, and ‘ok, maybe if we have bilingual schools, that will make a strong Quebec’ instead, but it is the elite who decides.”)

Immanuel, Beth, and Jean-François all put the responsibility in the hands of decision-makers who they believe have the mentality that English is a threat to French survival. In contrast, participants are proponents of encouraging bilingualism or multilingualism that will eventually serve to promote a stronger Québécois community; one that is internationally competitive, and economically strong.

Furthermore, participants see the consequences of this focus on the French language in lieu of multilingualism, as a “disservice” or even “frustrating”, not only for Anglophones and immigrant populations, but also for the Québécois Francophones.

“You’re just taking away freedoms. You are taking away the freedom to choose what language your kids want to learn, you put your kids in. And what ends up happening is they’re holding back their own children, because... and I’m talking about Québécois white people. If they can only speak French, you’re stuck to Quebec or the French world, which is maybe France, Haiti? I mean, I don’t know, French world. And, so... you are doing a disservice, because you’re trapping your kids here. So yea, they’re forcing it in that way.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“So it’s discrimination on both ends. If you’re French you have to stay on the French, support the French, instead of do what you need to do to uplift yourself. I think it cuts people off. It cuts everyone off.”

- Carly, a 19 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“A lot of people.... parents who do not have the option to send their kids to English schools, and they are frustrated. We are educated, we speak French, but we would like our kids to at least have the option. There is a lot of frustration. A lot of people, teachers, who come here, their kids, and they are just like “I am a professor and I can’t send my kids to English school, this is frustrating me.” And a lot of people leave for that, the fact that they can’t send their kids to school in the language that they want, in the public setting.”

- Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“The people that are put off would have to be people that, even though they speak French, they’re primarily English and they feel put off by their...being bullied. Instead of being bullied, they just wanna get away and... go some place where they can have more opportunity for themselves and for their future family.”

- Lester, a 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Participants seem to think that while a unilingual Francophone Québécois can certainly see success within their own borders, this may not necessarily translate into success outside of the province. The reality is that despite being an officially bilingual country, it is not feasible for individuals to be able to live and work in the rest of Canada and continue to only speak French, as English dominates much of the rest of the country. In addition, expanding Quebec based businesses outside the borders, as well as attracting business from predominantly non-French speaking countries into Quebec, will be more difficult, and many individuals and their businesses

may leave the province if they face too many obstacles. For Brenda, Carly, Abby, and Lester, not promoting, at minimum English-French bilingualism, is detrimental for individual and societal upward economic mobility. It should be noted that English education in which Abby refers to does not necessarily mean that children are not learning French, as most English school board curricula still include French language instruction, albeit much less than in the French school system.

Alternatively, Bernadette, a 31 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant offers up a similar solution as Imelda above. Imelda suggested that more money and effort should be put into education of French and in teaching the language, but as a multilingual individual, she can certainly see the “advantage” of speaking French, in addition to other languages. Bernadette takes her suggestion farther and proposes a solution that will “[help] love to learn French”.

*« ...je trouve que c'est un avantage d'avoir l'anglais également, mais c'est sûr que c'est important de préserver la langue. Je trouve ça ... le français super important et c'est une belle langue à préserver, à conserver, mais aussi que l'anglais, ça donne un avantage. Et il ne faut pas exclure les gens parce qu'ils ne parlent pas le français, mais essayer de trouver des solutions pour qu'ils puissent aimer apprendre le français également, je crois. »*

(“...I find that it is an advantage to have English as well, but it is certain that it is important to preserve the language. I find that, the French is super important at it is a beautiful language to preserve, to conserve, but so is English. It gives an advantage. It is not necessary to exclude people because they do not speak French, but try to find some solutions that will help them love to learn French as well, I believe.”)

What exactly those solutions are that will construct of love of French, are not necessarily evident to Bernadette, but certainly they involve providing assistance to people in learning French, while at the same time encouraging English-French bilingualism. The participants know that French is a difficult language to learn, let alone master. Dorothy believes that for kids who are French as a second language learners, more understanding and “flexibility” could make the difference in assisting children in acquiring the language.



“I actually, I think that Bill 101 was a good idea, but I think the implementation of it really needs to be reviewed. I think, fine, have these.. Make these kids go to French school, but at the same time, make them feel welcomed in the classes. Or like, you know, assess, be more open if they have language issues. If they’re having trouble with it, let them go to English school. Be a bit more flexible about it. Also, it’d be good if the teachers, who are teaching these courses were a little more aware of where these kids are coming from and why they’re there, and not just be like “you’re here in Quebec now, just learn the language.”

The participants, while supportive of the promotion and preservation of the French language and Québécois culture, their drive for bilingualism is quite different than what they believe is the motivation of the Québécois government and some Québécois Francophones. They believe that the motivation is based on a fear of loss, where the French language and Québécois culture will be usurped by a dominant North American English majority, and that accommodating minorities will lead to a dilution of core Québécois values and traditions. This is not necessarily untrue, as discussed in chapter 1, much of the immigrant discourse in Quebec is based off of the “fragile majority status” (Salée, 2007).

However, some participants’ like Olivier reject this threatened perspective as « *une fausse peur* » (“a false fear”), and rather would promote embracing many languages, particularly the use of English, in the name of economic vitality for the province through more competitive businesses and labour. He considers this fear false because it is clear to him that within the borders of Quebec, Québécois Francophones are the majority, and that the threat of losing a language and culture is not as immediate.

“I don't think French is going anywhere. It's so engrained in their culture and in their values; they have nothing to worry about. Don't worry about it [laughs]. It's here to stay; it's too much of the culture. It's what makes this so charming, you know. But then they put laws to try to protect it so much, it's like ‘don't worry’.”

- Faye, a 35- year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“They feel like their language is in danger of being lost, which personally I don’t see it. If you look at it, French is spoken in 40-50 countries around the world, outside of Quebec. I don’t see it as being lost anytime soon.”

- Lester, a 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

The danger of losing French is not a concern for Faye or Lester. They believe that French is now well established in Quebec, and that French is an international language and continues to have value. For others, while they may believe that Québécois Francophones are a minority within the Canadian federation, the fact is that they constitute a majority at the level of the province. Trying to balance these two realities is seen as a point of struggle when it comes to recognising minority rights within Quebec and preserving and promoting the French language and Québécois culture.

“If you didn’t push so hard, people might like it. People might choose to learn French. I mean, I get it. I get that they’re afraid of losing their culture and they feel oppressed. But they are really not oppressed right now, it’s like the oppressed becoming the oppressor, which is the cliché.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“...in a sense, I kind of get the distinction between, a minority within a majority, in North America, I get their sense to need a nation and all that stuff, but at the same time, they’re still a dominant hegemony in Quebec, and they’re still screwing over racialised Canadians. So I mean, I get it but I don’t identify with it either.”

- Oscar, a 30-something Filipino second generation immigrant

*« Je comprends le fait de mettre le français, d’avoir une langue commune, c’est quelque chose que je partage... c’est important qu’on ait une langue commune, c’est important qu’on bâtisse une société autour d’une langue commune qui est la français, c’est important qu’on le fasse dans une société... on est une société minoritaire, mais une chose que je trouve que les Québécois Francophones oublient souvent dans tout le discours sur l’immigration... on dirait qu’ils oublient que les immigrants c’est une minorité. [...] la façon dont certains Québécois Francophones parlent c’est comme si les immigrants envahissaient leur pays ou leur province. [...] Je veux dire... il y a quoi... 10% d’immigrants au Québec...? On va ajouter les enfants des immigrants. Il y en a 15 sur une population de 8 millions... de 8.2 millions... Donc, il y a quoi? 5.8 millions de Québécois Francophones...? La menace n’est pas là. Elle n’est pas là, et ça, je trouve que certains Québécois Francophones ont de la difficulté à conceptualiser le fait qu’ils sont une majorité. »*

“I understand putting French, having a common language. It’s something that I share. It’s important that we have a common language, it is important that we construct a society around a common language that is French, it is important that we do this in a society. We are a minority society, but one thing that I find Quebecois Francophones forget often in all the discourse on immigration, we say that they forget that the immigrants are a minority. [...] the way that certain Québécois Francophones talk is as if the immigrants are invading their country and their province [...] I mean to say, there is what, 10% immigrants in Quebec? We add the children of immigrants,

there is 15% of a population of 8 million...of 8.2 millions. So, that's what? 5.8 million Québécois Francophones. The threat is not there. It is not there, and this, I find that certain Québécois Francophones have difficulty conceptualising that fact that they are a majority.”)

- Lise, a 29 year –old Haitian second generation immigrant

These feelings of being “oppressed”, “screw[ed] over” by the Québécois Francophone majority is another reason that the methods in which the protection and promotion of the French language and Québécois culture is carried out is generally is opposed by these second generation immigrants of colour. The consequences of this “false fear” have an effect not only in policy, but also are perceived to permeate in day-to-day life and in interactions with individuals.

“I think it’s a blessing in disguise that we are required to learn French, but at the same time I think it’s kind of wrong what they’re doing, how they’re going about it, how they’re treating English speakers and tourists, and having this expectation that they need to speak French.”

- Catherine, a 29 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“...people who speak English in some places getting ignored, or yelled at, that I find stupid.”

- Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“I feel like some people try to create tensions or problems. I had someone who told me before, it was at a bar, and he was a bit drunk. And I was with my friend. We spoke literally both English and French, and he just told us off cause we were speaking English. Well, English is part of Quebec, Montreal as well. It’s a choice of which language you wanna speak, although I think people should know French. But that’s what I don’t like. The kind of hatred when someone speaks only French or only English, it shouldn’t be.”

- Hélène, a 25 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

While Catherine and Abby feel like English and non-Francophone speakers are specifically targeted, they also both value their ability to speak French and would promote bilingualism, rather than any form of unilingualism. Hélène also believes that both languages should be recognised and that animosity is also often directed towards Francophones, as well as Anglophones.

This section has explored the ways that participants believe that the political focus, particularly the policies enacted or proposed, on the preservation and promotion of the French language in

Quebec are often at the expense of promoting bilingualism or multilingualism. While participants do already speak or have a desire to speak French, and appreciate this skill, they however believe that knowing more than one language is a benefit not only for themselves, but also for other citizens of Quebec and that this will benefit the province as whole. Second generation immigrants perceived the suppression of linguistic diversity via the methods of the promotion of the French language. However, it is not necessary for an individual participant to feel personally targeted, but rather diversity itself and the promotion of it, is something that participants value as a part of the Quebec that they are or want to be a part of, whether this is linguistic, ethnic, racial, or religious diversity.

### **3.2.2.3. At the Expense of Diversity**

Since my fieldwork took place at the same time as the Charter of Values<sup>61</sup> debate was taking place in the province, participants often brought it up during the interview, despite the fact that I did not have any questions particularly asking them about it. Participants particularly positioned the Charter of Values as something that goes against what they believe is the best part of Quebec: the diversity. While participants can throw their support behind each individual value, as they have for French as a common public language (another state defined Québécois value), this particular interpretation of secularism and the equality between men and women, was seen as going too far in the wrong direction, away from supporting diversity, which they see as an essential part of their understanding of Québécois identity.

*« Si ça, ça passe et que c'est adopté, je pense que je vais m'identifier moins au Québec. [...] Je trouverais dommage quand même que le Québec fasse passer ce projet de loi de la Charte des valeurs québécoises, alors qu'on s'appuie normalement sur le travail des immigrants et qu'on se définit comme une société inclusive qui accepte la différence. Donc, je trouve que c'est un projet de loi qui n'a pas de bon sens et qui va à l'encontre de ce que moi je considère comme des valeurs québécoises, qui sont des valeurs de tolérance, d'acceptation, de diversité. »*

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<sup>61</sup> For more information on the Charter of Values, see section 1.3.4.

“If this, this passes, and it is adopted, I think that I am going to identify less with Quebec. [...] I find it unfortunate anyway that Quebec will move forward this project of the Charter of values Québécois, while we normally support the work of immigrants and that we define ourselves as an inclusive society who accepts difference. So I find that it is a project that does not make sense and that goes against that which I consider Québécois values, which are the values of tolerance, acceptance, and diversity.”

- Gérald, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

For Gérald, Quebec society is not only defined by secularism and the equality between men and women, but also by values that “accept difference”. While he identifies as Québécois strongly, he feels the passage of this law would put into question his identity, as it would completely counter the Quebec in which he has defined. Others are not so clear about the effect of the Charter on their Quebec identity, but they have similar sentiments that the Charter represents an affront to the diversity that has come to define the Quebec that they attach to.

“...the fact that you put some laws are just...not against but wanna diminish that presence of diversity kind of freaks me out cause it’s part of the beauty of it. On the other hand, I do understand the fact that they wanna preserve French-Canadian culture. I do understand that, and the fact that we are accepting more I guess immigrants, so they’re scared that it diminishes, but I find that they can do it in another way, especially with religious symbols. You’re gonna have a Québécois who might be Muslim, you never know.”

- Leah, an 18-year old Filipino second generation immigrant

“...[Pauline Marois] wants this province to be more secular. Yes, I do get it. But to the point that you want the Arabics or the Jewish people to take off their hijab or kippah, I think that’s so unnecessary. I don’t think that makes them less competent just because they are wearing their hijab. That’s their choice. I am for that. I am totally for cultural stuff, I’m totally open to that. That’s what makes Quebec.”

- Mary, a 22 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Leah and Mary both show sympathy for some of the motivations that govern the Charter, such as the separation of church and state, or the desire to preserve traditional Québécois culture. However, this sympathy is short lived because they view the Charter as a method of achieving these goals as in direct conflict with the diversity that makes up Quebec. Gabriel and Brenda below believe that in lieu of diversity, a uniformity or “assimilation” to Québécois Francophone culture is being prescribed.

“...the whole Charter is very Québécois, very French-Quebecer biased, I guess... so to sort of assimilate to that culture. And that’s sort of against, not against, but in contrast to the whole diversity in Quebec in general.”

- Gabriel, a 20 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“The Charter of Quebec Values, is I feel a step in the wrong direction, trying to... kind of force people to give up their cultural dress, so hijabs or big crosses, or kippahs or even Sikh men and their turbans. Trying to make everybody just the same it’s such a bad direction. And the fact that some French groups are trying to force French on you so hard, it’s just trying to make us all the same, and we’re not the same. And I feel like, by doing this, you’re taking away something that’s so wonderful and beautiful about Montreal.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Brenda refers to the diversity of Montreal, rather than that of Quebec as a province. The exceptionalism of a multicultural Montreal within Quebec, as compared to the regions will be discussed in chapter 4. However, what Gérald, Leah, Mary, Gabriel, and Brenda have in common in their understanding of the Charter is that it is in direct conflict with the value of diversity, which they consider a strength, rather than a threat to Quebec society. While many participants can empathise with the principles of many of the defined Québécois values, the methods in which these values can translate into policy is lacking respect for the diversity that is a valued reality in Quebec, and Montreal specifically.

As we saw above, a similar sentiment can be seen in relation to laws that are meant to protect the use of French in public spaces, or language laws. The value of learning French is clear for participants, but the methods in which they are implemented are seen to fly in the face of respecting diversity. This perception is then factored into the negotiation of their attachment and identification with Quebec, particularly because of how Quebec may be viewed not only by the rest of Canada, but also internationally.

Participants refer to some of the policies and events that have made national and international headlines, such as Pastagate, the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, and the Charter. Participants describe it as “embarrassing”, “ridiculous”, and a “joke”. These « *chicanes* » (bickering) that goes on internally do not project a “good image” of Quebec, but rather as a place that appears to be in turmoil or “acting out” like an “adolescent”. The media frenzies around such issues create an image of Quebec that is not as open and accepting of diversity, and these images can be internalised by these second generation immigrants who view diversity as an essential part of their definition of Quebec.

### **3.2.3. Sovereignty: Empathy Amidst Uncertainty**

“...if Quebec had to go, and could do it within some reasonable parameters that wouldn't further impoverish the province or send everyone away, ruin whatever is good here... then great. I don't think the idea of sovereignty is bad, but in practice, it is a totally different thing, you know.”

- Beth, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

The above quote from Beth aptly describes the sentiments regarding sovereignty of the second generation participants that I interviewed. While she can empathise with some of the reasons and motivations behind the drive for sovereignty in Quebec, she has a number of uncertainties and fears that prevent her from supporting sovereignty. The fears that Beth is explicit about are concerning the economic ramifications of separation and the ability of Quebec to thrive on their own, however, she also alludes to a common fear that if Quebec were to gain full sovereignty, relations between Quebec's cultural communities and the dominant Québécois Francophones would worsen, destroying the aspects of Quebec society that she and others like her value and use to define Quebec, namely the diversity of the province, whether it is linguistic, racial or ethnic, or religious. Many of the concerns expressed above in relation to promoting and

protecting the French language and Québécois culture at the expense of linguistic and other diversity are exacerbated for many under a sovereign Quebec.

Historically, Anglophones and allophones, as well as immigrants and their children are not thought of as sovereigntists in the Quebec context. Most famously, after the defeat of the “yes” side in the 1995 referendum, then leader of the *Parti Québécois* Jacques Parizeau stated that in part “ethnic votes” were to blame for the loss.<sup>62</sup> While in most cases, participants said they would not vote yes if a referendum was called, participants also expressed empathy for the campaign. They understand the history of the territory and its people, they can see the uniqueness of Quebec within Canada, and some even find that a Québécois political ideology is closer to theirs on specific issues, such as social issues and the environment.

Just as above, many people are sympathetic to the Québécois people being “proud” of the culture and wanting to promote and protect it. In addition to the dominant French language that separates Quebec from the rest of Canada, as shown above, there is a way of governance, one that is left of centre and communal that distinguishes Quebec from the rest of Canada, and as we will see in chapter 4, there are cultural characteristics unique to Quebec as well.

For those who are sympathetic to the motivations behind the movement, a distinction is made between Quebec and the rest of Canada. While cultural arguments are at the forefront, some participants also believe that a sovereign Quebec would be more effective at dealing with particular political issues.

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<sup>62</sup> For more details, see footnote 5.



*« Donc, c'est principalement pour des raisons culturelles, linguistiques et historiques que je suis pour la souveraineté et environnemental un peu. »*

(“It is principally for the cultural reasons, linguistic, historic that I am for sovereignty, and the environmental a little.”)

- Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« Le fait qu'ils veulent avoir l'émancipation du peuple québécois, c'est quelque chose que je trouve bien. Est-ce que, oui, on est une nation différente du reste du Canada? Définitivement. C'est sûr qu'au niveau environnement, au niveau de l'aspect social, si on était un pays, les mesures environnementales seraient beaucoup plus développées ou auraient beaucoup moins régressées [que le gouvernement fédéral maintenant]. »*

(“The fact that they want to have the emancipation of the Québécois people, it is something that I find great. Is it, yes, we are a different nation from the rest of Canada. Definitely. It is certain that at the level of the environment, at the level of the social aspects, if we were a country, the environmental measures would be much more developed, or have regressed less [than under the current federal government].”)

- Gilles, a 22 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

“I feel Quebec is capable. We nationalize our hydroelectricity in the '70s. We've clearly proved that we would be able to... I mean, Quebec has a lot of resources and we know how to regulate. I feel like in Quebec, environmentalism is an important issue and value... and disasters like Lac-Mégantic, people are very... they can hold their own.”

- Luc, a 20 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Environmentalism and social policy are two issues that second generation participants believe that Quebec will be more effective at regulating. These two issues are falling more in line with this particular groups' political ideology, which is generally leftist and supports protecting the environment and collective social policy. This could be the result of a number of factors, the first being that the sample is biased as an urban population, which are more likely to support progressive ideology. Second, it could be an effect of the age of participants, with a more conservative ideology increasing with age.<sup>63</sup> Thirdly, it could simply be an effect of the fact that they are Québécois, who are generally left of the rest of Canada on a number of social issues, as

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<sup>63</sup> The tradition of relating voting behaviour to a host of socio-demographic variables has fallen out of favour in recent years, as researcher have shown that attitudes are more important. In Canada, the practice has gone out of favour, however, region and gender remain the most important demographic determinants in voting behaviour (Blais, 2002). However, in Quebec the more pertinent cleavages, language and age are the only two variables that count.

In their analysis of the results of the 2008 Federal election, Bélanger & Nadeau (2009) note that the Bloc Québécois ran two distinct campaigns; a more progressive one for Montreal where the battle was between the more leftist Liberal and NDP, and a campaign in the regions of Quebec that was targeted against the Conservative party as a party who does not speak for Quebec's interests. This demonstrates the liberal-conservative divide of the urban-rural areas of Quebec.

evidenced by their universal provincial prescriptions plan, and subsidised day care program. In this sense, these second generation immigrants have taken on their host community's political identities in terms of their general vision of a collective society.

At least one participant, in addition to identifying with the sovereignty movement due to cultural and political reasons, her identification to the larger nationalism of Canada was a consideration. The topic of Canadian identity and its relationship to Québécois identity will be addressed more thoroughly in chapter 6.

*« La promotion de la culture Québécoise... Pourquoi j'ai répondu «oui» à la question c'est que j'avais comparé mon appartenance au Canada. C'est pour ça que j'avais dit «oui», mais après ça... au niveau aussi... parce qu'il y avait une autre question sur la mondialisation et je crois que oui effectivement le Québec connaît bien toute la question sur la mondialisation, les nouvelles technologies... connaît bien aussi les autres pays. Au niveau aussi du cinéma, je crois comme qu'il y a une différence entre le cinéma québécois et le cinéma canadien. Au niveau des langues, au niveau des valeurs, c'est différent. C'est pour ça que j'avais voté «oui». »*

(“The promotion of the Québécois culture. Why I responded ‘yes’ to the question, it’s that I had compared my belonging to Canada. It’s for this that I said ‘yes’, but after that, also in...because there was another question on the globalisation and I think that yes, Quebec actually knows the whole issue of globalisation, the new technologies...knows also other countries. Also in film, I believe that there is a difference between Québécois films and Canadian films. At the level of language, at the level of values, it is difference. That is why I voted ‘yes’.”

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

She also believes in the efficacy of Quebec as a sovereign nation competing on the cultural stage, as well the political, particularly as it relates to globalisation, albeit she was quite vague regarding the effects of globalisation that Quebec is well equipped to deal with. Ultimately, she believes that Quebec is unique culturally as she reasons for showing understanding and empathy for the pursuit of sovereignty in a more general sense. This reasoning was also expressed by other participants; Leon, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant thinks that in the Quebec context, he can empathise with the need for sovereignty.

“They’re a small underdog nation, but people don’t see that. Because when you’re an individual living in Quebec, it’s the government that’s telling you not to put pasta in your menu, so you feel very small and impotent in front of government. But the Quebec government feels very impotent in front of the cultural and economic hegemonic powerhouse that is America, Canada and Great Britain. They feel very small.”

This empathy can also be generalised to a larger sentiment that is supportive of self-determination for any people, not just the Québécois. However, similar to above regarding language laws, participants, even if they can empathise, believe that both popular and fringe incarnations of the movement can have exclusionary tendencies for non-Québécois Francophones, including Anglophones, allophones, immigrants, ethnic and racial minorities, and religious minorities.

*« Les pulsions souverainistes sont nobles. Tout peuple, quand on parle de Chili, quand on parle de... je sais pas moi... Cambodge, Vietnam ou Haïti, tout peuple a le droit d'avoir des pulsions souverainistes...Kosovo, you name it, Irlande... mais ce peuple doit se questionner sur ce qu'il fait avec sa minorité. »*

(“The sovereigntist impulse is noble. All people, when we talk about Chile, when we talk about, I don’t know... Cambodia, Vietnam, or Haiti, all people have the right to have the sovereigntist impulses...Kosovo, you name it, Ireland. But these people should question themselves on what they do with its minorities.”)

As with the others above, Émile, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant has shown support and empathy for the motivations behind sovereignty, whether it is Quebec as a distinct society in cultural aspects or those related to political ideology, the fear of the loss of language and culture, or the support for self-determination in general. This however, does not necessarily mean that people support Quebec sovereignty in practice. Only a few participants claimed that they would vote yes on both tested “soft” and “hard” questions<sup>64</sup> regarding sovereignty, yet

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<sup>64</sup> Following Belanger & Perrella (2008), in the questionnaire, I posed both “soft” and “hard” questions to gauge support for sovereignty. The soft question poses a sovereignty-partnership and asks respondents “If a referendum were held today on the same question that was asked in 1995, that is, sovereignty with an offer of partnership with the rest of Canada, would you vote YES or would you vote NO?”. The hard question asks respondents “If a referendum were held today asking ‘Do you want Quebec to assume the status of a country?’, would you vote YES or would you vote NO?”. Belanger & Perrella argue that the hard question is following the direction of discourse of the *Parti Québécois* in more recent years, in which they have abandoned the idea of a political and economic partnership in favour of a pure independence.

almost all participants who offered an opinion have at least one of two major concerns regarding the consequences of a sovereign Quebec.

Émile's quote above represents the first common sentiment among participants; the diversity that many value in Quebec will be at risk under a sovereign Quebec, particularly under a *Parti Québécois* government as they represented themselves during the time of my field work with the Charter proposal. The second concern regarding the economic and logistical outcomes of separation will follow.

#### **3.2.3.1. *Nous ne sommes pas partie de leur « nous »***

Similar to the concerns regarding policies intended to protect and promote the French language and Québécois culture, sovereignty is seen as an extension of this intent by participants. While some participants have heard other arguments, such as those regarding the savings in federal taxes, not only at the individual level but also the provincial, participants understand the sovereignty movement as one that is rooted in culture and heritage, and specifically one that excludes non-French-Canadian Québécois, like themselves.

With this understanding, there are two different ways in which these visible minority second generation immigrants feel excluded from the movement. The first is an active exclusion, where as above, diversity, whether linguistic, ethnic or racial, or religious, is pitted against a strong sovereign Quebec. The fear among participants is that under a sovereign Quebec, the types of policies that target and attempt to curb or eliminate this diversity will be exacerbated. The second is a passive exclusion in which the underlying discourse of the movement, or at the very least the message from the discourse that many second generation immigrant receive, is that the

sovereignty movement is not theirs, but rather is meant exclusively for the Québécois Francophone majority. The passive nature of this exclusion is felt through a lack of visibility or mention of minorities. Both of these understandings of sovereignty as exclusionary are thought by participants to be epitomised by the *Parti Québécois*, particularly under Pauline Marois, who was the Premier of Quebec and leader of the PQ for most of the time during my field work.

#### **3.2.3.1.1. Active Exclusion**

The active exclusion is similar to that of which is presented above regarding sentiments around policies that are intended to protect and promote the French language and Québécois culture within the province; namely the belief that diverse minority populations in Quebec will be the targets of oppression and xenophobia under a sovereign Quebec. This could include Anglophones, allophones, immigrants, racial and ethnic minorities, and religious minorities.

“It’s gonna create sort of xenophobia I guess. Once we separate, we are gonna stay pure, I guess. We are gonna try to keep it French-Quebecer, already that scenery with the whole enforcement of the French language, French culture with the charter of values. If they succeed then I think it’s gonna have something negative towards immigrants, in general.”

- Gabriel, a 20 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Gabriel perceives a connection between the policies that are in place now and a sovereign Quebec. And rather than being a solution to those things he finds issue with, sovereignty would actually be the beginning of a time where even more liberties can be taken away, and in his opinion, immigrants may be one of the main targets. Alexandre agrees.

*« La peur d’être rejeté par le reste de la population. C’est comme un sentiment xénophobe. Je suppose que si le Québec devenait plus souverain, ils auraient plus de facilité à rejeter les immigrants ou bien à mal voir les autres cultures ethniques et minorités ethniques. C’est... pourquoi les Québécois s’attachent à leur langue et à leur pays, leur culture, c’est parce qu’ils ont peur d’être assimilé et ils se sentent aussi envahis par les immigrants qui prennent leur job, leur argent, ou tout. Et si les Québécois ont l’indépendance, peut-être qu’ils auront une plus grande facilité. »*

(“The fear to be rejected by the rest of the population. It is like a xenophobic sentiment. I suppose that if Quebec became more sovereign, they would have more facility to reject immigrants, or look poorly on the other ethnic cultures and ethnic minorities. That’s why the Québécois attach themselves to their language and their country, their culture, it’s because they are afraid to be

assimilated and they feel as well invaded by immigrants who take their job, their money, or everything. And if the Québécois had independence, maybe they would have a greater facility.”)

The 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant, when asked what the effect would be for him personally, says that he does not think that Québécois Francophones make the distinction between him, someone born in the country to immigrant parents and first generation immigrants, he is nonetheless viewed as an immigrant. Therefore, it is not only immigrants that will be excluded or targeted under the policies of a sovereign Quebec, but rather, as Oscar puts it, all “people who are already deemed outsiders”.

The 30-something year old Filipino second generation immigrant does not “have any issue with predominant Francophone population deciding what types of policies they have” but he does not want to see those who he believes are considered “outsiders”, “get more fucked over”. Oscar has empathy for the right of Québécois to govern themselves, but does not think that it should be at the expense of the rights of other populations in Quebec, particularly those populations he considered racialised, namely non-white Québécois.

He is not the only one who views this “duality” that is present in the discourse of the Quebec sovereignty movement. Similarly, Kevin, a 25 year-old Haitian second generation finds that this animosity against others leads to his disinterest in the movement.

*« ... je n'aurais pas de problème que le Québec prenne sa souveraineté. Le problème c'est que quand le Québec parle de souveraineté, il parle de lui, il est contre les autres, il est toujours dans une relation de dualité avec l'autre qui fait en sorte que leur projet de souveraineté m'intéresse pas du tout. »*

(“...I would have no problem if Quebec had its sovereignty. The problem is when Quebec speaks of sovereignty, they speak of themselves, they are against others, they are always in a relationship of duality with the other that ensures that their project of sovereignty does not interest me at all.”)

This “other” that Kevin talks about is in relation to anyone that is non-Québécois Francophone, *« L'étranger. Tout ce qui n'est pas Québécois, qui n'a pas l'accent, qui n'a pas les ancêtres québécois. Ça, c'est l'autre. »* (“The foreigner. All who are not Québécois, who do not have the accent, who do not have Québécois ancestors.”). Émile, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, agrees and goes on to define numerous “characteristics” or “criteria” that are used to exclude the other.

*« Les caractéristiques... les critères qui excluent l'autre du projet de souveraineté. Les caractères ou le critère basés sur l'ethnie que nous les Blancs, avons décidé de faire un pays. Nous, les Blancs Francophones catholiques ou anciennement catholique, on va décider de faire un pays. Nous, les Blancs, on va décider, de c'est quoi notre identité et vous, vous allez devoir entrer là-dedans, dans ce truc d'identité... Nous, les Blancs, on va déterminer qu'est-ce que les non-Blancs peuvent porter comme signes religieux... qu'est-ce que les non-catholics folks ou ex-catholic folks peuvent mettre comme signe religieux, où, quand, comment. J'ai un problème avec le rideau qui est mis devant la partage qui existe ici. Le rideau d'ouverture... j'ai un problème avec la hiérarchisation des priorités citoyennes. »*

(“The characteristics, the criteria that exclude the other from the project of sovereignty. The characters or the criteria based on the ethnicity that we, the whites have decided to make a country. We, the white Francophone Catholics or formerly Catholics, we are going to decide to make a country. We, the whites, we are going to decide, this is what we are, and you, you are going to have to go in there, in this identity stuff. We, the whites, we are going to determine what the non-whites can wear as religious symbols, what the non-catholic folks or ex-catholic folks can have as religious symbols, where, when, how. I have a problem with the curtain that is put in front the division that exists here. The curtain for openness. I have a problem with the ranking of citizen priorities.”)

For people like Gabriel, Alexandre, Oscar, Kevin and Émile, the discourse surrounding the sovereignty movement pits the Québécois Francophone against the “other”, and the potential for further policies and reprisals for this “other” is only presumed to be worse in a sovereign Quebec. For them, the exclusion will be very explicit; the boundaries of who is Québécois will be narrowed even further, and the active characteristics may not be voluntary, such as race and ethnicity. Even if they are voluntary in theory, such as religion and language, Garrett believes that they will still put “a lot of people in a tough position, and you’re saying whatever you’ve done for Quebec these past few years, doesn’t really matter. If you can’t speak the language, we are kicking you out.”

While “kicking out” may be an overstatement, Garrett uses this term to describe the feeling of being forced out because it will be difficult to find a job or that interactions with individuals and institutions will be difficult because of a language barrier. He himself will not face this challenge, but he is “concerned about [his] family, [his] friends, their family” who do not have a level of French that will allow them to stay and thrive. This active exclusion that second generation immigrants perceive will be a result in a sovereign Quebec, is paralleled by a passive exclusion in which lack of mention or recognition breeds exclusion from the movement.

#### **3.2.3.1.2. Passive Exclusion**

While second generation immigrants fear the potential of active exclusion in a sovereign Quebec, because of their perception of the discourse and policies as explicitly targeting and excluding linguistic, ethnic or racial, or religious minorities, passive exclusion is the implicit exclusion that occurs by a lack of mention or recognition of minority groups. Above, both Émile and Garrett allude to this non-recognition or absence of recognition of the contributions that minorities have made to Quebec or can make to a sovereign Quebec. For Émile there is what he calls a “curtain”, where there appears to be place for non-Québécois Francophones, but for many, this inclusion is only a façade and that a commonplace understanding, particularly within the ranks of the PQ is that sovereignty is an exclusive movement for those with the appropriate history and culture.

*« ... je suis Québécoise, oui, mais on dirait que ce n'est pas débat qui m'appartient, qui est tellement relié à l'histoire... ce n'est pas un débat qui est structurel... il n'y a personne qui est souverainiste parce que ça coûterait moins cher à Ottawa. C'est, il y a des gens qui vont donner ces arguments pour essayer de mousser l'option, mais pour moi, ce n'est pas une véritable raison, et en bout de ligne, on dirait que, je me dis que ce n'est pas un débat qui m'appartient. »*

(“I am Québécois, yes, but we say that it is not a debate that I belong to, which is very related to the history. It is not a structural debate. There is nobody who is a sovereigntist because it costs less than Ottawa. It's, there are some people who are going to give these arguments to try to lather



up the option, but for me, it is not a true reason, and at the end of the line, we say that, I tell myself that it is not a debate that I belong to.”)

For France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, the “true” reasons for sovereignty are ones that are based in a heritage that dates back to many peoples ancestry, one of which she cannot have because her family are more recent arrivals. Hélène and Imelda, two Vietnamese second generation immigrants in their 20s, below respectively describe how they feel they are absent from some sovereigntist discourse.

“Their grandparents, their great-great-grandparents were here, and then... I feel like, how can I explain... I think they’re attachment is greater than mine in a way that’s more personal with them because of the family. So... that’s it. I think that when they’re like you know, a friend of mine was like the area of Mont-Royal before was super French, and now it’s the mainly English are here. So... I don’t know. I think it’s more personal because of the family. That their great grandparents were born here, raised here, and they had their own traditions and maybe they feel threatened that more English people or allophones and immigrants coming, and little by little their traditions is being put aside.”

*« Oui, je crois que des fois quand les gens sont trop souverainistes, extrémistes. Ils ont tendance à dissocier d’autres personnes et à écarter des gens qui ne pensent pas comme eux. Je crois que ce n’est pas à leur avantage et je crois que ça devient vraiment très émotif quand les gens parlent de la souveraineté beaucoup plus que rationnel et je crois que si tu veux partir un pays indépendant, tu ne peux pas être émotif. Je veux dire, ce n’est pas des arguments. Tu comprends? «Mes grands parents ont fait ça...» Moi aussi je suis Québécoise. Je suis née ici, j’ai des valeurs québécoises aussi. »*

(“Yes, I believe that sometimes people are too sovereigntist, extremist. They have a tendency to disassociate the other people and to separate the people who do not think like them. I believe that it is not to their advantage and I think that this becomes very emotional when people talk about sovereignty much more rational and I believe that if you want to leave an independent country, you cannot be very emotional. I mean to say, it is not the arguments. You understand? ‘My grandparents did this’. Me, I am Québécois. I was born here, I have Québécois values as well.”)

They both feel that there are people in the movement that are “emotional” or have a “personal” connection via their own family to the cause. And because of their relatively more recent history in Quebec, they are excluded from this part of the debate. While Imelda attributes this thinking to a minority of “extremists”, others believe that these sentiments are mainstream and popular, particularly as it related to the *Parti Québécois* under Pauline Marois.

“I get the Quebec story, and in a lot of ways, I probably wouldn’t mind living in a separate Quebec. If it did separate, I could probably stay. I really like this province. Then at the same time, I also need to feel like I’m part of the province. And Parti Québécois, I feel like doesn’t give me that. Parti Québécois I find is very kinda like... You know, *Québécois de souche*, kinda like... You know, if you are a Québécois person, it means your family came over here for like *les Filles du Roi*<sup>65</sup> or whatever. I find Quebec Solidaire was more like... Just about, you know like... Living here and sort of identifying with the issues that are here, and not necessarily in a cultural way, more in a political [way].”

Dorothy, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant, in the above quote demonstrates that she has empathy for the movement, but finds that she cannot support one that is driven more recently by the *Parti Québécois* because she feels that they are exclusive to Québécois Francophones with a long history the province. In other words, the cultural issues of the PQ are what are at the forefront rather than one that is more focused on geographically specific political differences. She cannot see herself, nor her viewpoints represented in a PQ nationalist movement.

Elenor specifies that she feels that Pauline Marois, who was the leader of the PQ at the time of her interview, and others like her, particularly espouse the idea of an exclusive sovereign Quebec, even if their language and actions may appear as if she is being inclusive.

“I don’t see [Pauline Marois] representing me. I don’t see myself in her, in any of her, or the people that work for her. I just don’t recognize myself through her. I guess if they had a leader that was different, that was more inclusive, because she also has this whole thing about *nous les québécois*, when she says that, I know she doesn’t include me. I can feel it. She doesn’t know any... I can feel that she’s from an elitist background, all surrounded by French-Canadians, kind of like the people I worked with, and there is no real exchanges so when she says that, I don’t feel included. I wouldn’t want to vote for her.”

This idea of the “*nous*” or “we” is seen as a tactic by participants for those who are supportive of the sovereignty movement to appear as if they are including people of all profiles in Quebec, but in actuality, it is a farce. Émile used “*nous*” above, and he intended it to only mean whites, to the

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<sup>65</sup> *Filles de roi*, refers to the French women who were actively recruited by the government to settle in New France, and whose travel to the colony was paid by the king. While many women arrived before and after this program, *filles de roi* is a term used specifically for the women recruited under this program from 1663 and 1673. For more details, see Lanctôt (1952).

exclusion of visible minorities. Ian, when asked about the sovereignty movement, says the following:

“That’s strictly French white people. If I see a black person in the sovereignty train, he’s a traitor. They just happened to be there, when I see Marois talk and there’s a black guy behind her, she probably took this guy, put him right in the front, just to show diversity, every vote counts.”

Not only does he see it as a primarily Québécois Francophone movement, he believes that any diversity that is present is only for show in an attempt to gain votes with cultural communities, particularly under a movement that was led by Marois. For Lise, even if support for cultural communities is real, there is often a general sense of non-recognition of this support, or a shock or surprise that support could come from these communities.

*« ... c'est une autre affaire je pense, qui ferait me dire que je suis pas totalement Québécoise, c'est le fait qu'on dirait que dans la tête de plusieurs Québécois, tu ne peux pas être nationaliste et vouloir un Québec prospère et même pour certains un Québec indépendant et être Asiatique... j'allais dire roux, mais c'est pas une race, mais... être Asiatique, Noir ou hispanophone. On dirait que pour certains, ça ne va pas ensemble et après ça, ils s'étonnent... après ça, le PQ s'étonne que Québec solidaire qui tient aussi un discours souverainiste réunit 1) beaucoup plus de jeunes et 2) beaucoup plus de communautés culturelles dans leur rang. »*

(“...it’s another thing that I think, that makes me say that I am not totally Québécois, it’s the fact that we say that in the head of many Québécois, you cannot be nationalist and want a prosperous Quebec and even for certain, a independent Quebec, and be Asian, black, or Spanish speaking. We say that for certain, it doesn’t go together and after that, they are shocked, after this, the PQ is shocked that Quebec Solidaire who has as well a sovereigntist discourse brings together 1) many more young people, and 2) many more cultural communities in their ranks.”)

Lise’s experience in mobilising for parties that have a sovereigntist agenda has helped form her opinion that many nationalists do not think to include minorities, and in fact, the two characteristics seem diametrically opposed. She notes that this is common in the *Parti Québécois*, but that like Dorothy above, *Québec Solidaire* provides an sovereigntist option that participants find that they can attach to more, as it is more inclusive because of their focus away from the cultural arguments.

Finally, absent from my discussion on the effect of sovereignty on diverse populations thus far, has been any mention of an important minority group: Aboriginal and First Nations. While the absence of a discussion may largely be due to the lack of focus on the Aboriginal and First Nations I had in the survey or during my interviews, on the other hand, the lack of attention in the discussion mirrors the lack of attention participants find is paid to these communities when the sovereignty issue is debated.

For the few times that Aboriginality was mentioned, it was mainly around the opinion that the sovereignty movement has not thought out what will happen this population, given that in fact, Québécois Francophones are migrants themselves to the province and remained as settlers on land that was often already inhabited by First Nations. This perception was problematic for all of those who brought it up, because if the claims of sovereignty are based on either historic ties to the land, historical or current colonisation claims, or cultural preservation, then participants believe that Aboriginals and First Nations have similar, if not more valid claims as original people of the territory and the current state of decline of indigenous languages.

Participants talked about both active and passive forms of exclusion that they perceive as part of the Quebec sovereignty. These sentiments, fears, and anticipations are all factors that are considered when second generations negotiate their Québécois identity. While empathy for the motivations of the sovereignty are present, participants cannot overlook the present or anticipated exclusion that they may face in the sovereignty discourse or in a potential sovereign Quebec, either through targeted policies that may infringe on their rights, or a deliberate or purposeful exclusion within the discourse of sovereignty of minority populations.

### 3.2.3.2. **Economic and Logistical Uncertainty**

The first group of concerns regarding discussions of sovereignty in Quebec were related to the potential exclusion of linguistic, ethnic or racial, and religious minorities. The second overarching concerns expressed by second generation immigrants is in regards to economic security, and other logistical questions that participants believe would arise if Quebec were to gain sovereignty.

Claude, a 34 year-old Vietnamese immigrant who arrived in Canada at the age of three, claims to be purely concerned with the economic question of whether or not a sovereign Quebec will be prosperous.

*« Si on me prouve que si le Québec devient souverain et qu'on a les politiques pour passer à travers et devenir un pays fort, pas de problème, mais jusqu'à présent, je ne le vois pas. Donc, ça ce n'est pas une question purement, comment je peux dire, français ou Québécois ou quoi...c'est une question purement économique, je pense. »*

(“If I am satisfied that if Quebec becomes sovereign and that we have the policies to pass through and become a strong country, not a problem. But up until now, I do not see that. Therefore, it is not purely a question, how can I say this, French or Québécois or what...it is purely an economic question, I think.”)

He likens this concern with his immigrant background, meaning he believes all immigrants, like his parents, made very large sacrifices to leave their home country for a place like Canada, and that their main motivation is for a better future for themselves and their children. Therefore, the cultural motivations are second, or possibly non-existent for him, but rather, coming from an immigrant family, he wants to ensure a strong economic future for him and his family. In order to support sovereignty, he must be convinced that *« on est capable de créer un pays fort avec des richesses, ressources naturelles avec les technologies, l'économie »* (“we are capable of creating a strong country with the wealth, natural resources, with the technologies, the economy”).

However, Claude is an exception. While he maintains that this is his only concern, participants are similarly concerned with the issues presented in the previous section regarding the inclusion of minority groups in a sovereign Quebec and those that concern the economic and logistical plans following a potential positive sovereignty result.

“...the fact that they don’t really have... like a plan. They just say they wanna separate, but they don’t say how. I can’t really tell you their plan or what would happen afterwards.”

- Erin, a 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“I’m not really sure what would happen to Quebec if they separated, it’s so ambiguous. It doesn’t make any sense. You’re going to separate and then what are you gonna do afterwards? There’s no plan. And that’s the scariest thing, there’s no plan for what’s gonna happen afterwards.”

- Lester, a 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

The references to a “plan” that both Erin and Lester mention could be regarding a number of domains, but the main aspects of a post-sovereignty “plan” that are of concern to participants are those related to the economic viability of a sovereign Quebec, as well as to the logistical concerns regarding the military, the currency, the relationship with Canada, and the potential new Quebec customs border.

Regarding the potential of the Quebec economy under sovereignty, like Faye, participants “don’t think Quebec could survive financially if it were to separate”. Some of the more specific concerns are regarding the potential exodus of businesses and foreign investment, and the potential for even more widespread corruption.

As with above regarding a general plan, some of the concern regarding the economy is more generic and based around a fear of the uncertain.

“Financially, economically, I don't want to be a new country, to end up like some smaller countries now that are struggling, like in Europe. I don't see it as an experiment that I want to be part of. I think we are fine where we are. Why break it if it's not broken?”

- Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Sur le plan économique, c'est sûr que j'ai peur aussi parce que t'as beaucoup de compagnies qui sont plus Anglophones et ils vont certainement quitter le Québec. Donc, il y a beaucoup de questions économiques parce que d'une part, je suis une personne matérialiste... on l'est tous à différent degrés, on a besoin de l'économie, on a besoin de survivre, on a besoin de sortir et aller manger et tout ça. Avec ça, est-ce que l'économie va tellement diminuer que moi-même je vais devoir quitter le Québec? C'est pas ça que je veux du tout. »*

(“On the economic plan, it is certain that I am scared as well because you have lots of companies who are more Anglophone and they will certainly leave Quebec. Therefore, there are many economic questions because in part, I am a materialistic person. We're all in different degrees, we need an economy, we need to survive, we need to go out and go eat and all that. With this, will the economy diminish so much that I myself am going to leave Quebec? It is not what I want at all.”)

- Dominique, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Dominique refers to a specific fear about companies leaving Quebec, particularly those that are owned or operated by Anglophones. This is rooted in history, when in the lead up to the 1980 referendum Quebec saw an exodus of businesses and individuals who had many of the same fears that participants express now<sup>66</sup>. Not only is it thought to be a potentially unstable economy, but it may also be more difficult for smaller companies that operate mainly in English. Participants are concerned with this potential consequence.

What's gonna happen with the economy? It's a big issue, and... I understand why people and companies would not want to come, because it's... people like stability, and where it's not stable, you'll be worried about, it's another thing in the back of your mind that you have to worry about.

- Lester, a 27 Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Je ne pense pas que le Québec puisse à lui seul survivre économiquement. Le Québec est... bon... a certaines forces, a beaucoup de ressources, mais le reste du Canada en a aussi, a aussi d'autres populations, d'autres forces, d'autres ressources que les deux complémentent ensemble. L'union fait la force. Et je verrais des complications pour moi. Mettons, je ne sais pas quel genre de statut aurait le Québec s'il avait l'indépendance, mais, tu sais, si à chaque fois qu'on va à Ottawa ou à Toronto, est-ce qu'il faut passer les douanes, tout ça ? Est-ce qu'on aurait un type d'échange, de monnaie différente ? On a aussi peur que l'indépendance fasse que des compagnies migrent vers le reste du Canada ou aux États-Unis parce qu'ils ne veulent pas être pris dans les lois d'indépendance ou des trucs comme ça. Donc pour moi, j'ai l'impression que ça ferait perdre des jobs et ça causerait de l'instabilité pour le Québec. »*

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<sup>66</sup> The impetus for such large Anglophone exodus in the 1970s was the FLQ crisis in 1970, the election of the *Parti Québécois* in 1976, and the implementation of Bill 101 in 1977 (Bourhis, 2001; Caldwell, 1994; Rodgers, Needles, & Garber, 2008; Stevenson, 1999).

“I do not think that Quebec can survive on their own economically. Quebec is, well, has certain strengths, has a lot of resources, but the rest of Canada has that as well, has other populations, other strengths, other resources that the two complement each other. Unity is a strength. And I could see complications for me. Let’s say, I don’t know what sort of status Quebec will have if they have independence, but you know, if every time that we go to Ottawa or to Toronto, do we have to pass through customs and all that? Will we have a type of exchange of different currency? We also are scared that the independence will make the companies leave for the rest of the Canada or the United States because they do not want to be caught in the laws of independence or stuff like that. Therefore, for me, I have the impression that it will create job loss and it will cause instability in Quebec.”

- Alexandre, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

All of this uncertainty not only puts into question the future of the provincial economy, but also the future of the participants themselves and their place in Quebec. Just as many worried about the potential for increased exclusion for diverse groups, and even themselves, they also worried about their ability or desire to stay in the province if the economy became too unstable. Claude’s “purely economic” concerns about his own job prospects and for his children are part of the concern for people like Dominique and Alexandre. Their lack of support for sovereignty is a result of their personal attachment to staying in the province, which could be at risk given the potential for economic or social problems that may not be to their benefit.

Almost all participants, when asked, did not have a desire to leave the province. For the few who could possibly see themselves leaving, they were interested in adventure in other parts of the world, or would only leave if another economic option produced itself. Only one participant had solid plans to leave the province in the near future. Participants are attached and committed to living in Quebec and would like to continue living there with the family and friends that they have, and therefore do not want anything to jeopardise their future in the province.

Alexandre brings up a number of other issues in the above quote. Not only does he share this fear of uncertainty as others, but he also is resolved that maintaining a complementary



relationship with Canada is beneficial, and that there are potential issues that will need to be sorted out in Quebec's relationship with Canada, specifically how borders crossings will be monitored and enforced. Others, like Carly wondered if she would "need a Quebec passport just to leave Quebec". These logistical border concerns, while they may appear minor, are considered by participants to be undefined in much of the sovereignty movement, and therefore create an uncertainty and potential hassle that many participants would not want to have to deal with in a sovereign Quebec.

The uncertainty around the potential relationship with Canada sparks many questions and concerns among participants. For one the financial relationship would need to be worked out. The last referendum question, which is highly critiqued for not only its length, but for the fact that it was convoluted and unclear, mentioned a "partnership" with Canada<sup>67</sup>. When posed, the question allowed participants to speculate what that "partnership" might actually entail, resulting in some strong opinions against the ability and legitimacy of Quebec sovereignty. For example, Carly says,

"When that whole issue came up, the way Quebec set it, the way I think Pauline Marois set it is that if we separate, we still get welfare from Canada, we still get Canadian help. But if you're your own country, you should learn to be self-sufficient. And if you don't have the means to be self-sufficient, how's it that you wanna be a country? You can't expect to be a grown up and still live at your mom's house. It's like... come on now."

Similarly, Carly and Erin speculate that a financial relationship between Canada and Quebec would remain, which they see as counter to the claims of sovereignty. Furthermore, Erin, a 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant mentions other potential relationships

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<sup>67</sup> The precise question asked in the 1995 referendum was « Acceptez-vous que le Québec devienne souverain, après avoir offert formellement au Canada un nouveau partenariat économique et politique, dans le cadre du projet de loi sur l'avenir du Québec et de l'entente signée le 12 juin 1995? » ("Do you agree that Quebec should become sovereign after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership within the scope of the bill respecting the future of Quebec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995?")

that would also run counter to the spirit of sovereignty, such as a shared military and a shared currency.

“From what I heard, they don’t, I mean they will need a lot of help from Canada, and I don’t really think they completely wanna separate from Canada if they need financial help, especially I guess military help and things like that. So... I don’t see how they are actually really separating. They’re saying they hate this country or they don’t feel part of this country, but they still need a lot of help from them. I don’t see how that’s really separating. You’re still gonna use Canadian currency, so it doesn’t make sense. It’s not a well worked out plan.”

She is not the only one with these concerns and the ability to speculate on these logistical aspects of sovereignty. The perceived undefined details of sovereignty allow participants to question not only the feasibility of it, but also the spirit and motivation of sovereignty. Gilles questions whether or not his perceived inability of a sovereign Quebec to provide necessary infrastructure has the effect of “watering down” the goals of autonomy, as ties to Canada will be the fall back.

*« Je ne sais pas si on a assez d’infrastructures pour être un pays autonome. Entre autres, d’un point de vue militaire... militaire, la monnaie etc. ou est-ce que ce serait une souveraineté association qu’ils appellent où justement les frontières restent ouvertes : on garde la même monnaie, on garde la reine. Ce qui finalement est une souveraineté peut-être un peu édulcorée. »*

(“I do not know if we have enough infrastructure to be an autonomous country. Among other things, from the military point of view, military, the currency, etc. Where is there a sovereignty association that’s only in name, where the border remains open. We keep the same currency. We keep the Queen. Which ultimately is a sovereignty that is a little watered down.”)

Participants feel as if there is little clarity on what a sovereign Quebec may look like, which leads to speculation about the type of relationship that a sovereign Quebec will have with Canada, which can result in the perception that very little will change in the end. Gilles “watered down” version is an example of this train of thought, as is Michel’s.

*« Mais s’ils font comme un pays, il faudrait qu’on ait besoin notre argent, la façon que le gouvernement va marcher l’éducation... Est-ce que, là, maintenant, on ne paie plus de taxes au Canada ou est-ce qu’on va encore payer des taxes au Canada? Est-ce que le Canada prend soins de nous...? Et tout ça... Je trouve que tout ça prendrait tellement de temps. Est-ce que ça vaut vraiment qu’est-ce que ça a donné? Parce qu’à la fin, on va juste vivre ce qu’on vit maintenant, mais juste avec de l’argent, c’est tout. »*

(But if they form a country, it must be that we will need our money, the way that the government will run education. Is it that now we don't pay anymore taxes to Canada, or is it that we still pay taxes to Canada? Will Canada take care of us? And all that... I find that all of that will take a lot of time. Is it really worth what we will gain? Because in the end, we are just going to live just as we live right now, but just with the money. That's it.)

The 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant questions the ability of Quebec to pay for the level of public services that its citizens have become accustomed to, particularly the heavily subsidized university tuition that Quebec residents benefit from. If Quebec does end up in a more profitable position, this process will take time, and Michel believes that not much else will change. For others, this is also true. Quebec is unique within Canada, in terms of language, culture and politics, so if “the difference between Toronto and here is so big, what's the point on being a country when you're so different already? (Carly, 19 years old).

Related to this expectation that things may not actually change much, is that participants do not see the need to assert sovereignty in the same way as they think some Québécois Francophones view it. For example, if one of the reasons for sovereignty is to be able to protect and promote the French language and Québécois culture, then Olivier would argue that *« on est pas obligé d'être indépendant pour avoir toutes ces bonnes valeurs aussi. On peut le faire maintenant, mais juste renforcer économiquement. »* (“we are not obligated to be independent to have all these great values. We can do it now, but just reinforce economically”). He was specifically referring to the development of local products that he saw as one Québécois value that he attached to and appreciated, but this could apply to other values as well.

He believes that Quebec's economy and cultural life can be reinforced without the unnecessary decision of sovereignty. Leah, an 18 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant can “sympathize with the fact that they wanna preserve, but that's a little, way too extreme way to

preserve their culture,” but her reasons are much different. In addition to possible nostalgic attachments to Canada, she does not think that the current climate in Quebec warrants such an “extreme” decision.

“Just the fact of separating from a country that you’ve been attached to for so long, unless they’ve really been beating you up, and the majority of the population doesn’t agree with it, then okay, then I’d consider separating.”

France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant agrees that this sentiment of “inferiority” of being “beat up” is not always present among Québécois, not only of visible minority status, but of all backgrounds. In other words, she believes that the historical motivation for sovereignty in Quebec is not actually very popular anymore.

*« Chez nous... les gens de tous les profils et ils sont fiers d'être Québécois, mais ils ne sont pas toujours en train de se sentir que l'espèce de sentiment de supériorité du Canada anglais sur les Québécois. Ils n'ont pas ce sentiment de petitesse par rapport à l'autre »*

(“Here, the people of all profiles and they are proud to be Québécois, but they are not always going to feel that kind of feeling of superiority of English Canada over the Québécois. They don’t have this sentiment of smallness in relation to the other”)

More so, the nostalgic attachment to Canada can certainly affect whether or not people support sovereignty. For example, Faye says, “because I identify strongly as Canadian, that it feels like... you know your parents getting divorced or something”. The effect on attachments to Canada and the Canadian identity will be explored more thoroughly in a chapter 6.

Finally, regarding the economic viability of a sovereign Quebec, some participants picked up on this perceived culture of corruption in the province, and used it as a sometimes humorous explanation as to why they could not support sovereignty.

*« ...un Québec indépendant, je ne vois même pas comment il fera pour survivre. On vit un phénomène de corruption au niveau de la province, au niveau du municipal. Un Québec indépendant, un Québec pays, ça va faire faillite en trois ans et demi. Tout le monde va vouloir*

*frauder tout le monde. Non, ça ne marchera pas et en plus, pourquoi devenir indépendant quand la question de toute façon... le mouvement mondial va plus vers l'intégration. »*

(“...an independent Quebec, I don’t even see how they will survive. We are living a corruption phenomenon at the level of the province, at the level of the municipality. An independent Quebec, a Quebec country, this is going to collapse in three and a half years. Every one is going to want to cheat everyone. No, it does not work and on top of that, why become independent when the question anyway ...the global movement is going more towards integration.”)

- Gérald, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

“And you just keep hearing about a scandal after scandal after scandal, about the mafia or whatever. I think that that’s really unappealing, and I don’t think Quebec has enough power or confidence to stand as a nation of its own, and that would make the people suffer.”

- Catherine, a 29 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

During my fieldwork, many high profile testimonies took place at the Charbonneau Commission, a provincial public inquiry investigating the potential of collusion and corruption in the management and awarding of public construction contracts. In its first portion of public testimonies, after 189 witnesses, it was revealed that a number of municipal contracts have been corrupted, and public servants, union representatives, and politicians are part of the collusion<sup>68</sup>. Despite the fact that the Commission has yet to be completed, the nature of the public inquiry has marred the reputation of many politicians, public servants, and high profile Québécois in the eyes of participants, with the holistic effect of damaging the reputation of the entire province.

For second generation immigrants, sovereignty is not a one-dimensional issue (as is probably similarly the case for most other Québécois), and in order to be convinced on sovereignty, assurances of diverse inclusion and solid economic and logistical plans, at minimum would need to be communicated. However, what are presented here are the considerations of the issues of sovereignty as part of the negotiation of second generation immigrants Québécois identity. That being said, having these concerns does not necessarily preclude that someone may not identify as

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<sup>68</sup> See Banerjee & Rakobowchuk (2014) for more information about the 30-month long Charbonneau commission. The Commission’s final report is expected in November 2015 (Global News, 2015).

Québécois. While the few people who said they would support sovereignty identified strongly as Québécois, participants who are not supporters, were also inclined to consider themselves Québécois. Nonetheless, for some, supporting sovereignty is a strong indicator of a “true Québécois” which as non-supporters, they found did not allow them the space to self-identify as Québécois.

### **3.3. Conclusion**

This chapter has explored the civic, including the political, characteristics that second generation immigrants in Quebec consider in their process of negotiation of Québécois citizenship. There are more purely civic definitions that were based on the contributions to society, such as living and working in the territory defined as Quebec, and paying taxes. However, there are also limitations that deviate from a solely civic definition that include birthright as an important characteristic, which would then deny Québécois citizenship to the parents of these participants.

The political aspects that are considered by second generation immigrants are varied.

Participants point to three central political discourses in the province that are considered in their negotiation of Québécois identity. The first is the perception of Quebec as leftist, and the liberties and services that this western democracy offers its citizens. Secondly, the issue of the protection and promotion of the French language is perceived as something that is always at the forefront of Quebec politics. Despite an appreciation for their ability to speak French, participants perceive that the policies and discourses around this issue are often at the expense of issues that they value in the Quebec context. Thirdly, sovereignty is an issue that is ever-present in the political landscape of the province, and second generation immigrants consider both the social issue of inclusion of minorities in the movement, and the more practical issues such as the

economy and other logistical issues when negotiating their place in the movement, and hence in a potential Québécois nation-state. The policies and discourse around the promotion and protection of the French language and Québécois culture, as well as the sovereignty movement were particularly viewed as conveying mixed messages about the nation. Participants appreciated the motivations, but are aware that these motivations are deeply rooted in an ethnic definition of being Québécois that has the potential to exclude them as multilingual or non-white citizens.

In comparing the four target groups, there appears to be more similarities across groups than there is between groups, meaning that the civic discourse, and using the politics in the province as a factor in their negotiation of Québécois identity is present in all groups. With one of the main civic criterion being the knowledge and use of the French language, it might be expected that the Francophone groups might feel a larger sense of belonging. However, it should be noted that Anglophones expressed similar sentiments of appreciation and respect for the motivations for the protection and promotion of the French language and culture. Furthermore, Francophones in the sample equally expressed critiques about the methods of implementation of linguistic and cultural policies, in favour of bilingualism or multilingualism. Comparably, both Anglophones and Francophones expressed the same concerns about sovereignty.

This chapter has explored second generation immigrants understandings of the top-down approach to defining Québécois citizenship, namely that of civic and political life. The next chapter will describe their understanding of more bottom-up definitions that are based on their

everyday interactions in their communities, by focusing on the cultural characteristics as well as the effect of the Montreal context on Québécois identity.



## 4. Cultural Québécois & Montrealer Identity

The United Nations Universal Declaration of Cultural Diversity<sup>69</sup> defines culture as “as the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and that it encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs”. The Quebec state has defined themselves through a civic culture that is governed by a set of civic values. These civic characteristics were discussed in the last chapter at length. However, for many participants, Quebec has a dominant ethnic culture that is rooted in the French-Canadian ethnicity. The first half of this chapter will discuss the French-Canadian ethnic cultural aspects that second generation immigrants incorporate into their negotiation of Québécois identity. Participants describe the culture of food, arts & entertainment, and values that they consider to be Québécois, and much of it is rooted in the French-Canadian dominant ethnic group in Quebec. The attachments or lack thereof to these different cultural elements can play a part in their negotiation of Québécois identity. The second half of the chapter focuses on the Montreal culture that participants strongly consider in their negotiation of Québécois identity. Montreal is seen as an exception within the province of Quebec, and the characteristics of Montreal culture that are activated when negotiating Québécois identity are the bilingualism, the multiculturalism, and the amenities that are available in the City.

### 4.1. The Cultural Québécois

“Every time I’d say I’m a Quebecer... okay what’s so good about Quebec you know? It’s *poutine* and *tabarnak*...”

- Jacques, 21 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

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<sup>69</sup> (Unesco, 2002). Retrieved from <http://www.un-documents.net/udcd.htm#fn2>.

Jacques comment above is obviously an over simplification of what defines Quebec, but it is nonetheless quite a telling statement. His reference to a food item represents the permeation of cultural items, events, or practices in the definition of what it means to be Québécois that may appear frivolous, but are things that participants interact with on a sometimes daily basis, as part of the negotiation process of their Québécois identity. The same can also be said for his reference to a Québécois curse word. Cursing can be heard on a daily basis and the unique way in which Québécois Francophones swear is a distinguishing feature, from not only Anglophone Canadians, but also other French speakers around the world. It is a cultural and linguistic characteristic that can be associated with Québécois identity. The following 3 subsections are about those common-place cultural characteristics that these second generation immigrants recognise as part of cultural landscape of Quebec, often seen as dominated by Québécois Francophones. Food, arts and entertainment, and what can be described as cultural values will be the focus, although I do not mean to suggest that these are the only cultural markers that participants point out, but they were some of the more commonly mentioned. Language and accent will be covered in chapter 5 in more detail.

#### **4.1.1. Food**

While food may seem trivial to some, when prompted to talk about the things that they liked about Quebec, participants pointed to the food, and the customs or activities that go along with that food, as a part of Quebec that they loved and could attach to. Participants joked about their love of a particular Québécois dish that is becoming more and more popular, not only in Canada, but also the rest of the world.

*Poutine* is a dish that has no English translation, but in its most basic form is French fries served with cheese curds (*fromage en grains*), which are then melted under a generous portion of gravy (*sauce brun*). There are a number of variations where combinations of meat and vegetables are added, or the gravy is replaced with something to add an ethnic flavour. Some standard Quebec classic variations include the *Galvaude*, which has pieces of chicken and green peas, or the *Poutine Italienne* where the gravy is replaced with Bolognese sauce, a classic meat sauce for pasta. Many restaurants have their own unique versions, from Chef Guru on the Main in Montreal that serves a curry chicken *poutine*, to a number of high end restaurants who fry their fries in duck fat and offer a *fois gras* (duck liver) *poutine*.

*Poutine* was the most often mentioned food by name, and was often mentioned as a cliché or a joke of Quebec culture, despite the enjoyment of it. At least one participant had trouble identifying other traditional Québécois food. Bernadette, a 31 year-old Vietnamese woman who arrived to Canada at the age of five, says:

« Pour la nourriture, il y a pas vraiment, la nourriture québécoise, à part la poutine que j'aime vraiment aussi. »

(“For food, there is not really Québécois food, besides *poutine*, which I really like as well.”)

Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrants similarly says of Quebec:

“The food culture is big here. I am very much into food and Quebecers love their food. Gourmet foods, *poutine*. I am a big fan.”

Thirty-two year-old Margaret, a child of Anglo-Caribbean parents, finds that the food and culture around Quebec is accessible to many people, and that food is a part of being Québécois that she is able to embrace.

“The food, anybody could embrace the food, you know the *poutine*, the sugaring off, I could embrace it.”

Others, while sometimes equally enamoured with *poutine*, also talked about other foods or traditions that they related to in Quebec. Thirty-five year-old Faye, a Filipino second generation immigrant talks about her love of Quebecois food and how she has incorporated it into her cooking at home.

“The food, I love their food. I've learnt to make all their food. At home actually we eat mostly Quebec stuff. We'll make... I'll warm up a *tourtière*. I've never actually made a *tourtière*. But I do make *pâté chinois*...”

*Tourtière* is a traditional meat pie, and *pâté chinois* is the term that Québécois use to refer to Shepherd's pie<sup>70</sup>, a traditional British meat and potato casserole. *Pâté chinois* has been appropriated as a traditional Québécois dish, and can be found in many restaurants and grocery stores. Darlène, from the opening anecdote spoke about her dislike for heavy greasy foods from the *casse-croûte*, or all the *malbouffe* (junk-food), which would certainly include *poutine*. She specifically talks about her love for the « *nourriture du terroir* » (“local food”). She says « *j'aime comme le gibier et les légumes cueillis et les fromages locaux et tout ça...* » (“I like game and fresh picked vegetables and local cheeses, and all of that...”). While *poutine* may be the go-to cliché for many second generation immigrants in Quebec, there are also a number of other traditional foods that are seen as unique to Quebec or rooted in the history of the province and those of French-Canadian origins.

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<sup>70</sup> While it is not clear where the name originated, some have hypothesised that the name *pâté chinois* is used because it was a common inexpensive food that was fed to Chinese railway workers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, by British owned rail construction companies. However, research has not been conclusive on the origins of the now Québécois dish (Lemasson, 2009).

Margaret above mentioned “sugaring off”, which is the practice of or time of year where maple syrup is collected from the trees, a prominent Quebec industry, as well as leisure pastime. This activity takes place at the *cabane à sucre* (sugar shack), which is often associated with a number of traditional foods for breakfast, lunch and dinner, including, but not limited to, the above mentioned *tourtière*, an egg soufflé, maple glazed ham, homemade sausages, *fèves au lard* (baked beans), *Oreilles de crises* (literally translates to “Christ’s ears”, but are in fact deep fried pigs ears), and of course a classic *tire d’érable* (maple taffy), which is formed by pouring maple syrup into the snow and then is collected by rolling it onto a stick.

Annick, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant associates foods with other customs in Quebec, such as particular holidays and activities, like going to the *cabane à sucre*.

“Do you eat sugar pie? I feel like sugar pie, and this *sucre à la crème*, I feel like that’s a custom, like a tradition in Quebec culture. I would say customs that I relate to in Quebec are mostly about food, like holiday food. I will eat *poutine* more in the summer, around the Saint-Jean, in that particular period more than any other time in the year. Make *sucre à la crème*, go to the sugar shack in the spring... these are pretty traditional Quebecer activities.

Saint-Jean refers to the feast day of Saint John the Baptist, a religious feast day still commemorated in numerous European countries today, including France. The tradition was brought over to the colony of New France. In 1977, the province of Quebec officially declared the day *la fête nationale* (national holiday) for Quebec. By transforming it into a statutory holiday, the celebration has been secularised and it is now celebrated by Québécois of varied ethnic backgrounds. While not specifically associated with *poutine*, a dish that can be found all year-round, Annick specifically associates the food with a holiday that only exists in Quebec.

While Annick relates to these foods and traditions, Leah similarly finds that traditional activities contribute to her positive identification, particularly when she is participating in them. The 18 year-old Filipino second generation immigrants says:

“I honestly feel more like a Quebecer when I’m in a *cabane à sucre*. First of all, it’s called *cabane à sucre*, and I never use the word sugaring off...”

The necessity for her to use the French term shows that she attaches it to a traditional Québécois Francophone identity. However, attaching to foods or the activities associated with food in Quebec do not necessarily mean that one would identify strongly as a Québécois, but rather food is part of the negotiation of identity.

Just as Darlène did not attach to certain foods popular in Quebec, Nicolas does not attach to the food culture at all. As a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, he does not define himself as a Québécois. While he has multiple reasons for not identifying, as will be discussed in subsequent chapters, Nicolas mentions food as a starting point of his differentiation.

“I’m different, I can’t call myself Quebecer. I’m not like them. I don’t talk like them. I don’t eat their food like them. I don’t do nothing like them. I can’t be a Quebecer, I don’t care if I live in Quebec, I’m not Quebecer. That’s for sure.

...I don’t know, where you’re from, you don’t cook like them, that’s for sure. You don’t season your food like them. You know what I mean? So like... I’m not being racist but I’m not like them, so... maybe they don’t season their chicken, I season my chicken. I see a lot of stuff they do, and I’ll be like yuck. We don’t do that. They might say the same thing for us.”

While Nicolas is the exception with his dislike for Québécois food, his understanding of the differences between him and Québécois are also based on other characteristics, in addition to food. For him, he is not a Québécois because he feels his race excludes him from this identity. This idea of an exclusive Québécois identity will be further explored in chapter 5. Therefore,

while taking on certain food traditions may assist in identifying with Quebec, particularly at certain times or during certain events, it is certainly not a guarantee.

#### **4.1.2. Arts and Entertainment**

In addition to food, there are other cultural characteristics that attach participants to Quebec and the Québécois identity. Participants are often very general about these characteristics, but there is a recognised commonality that occurs when meeting someone who grew up in the same context as them, and perhaps a distance that can occur when the contexts are different. While many Francophone participants attach to the cultural aspects of their childhood and current times, Anglophones and some Francophone participants who implicate themselves with English media, found themselves have fewer commonalities with the dominant majority. For these second generation immigrants who grew up in Montreal, there is not only a Québécois Francophone culture, but also a Québécois Anglophone culture in which one can immerse oneself in.

Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, strongly identifies as Québécois and one of the reasons for which she claims this is because of her familiarity with the cultural landscape of Quebec.

*« Toutes mes références culturelles sont basées sur, comme tous les gens de mon âge, au Québec. C'est parfois très drôle de rencontrer des gens avec d'autres références culturelles des fois et ils ont juste été élevés à comme juste à 3 heures d'ici, mais dans un autre contexte, comme en Ontario. Ce n'est pas les mêmes références. »*

(“All my cultural references are based on, like all the people my age, in Quebec. It is sometimes very funny to meet people with other cultural references sometimes and they just grew up only three hours from here, but in a different context, like in Ontario. It is not the same references.”)

She sees the commonalities with other Québécois of her generation, where they watched the same television shows, listened to the same songs, and experienced the same significant regional

events. While Beatrice is not specific about what the cultural references are, twenty-three year-old France is, as she recounts a recent trip to France with other Québécois delegates.

*« ...on était tous Québécois et il n'y avait pas l'histoire d'origine quand on était en France avec notre groupe de huit, et on chantait toutes sortes de chansons québécoises et Francophones de notre enfance, adolescence. On connaissait toutes les paroles par cœur et je fais partie de ça. Je ne peux pas faire semblant que je ne fais pas partie de cette culture et que je ne l'embrasse pas et que ce n'est pas du tout de l'assimilation. Mais il faut être capable aussi de jumeler les différentes cultures et de t'apprécier cette diversité. Et quand on était en France, moi, j'étais fière d'être là-bas et d'être une représentante d'ici [Québec] et de chanter avec les autres, de sacrer avec les autres, de sortir l'accent et de faire en sorte d'être bien au fait de la culture d'ici [Québec] »*

(“...we were all Québécois and there was no history of origins when we were in France with our group of eight, and we sang all sorts of Québécois and Francophone songs of our childhood, adolescence. We knew all the lyrics by heart and I was part of that. I cannot pretend that I am not part of this culture and that I did not embrace it and that there has not been any assimilation. But it must be possible to as well to combine different cultures and for you to appreciate this diversity. And when we were in France, me, I was proud to be there and to be a representative of [Quebec] and to sing with the others, to swear with the others, to bring out the accent and make sure to be familiar with the culture of [Quebec].”)

She talks about the songs, as cultural references that she had in common with the other Québécois present, and the pride that she felt to be a representative and carrier of Quebec culture. While participants, both Anglophones and Francophones, noted that stereotypically they found that Québécois swore often, France is also referring to the distinct style of swearing that is rooted in a strong catholic tradition in Quebec. Québécois swear words are blasphemous and related to not only God, but also other aspects of the church and catholic practice considered holy. In fact, the French verb for “to swear” is actually *sacre* with the noun being the same. *Tabarnak* is arguably one of the most common curse words, which refers to the tabernacle, the box where the holy bread and wine are stored. *Ostie*, translates literally to “host” or the bread which is eaten during mass. *Calisse* translates to “chalice”, which is the cup in which the wine, or blood of Christ is served. *Sacrement*, or “sacrament” is also a common curse word and refers to the seven sacraments in which Catholics can observe from baptism to death. There are also other words



that are similar to some curse words in an English protestant tradition, such as *crise* or “Christ” and *maudit* or “damned”.

France has associated the way she curses with her Quebec identity, and she is not alone. As the opening quote to this section from Jacques, when he tries to think about unique things to Quebec, he thinks “it’s *poutine* and *tabarnak*”, referring to the unique food and curse words.

France also mentioned that she feels proud to be able to represent Quebec and know aspects of the culture of Quebec. Maude similarly identifies with Quebec culture and particularly the arts and literature. She says:

*« J’ai toujours été sensible à la culture, à l’art. Donc, c’est vraiment de ce côté là que je me suis imprégnée, côté littérature. L’intérêt pour la littérature. C’est vraiment plus d’un point de vue culturel que je pense que je me suis bien intégrée à la culture québécoise. Je suis très ouverte, très alerte, très allumée par ce qui se passe du côté vibrant de la culture québécoise artistique. »*

(“I have always been sensitive to the culture, to the art. So, it’s really this side that I am immersed, the literature side. The interest in literature. It’s really more from the cultural point of view that I think that I am well integrated in the Quebecois culture. I am very open, very alert, very excited by what happens next in the vibrant artistic Quebecois culture.”)

Imelda similarly attaches to the arts, such as literature, television, and music.

*« J’ai appris à lire des littératures québécoises, des auteurs québécois. Donc, c’est sûr qu’au niveau aussi de l’histoire du Québec, ça m’interpelle. Au niveau aussi des émissions québécoises que je regardais. Mais j’avoue que quand j’étais jeune, j’écoutais plus des émissions américaines parce que je me rappelle, mes parents disaient : « Ah, les États-Unis, c’est tellement beau, c’est tellement gros! Il faut bien parler anglais si, plus tard, tu veux réussir. » Donc, quand j’étais jeune, j’écoutais plus des émissions américaines. Et ensuite, à l’école, je me suis fait une très bonne amie qui est très québécoise, qui écoutait des émissions comme « La fin du monde est à 7 heures » avec Marc Labrèche et c’est elle qui m’a fait découvrir des artistes, de la musique québécoise aussi. »*

(I learned to read Quebecois literature, Quebecois authors. So certainly at the level of history of Quebec, this concerns me. Also the Québécois television shows that I watch. But I admit that when I was young, I watched more American shows because I remember my parents said ‘ah, the United States, it is very beautiful. It is very big! It is necessary to speak English well if later on you want to succeed.’ So when I was young, I watched more the American shows. And then, at school, I made a very good friend who is very Québécois, who watched shows like *La fin du monde est à 7 heures* with Marc Labrèche and it is her who helped me discover the artists of Quebecois music as well.”)

Imelda is fully English-French bilingual, and speaks Vietnamese with her parents. However, she is most comfortable in French as she finds she best expresses herself in French, the language in which she has studied. This is despite her childhood cultural references that were mainly American, and therefore English. She has had exposure to both English and French media in Quebec, and finds that her knowledge of French media is a factor in negotiating Québécois identity.

While Leah is not as immersed in French media, she finds her Quebec identity in at least one medium of art.

“Theatre, it’s the only one I watch. I really like French theatre, cause they’re always based on French novels and French books. And going to French high school I had to watch a lot of them, and I really did enjoy it, it was nice. It made sense. It always has to do with mainly about living in Quebec and stuff like that. I feel more...since I grew up here and I live here I feel more attached in that way, cause when they talk about places in their books, I’m like ‘oh I know where that is’. You can picture it too, cause you’ve seen it. I do enjoy that, the fact that I’m in Quebec and I know where that is. I can relate to it more easily. That’s my main part of Quebec culture.”

Leah is less attached to the language of the art, or theatre and literature in this case, but finds herself in these works because of the closeness to Quebec, as a geographical landmark. She can relate to the works because it speaks to places and experiences that are within the realm of her experience, even if it’s not in her predominant official language.

However, both Imelda and Leah appear to be exceptions rather than the rule, because they implicate themselves in both English and French media and entertainment. For those who grew up on more Anglophone television and entertainment, either because they themselves were Anglophone or they were encouraged to learn English by their parents and family, participants feel that this creates a gap between them and the Québécois Francophone majority. This does

not necessarily result in a lack of Québécois identity, but often times will result in a lack of belonging to the Francophone community, which is a consideration in the negotiation of their Québécois identity.

For Florence, she already feels a gap between her and the Québécois Francophone majority and has a difficulty identifying herself as Québécois, and her lack of exposure to French media, such as television and music only compounds this. She recalls common conversations with her Québécois Francophone colleagues.

“...they have conversations sometimes it’s like ‘oh it’s just another actor you don’t know, another TV personality you don’t know’, and they continue discussing it. But it’s really something that they grew up with, and lived and breathe and don’t understand how people don’t know about it, and try to insert it. But knowing those things doesn’t make me become more Quebecer, obviously.”

She feels that the because she grew up in a predominantly English media household, and lacks exposure to the Québécois Francophone culture, which she recognises that many people believe is very important. However, she believes that even if she did follow the Francophone media in Quebec, it would not necessarily make her more Québécois, as she believes that she is excluded on other grounds. These issue will be discussed further in the chapter 5.

Like Florence, Evelyn also finds that she lacks the cultural connections that are part of everyday conversations.

“...because I was raised Anglophone at home... English TV, English music... I don’t really have a sense of... people were like ‘oh this singer,’ and I was like ‘yea, I don’t know who that is.’ ‘You’re from Quebec, you don’t know who this person is?’ ‘Absolutely no idea.’ So... that’s kind of, that would be why, cause I don’t really know anything about the actors, or the music, or the social media or any of that stuff. Who the Francophone Quebec celebrities are, or what... I mean you learn about the history, but to be honest, I don’t really know much about history or politics. I’m not very into all that stuff. You know, this particular French-Canadian person in history... I

don't know, there's a street named after him, but I don't know. I don't really have that engrained in me."

Sentiments expressed by Florence and Evelyn, have a similar consequence to Michel who describes himself as trilingual and says that he learned all three of his maternal languages at the same time, French, English and Creole. Despite his education in French schools he says,

*« Je trouve que c'était plus facile pour moi d'être dans une communauté Anglophone parce que ça ressemblait plus à un peu la culture américaine... plus un miroir de la culture américaine et la culture québécoise... Francophone c'est plus une culture où que... comment je peux dire... entertainment basé sur le français... comparé à l'autre qui est basé sur l'anglais. When I was growing up, j'avais le satellite. Donc, je n'écoutais pas la télé vraiment québécoise. Je l'écoutais jamais. Tout anglais et j'écoutais vraiment la télé américaine. »*

("I find that it was easier for me to be in the Anglophone community because it resembled more a little American culture. More a mirror of American culture, and the Québécois culture, Francophone, it is more a culture where...how can I say this...entertainment based on French. Compared to the other that is based on English. When I was growing up, I had satellite [tv]. So, I did not really watch Québécois television. I never watched it. All English, and I watched really American television."

In his suburban schools, he found that his Québécois Francophone cohorts partook only in the French entertainment, and as a result he felt more at ease with Anglophone communities because of the nature of the conversations and cultural references in which he had in his repertoire. This sentiment is not unique to the Anglophone community, but can also be seen in those in the Francophone community who tended more towards English media.

*« ...à un certain limite, la seule chose que je me sens Québécois, comme je dis, c'est peut-être que je parle la langue et je pense pas que j'ai un accent. Donc, c'est la seule chose qui est proche, mais ça revient à ce que j'ai dit tantôt. C'est vraiment le fait que la culture, la société ici au Québec, au moment où on se parle en 2013, il y a certains... il y a beaucoup de choses importantes comme je te dis l'entertainment, la façon de penser même, je ne m'identifie pas à eux. Je ne me sens pas avoir les mêmes valeurs. »*

("...to a certain limit, the only thing that makes me feel Quebecois, like I said, it is maybe that I speak the language and I don't think that I have an accent. So it is the only thing that is close, but it goes back to what I said earlier. It is really the fact that the culture, the society here in Quebec, at this moment that we are talking in 2013, there are certain...there are many important things, like I told you, the entertainment, the way of thinking as well, I do not identify with them. I don't feel like I have the same values.")

The above quote from Claude says that he shares the language and accent with the Québécois, but that he still finds what he sees as fundamental gaps between him and his Québécois Francophone peers. Growing up, he says that he was drawn more to the English children's shows and has continued that trend with most of his entertainment and media consumption being based in English. He believes that this has produced a difference in ways of thinking, visions of society, and values, all of which keep him from identifying himself as Québécois.

For him, language was not a gateway into the cultural integration. He and others believe they required more. Language is not enough. An immersion or exposure to Québécois Francophone media is one thing, but other cultural aspects are key as well.

“...there are Quebecer singers that I like, like Pierre Lapointe. But I feel like I don't know that much so I feel excluded when they talk about it, like yea, you wouldn't know. Or certain jokes, like... what's his name, he's a comedian... Francois Perusse. I do not understand his jokes, I just don't. I don't understand the accent, and they're like 'oh, cause you're not French'. I am, I just don't get it. That's all.”

- Hélène, a 25 year old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Hélène mentions a few things in the above quote. She says she feels excluded because she does not know much about the French media, particularly in this case the music, but also has some difficulty with understanding Québécois humour. Hélène is trilingual, and says that she lives most of her life as an English-French bilingual and can switch between the two languages quite seamlessly. But she defines herself as a Francophone as it is the language in which she was educated but partook in both English and French media while growing up. She blames her lack of understanding of some Québécois humour on the accent that she has trouble comprehending. But Gilles, a 22 year-old Haitian who arrived in Quebec at the age of zero, might argue that perhaps the types of jokes differ between Anglophones and Francophones and because she

operates equally in both languages, she may actually have different sensibilities when it comes to humour.

*« ...la culture aussi est très différente... juste l'humour quand on regarde les shows d'humour... j'oublie le nom, mais il y a un gars qui fait un show d'humour tous les soirs sur CBC et tout le monde adore ça dans le reste du Canada parce qu'ils trouvent ça drôle, mais les Québécois qui parlent anglais vont écouter ces blagues et vont faire «Ah, c'est des blagues poches...» c'est des blagues Anglophones qu'on adhère pas ou comme on dit, tandis que notre humour va, lui, pas embarquer dans le reste du Canada. Mettons, comme le film Bon cop, bad cop, il y avait des blagues pour les Anglophones et des blagues pour les Francophones et dans une salle bilingue, les Anglophones riaient à leurs blagues, les Francophones riaient aux blagues Francophones et ceux qui étaient mélangés un peu vont comme piger des deux cotés »*

(“...the culture as well is very different. Just the humour when we watch the comedy shows, I forget the name, but there is a guy who does a comedy show in the evenings of CBC and everybody loves this in the rest of Canada because they find it funny, but Québécois who speak English are going to listen to these jokes and are going to say ‘Ah, those are sucky jokes’. It is the Anglophone jokes that don’t stick or, as we say, while our humour does not work in the rest of Canada. Let’s say, like the film *Bon Cop, Bad Cop*, there were some jokes for Anglophones and some jokes for Francophones and in a bilingual room, the Anglophones laughed at their jokes, the Francophones laughed at Francophone jokes and those who were a little mixed dipped into both sides”)

Not only is humour a potential cultural characteristic, but language can be a culturally ethnic as well, particularly when speaking about Québécois expressions and accent (Bourhis, et al., 2008). Above, Hélène talked about how she has trouble understanding humour in French, despite being quite fluent. She attempts to figure out why she has such difficulty and says that in addition to “the thick accent, the words and expressions, cause sometimes they say expressions and I’m like ‘what’? That’s more it. Cause my French that I learned in my high school was more from France, not the accent itself...” She maintains that even though she speaks French, she is missing the cultural aspects of the Québécois French, which includes certain words, expression, and an accent, that are unique to the province, and as we will see below vary depending on where one is in the province. Karine, who works in the health field, talks about some of the older adult patients that she interacts with whom she sometimes has difficulty understanding because of their expressions.

*« Et puis les expressions. «Depuis quand vous avez mal là», «ah, une bonne secousse!» C'est comme des choses qu'on entend pas ici et parfois ils parlent avec des expressions que même mes amis québécois ne connaissent pas. Donc, c'est sûr que moi non plus je ne l'ai connus pas. Surtout, je m'identifie comme une Québécoise et mon français c'est ma meilleure langue. Je parle autant français québécois que n'importe quel autre Québécois, mais dès que mes expressions sont un petit peu trop québécois de souche, je pense que les gens vont le remarquer »*

(“And then the expressions. ‘Since when have you been sick?’ ‘Ah, a good shake!’ It’s like the things that we don’t hear here at sometimes they speak with the expressions that even my Québécois friends do not know. So, it is certain that I will not know them. Mostly, I identify myself as Québécois and my French it is my best language. I speak a very Québécois French than any other Québécois, but as soon my expressions are a little bit more Québécois *de souche*, I think people are going to notice.”

Despite French being the language in which she feels most comfortable, Karine still has difficulty understanding expressions that she considers to be very Québécois *de souche*<sup>71</sup>, or tied to the traditional Québécois Francophone population. The use of these expressions is a marker for her and for others, of someone who is perhaps more Québécois than her, despite her strong identification. If this issue is difficult for those who believe that French is their best language, this issue may be even more troublesome for Anglophones, like Evelyn. She says,

“Well I mean, I don’t understand their Francophone expressions sometimes, even though I speak it really well, sometimes I have a bit of an accent, or I don’t know what a particular word is. Kinda good in Quebec though, ‘cause you can just use the English word with the French accent.”

For at least one participant, Darlène’s knowledge of these expressions was one way that she feels she is Québécois. As those presented above, she also feels that knowledge of the Québécois arts scene, food, and activities, that may fluctuate with the season are cultural characteristics that tied her to her Quebec identity.

*« ...je vais me sentir Québécoise, c'est quand je vais parler ma langue, quand je vais avoir mes expressions, quand je vais parler de mes artistiques québécois préférés, quand je vais parler de ma rue préférée à Montréal, quand je vais parler de la température d'ici, ce qu'on mange par rapport à la température, les activités qu'on fait par rapport à la température... »*

(“...I am going to feel Québécois, it’s when I am going to speak my language, when I am going to have my expressions, when I am going to talk about my favourite Québécois artists, when I talk about my favourite street in Montreal, when I going to talk about the temperature here, and that

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<sup>71</sup> Literally translates to “old stock” and refers to the French-Canadian ethnic population.

which we eat with respect to the temperature, the activities that we do with respect to the temperature...”)

Of course possibly understanding these expressions, in addition to the other cultural markers discussed above may be a way for participants to identify as Quebecois, albeit, it is not necessary nor is it sufficient, but rather the cultural aspects are part of this negotiation. Food, home-grown artists and entertainment, and a cultural perspective of language including cursing, humour, accent, and expressions are aspects that are sometimes considered unique to Quebec and which some people are able to attach to. But having knowledge or even partaking in these cultural aspects of society do not guarantee that second generation immigrants will identify as Québécois, nor do the lack of them mean that they do not identify. The next section will explore the cultural values that second generation immigrants view as part of the Québécois culture, but predominant in the French-Canadian majority, which are also considered in the negotiation of Québécois identity.

#### **4.1.3. Cultural Values**

Values are another cultural trait that participants either attach to or do not attach to in Quebec, but are nonetheless part of their negotiation process of Québécois identity. While civic and political values and sentiments were covered in the chapter 3, two specific cultural values were mentioned time and time again through out the interviews. The first value of extreme modesty and humility is generally seen in a negative light, and this may be a result of the immigrant mentality of upward social mobility that it contrasts. The second value of individuality has more mixed reactions. However, both are seen as uniquely Québécois values in the Canadian context, particularly perceived among the French-Canadian dominant majority.



#### 4.1.3.1. Être né pour un petit pain

*« Être né pour un petit pain », c'est-à-dire que... il y a certaines personnes qui pensaient par rapport à l'église catholique qu'il fallait être modeste, qu'on ne devait pas avoir de grandes ambitions, qu'il fallait être humble... »*

(‘To be born for small bread’ is to say that...there are certain people who thought relative to the Catholic church that one needed be modest, that we should not have big ambitions, that one needed be humble.)

The first value is best described using a French phrase that I was unfamiliar with before this research began. *« Être né pour un petit pain »* or ‘to be born for small bread’ is an expression which means to be born for small things, or to be born for poverty in its extreme. It is an expression that has its roots in the Catholic Church in which humility and giving excess to the Church was encouraged and even glorified. Historically, it described the fatalistic collective condition of the Québécois that participants still believe is present in society today. Lise’s quote above describes her interpretation of the expression.

While not always named by participants, they believe that this sentiment is still prevalent today in Quebec as a legacy of the Church. Participants acknowledge it generally as a negative characteristic that holds back Quebec and its people, but also prevents successful people from being recognised for their hard work. Lise explains further and expresses her dislike for the old-fashioned manner of thinking.

*« Dans la culture catholique traditionnelle, si tu es riche c'est que tu as volé à quelqu'un d'autre. Le riche doit...tu dois être humble. J'ai l'impression que chez certains Québécois, on a gardé... de manière. Ce n'est pas exprimé comme tel... ce n'est pas dit comme ça, mais... Oui, il y a ce côté. Oui, il y a le côté la jalousie du succès. De cracher sur les gens de notre société qui ont du succès. [Robert] Lepage, Céline Dion... les gens qui ont de l'argent, ils sont super mal perçus...et c'est ça. Donc, ce côté m'énerve un peu. »*

(“In the traditional Catholic culture, if you are rich, it because that you have stolen from someone or another. The rich should...you must be humble. I have the impression that among certain Québécois, they have kept this...manner. It is not expressed, it is not said like this, but yes, there is this side. Yes, there is a jealousy of success. To spit on the people from our society who have success. [Robert] Lepage, Céline Dion...the people who have the money, they are super badly perceived, and that’s it. So, this side bothers me a bit.”)

She is not alone in this negative impression that she believes haunts Québécois society. Darlène and Camille both do not identify with this value.

*« Je suis content de mon français et tout ça, mais le reste; l'espère de fardeau que la religion nous a donné, que le travail acharné sur les terres, et qu'on ne peut pas avoir de luxe, qu'on ne peut pas être une superstar parce qu'il faut rester comme humble. Tous ces genres de mentalité qui datent vraiment de mes grands-parents... que mes parents ont entraîné, qui m'ont entraîné sans trop le vouloir, souvent, c'est sans s'en rendre compte. Mais ça, je trouve que c'est un point en commun qu'on a au Québec et je trouve ça triste. »*

(“I am happy about my French and all that, but the rest; the burden of hope that the religion has given us, that the fierce work on the earth, and that we cannot have luxuries, that we cannot be superstars because we need to remain humble. All these types of dated mentalities of my grand parents, that my parents were engrained with, that I was engrained with without much desire, often it's without realising it. But that, I find that it's a point in common that we have in Quebec, and I find this sad.”)

- Darlène, a 26 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*«L'Anglophone est très entrepreneur, il est très... Il y a beaucoup plus d'entrepreneuriat, cette valeur, la relation par rapport à l'argent, l'accumulation de l'argent, l'héritage, c'est très différent du québécois, du Québec français, où est-ce qu'il y a l'expression « né pour un petit pain », de travailler pour untel... C'est pas les mêmes valeurs, et je trouve que j'appartiens plus à ça. »*

(“The Anglophone is very entrepreneur, he is very, there is much more entrepreneurial, this value, the relationship to money, the accumulation of money, inheritance, it is very different from the Québécois, of French Quebec, where there is the expression ‘born for a small bread’, to work for so and so. It's not the same values, and I find that I belong more to this [Anglophone value].”)

- Camille, a 33 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Camille compares this Québécois value to that of Anglophone or Anglo-Saxon work ethic, in which she says she identifies with more. The perceived lack of entrepreneurial spirit, lack of ambition, or lack of respect for intellectualism is some of the reasons that participants cannot attach to this value. This dislike for this value in Quebec society does not mean however that these three Haitian second generation women identify less with Quebec. In fact, it is just the opposite. These three women identify quite strongly with Quebec, but rather find that this aspect of society does not fit with their personal values, while many other facets of Quebec society do.

What is missing from the above quotes are the reasons why these women might not want to identify with this particular value. It could be a generational shift, one away from the church that has taken decades to shed its legacy, but as second generation immigrants, the deep historical attachments to the Catholic Church may not necessarily be present. Both Jean-Francois and France believe that the rejection of the value is because they come from an immigrant background, with an immigrant mentality.

*« Le Québécois va jamais être content pour toi. Si tu réussis, il va toujours dire «Pourquoi lui a réussi et pas moi?» » Ok, moi aussi je vais faire pareil. Mais c'est pas si tu as économisé, si tu as eu un héritage, si tu as travaillé fort pour. Il jalouse beaucoup. C'est ça qui est dommage. »*

(“Québécois are never going to be happy for you. If you succeed, he will always say ‘why did he succeed and not me?’ Ok, me as well, I am going to do the same. But it is not as if you have saved, if you got an inheritance, if you have worked for it. He is very jealous. This is what is a disappointment.”)

- Jean-François, a 35 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

He was specifically referring to visible minorities and those of immigrant origin, and included himself in this definition. As will be discussed much more thoroughly in chapter 7 on discrimination, Jean-François believes that marginalised populations are particularly targeted when it comes to getting good jobs and recognises that this is not only on an individual level, but also done systematically through the non-recognition of foreign credentials, for example.

As a visible minority child of immigrants, he finds that if he is successful, the default position of many Québécois is that he has not actually earned it, but rather they are suspicious and jealous of his success. This is directly related to his sentiments of exclusion and discrimination that he has experienced in his interactions in Quebec, and as a target for this exclusion and differential treatment; he therefore cannot and does not identify with this value.

France's perspective is slightly different, but still hinges on a conflict between this "old-stock" value and the immigrant mentality.

*« Quand tu es un enfant d'immigrants, tu as été élevé avec... en tout cas, pour ma part... avec cette mentalité qu'il faut travailler fort, tes parents font des sacrifices, et ils sont arrivés ici, et il faut que tu travailles plus fort que tout le monde. Tandis qu'ici, il n'y a pas, on dirait que ce côté est bien moins vu. Il y a toute cette image par rapport à la richesse que les immigrants veulent aspirer à ça et les Québécois de tradition canadienne française, «ah, ça, c'est les méchants. C'est un peu comme les Anglais. Lui... c'est l'Anglais qui travaillait, qui était un boss. » Quand tu es un boss, alors tu es synonyme du méchant et il faut toujours rester ce fils de prolétaire, ce fils d'agriculteur qui est enraciné en soi. Ce n'est pas nécessairement tout le monde qui est comme ça, au contraire. »*

("When you are a child of immigrants, you are raised with...in any case, in my experience...with this mentality that you have to work hard, your parents made sacrifices, and they came here, and it's required that you work harder than everyone. While here, there is not, we say that this side is not as prominent. There is always this image related to the rich lifestyle that the immigrants would like to aspire to, and the Québécois, traditional French Canadian, 'ah, this, it is evil. It is a little like the English. Him, it is the English who works, and who is a boss.' When you are a boss, then you are synonymous to evil and you are required to stay a son of a proletarian, this son of a farmer who is rooted. It is not necessarily everyone who is like this, in fact, quite the contrary.")

France points to the central immigrant motivation of better life, for not only the immigrants, but for their children. She says that coming from an immigrant background, she was raised to work hard to compensate for the sacrifices that were made for her by her parents or grandparents. She believes that this same mentality does not always exist in the Québécois culture and is negatively associated with an Anglo-Saxon tradition that is perceived to have oppressed the French-Canadian population during 'The Great Darkness' (*le grand noirceur* – see section 1.3.1). From her perspective, her upbringing, and the upbringings of all children of immigrants are counter to this *être né pour un petit pain* mentality.

Vietnamese respondents saw this difference in mentality in direct conflict with their values that they were brought up with in the home. They interpreted this value as a lack of a desire to earn a

lot of money or notoriety, which can result in putting less emphasis on personal investment in education and career opportunities.

*« C'est un peu ça que je trouvais énervant. Je trouve que les Québécois se plaignent beaucoup, et ils n'ont pas cette notion d'effort. Moi, c'est quelque chose que j'ai tiré de mes parents. Mes parents ont tellement mis d'effort dans tous les projets qu'ils ont. Tout ce qu'ils ont, c'est grâce à eux-mêmes. Des fois, les Québécois sont un peu comme ça.*

*Donc, c'est cette notion d'effort que je trouve des fois que les Québécois n'ont pas, et des fois ils sont un peu paresseux. C'est comme l'inertie un petit peu. Ils attendent que les choses changent pour eux. »*

(“It’s this that I find a bit annoying. I find that Québécois complain a lot, and they do not have this notion of effort. Me, it’s something that I have taken from my parents. My parents have put forth a lot of effort in all the projects that they have. All that they have is thanks to themselves. Sometimes, the Québécois are a bit like this.

So, it’s this notion of effort that I find sometimes Québécois do not have, and some times, they are a little lazy. It’s like inertia a little bit. They are waiting for things to change for them.”)

Karine was specifically talking about the student protests that took over the streets of Montreal, and other cities and towns for weeks in the Spring of 2012, often dubbed *les printemps d’érable* (Maple Spring). While she supported some aspects of the protests, she talked about the fact that her working class parents saved for her and her sister to be able to go to school, while some Québécois were arguing for even more heavy subsidies or even free tuition paid for by the government because parents were not able to, or from her perspective, unwilling to assist their children in their post-secondary education.

Gérald has a similar sentiment regarding his parents’ focus on education as compared to that of the Québécois.

*« Mes parents sont arrivés ici, ils avaient pas d'argent. On est trois enfants, on est trois... on a une maîtrise, on a fait une éducation. C'est une question de priorité. Tiens, mes parents ont travaillé. Ils sont arrivés ici et ils avaient tous les deux des emplois. Ma mère est coutière, mon père travaillait dans une usine. Tu n'es pas obligé d'être riche pour aller à l'école. »*

(“My parents came here, they had no money. We are three children, we are three... we have Masters, we have an education. It’s a question of priority. Listen, my parents worked. They arrived here and they both had jobs. My mother is a seamstress, my father works in a factory. You are not obliged to be rich to go to school.”)

He thinks that the tuitions rates for university are reasonable and that many middle class and working class families like his should be able to send their kids to university, but that Québécois Francophone priorities are not the same; where having too much money, or a prestigious degree or job is frowned upon. While it was not a focus of my research to ask about their opinions of the student protests or how they think the government treats education, many participants mentioned it when prompted to talk about the things they liked or disliked about Québécois society. A deeper look at perspectives on political opinions is explored in the previous chapter.

Leon, another Vietnamese second generation immigrant has similar notions as some of the other participants, where he does not see the same level of entrepreneurship among the Québécois Francophone population. In its place he sees a lack of effort and desire for intellectual success and recognition, and the desire for change to happen rather than being change agents.

“It’s not just a laziness that they don’t wanna work, but it’s intellectual laziness; they don’t wanna think about how to change their society. It’s not because one guy works 35 hours a week that the bridges are falling apart.

No one is like fuck this, I’m gonna change it. It’s more like... I’d like to change it but I’m gonna punch out now, it’s 4 pm. It’s not just the amount of work, but the amount of intellectual ambition and laziness to it. No one wants to really step up. I think that has fostered a system that prevents someone from stepping up, and you see that with entrepreneurship here. No one wants to invest here, no one wants to come here. Why? Because the ground well is not fertile for innovation, for personal... for someone to really come in and change things.”

This of course is in stark contrast to the sentiments expressed concerning the arts discussed above, such as music, literature, cinema and television, where the efforts put towards these are a source of pride for the province and particularly Montreal. However despite these sentiments that they find clash with their own, these three Vietnamese second generation immigrants would identify strongly with Quebec and claim that identity as their own. They like many other aspects of their society, but are pointing out that this value that they see prevalent among Québécois

Francophones is not something that they attach to or identify with, as with a number of the Haitian participants. The perceived values of the majority, and how they are associated with one's personal or family values are certainly a consideration in the process of negotiating one's identity.

Leon is the only Anglophone who spoke about this so-called value; all of the others who spoke of this were Francophone. If France's description is correct, that the contrast is between those of immigrant backgrounds versus the old-stock Québécois, then we would expect that the Filipino and the Anglo-Caribbean groups might have also recognised this trait. However, we do not see this. Ancestral religious differences may play a role, particularly with the Vietnamese population that is less likely to ascribe to Catholicism or Christianity, but the Haitian population has a history of Catholicism due to French colonial rule, and a number of participants pointed out their dislike for this as well. Another possible explanation may be that Francophones are more likely to interact with Québécois Francophones, both in social and work environments where this behaviour and value can come into play. In fact, Leon noticed this trait only when he began working in a predominantly Francophone environment. The French schooling system may also be a site of transmission of this value, but both a large number of the Filipinos and Anglo-Caribbeans in my sample attended French schools and yet made no mention of this value.

Not everyone viewed this mentality as a negative quality, and even Leon had mixed feelings about it. He liked that fact that there was time to enjoy and have a work-life balance, but worried that this characteristic was preventing very intelligent and driven Québécois to excel in their careers. Imelda is one person who likes this humility that she finds in Quebec, however, she

mostly compares this to an American lifestyle that she is familiar with given her time spent visiting family and working in a large US metropolis.

*« Tu vois, encore une autre différence. Là-bas, c'est vraiment très matériel. T'as réussi là-bas, si t'as un gros char, une maison. Là-bas, la vie starlette, c'est super important, alors qu'au Québec. Et moi, je ne m'identifie pas à ça, moi, c'est plutôt, qu'est-ce que je peux faire ici pour avoir un impact plutôt qu'un impact financier, si tu veux. Pour moi, la définition de réussite ne veut pas dire gros char, grosse baraque. Pas du tout. La définition est comme très différente et je crois que c'est ça la distinction aussi ».*

(“You see, still another difference. Over there, it is very materialistic. You have succeeded over there if you have a big car, a house. Over there, the starlet lifestyle, it is super important, more than in Quebec. And me, I don't identify with that. Me, it's more, what can I do here to have an impact more than a financial impact, if you like. For me, the definition of success does not have to be a big car, a big mansion. Not at all. The definition is very different and I believe that that is the distinction.”)

She likes this humility of the people of the province and finds that these values are closer to hers than that of the Americans. She does not need to make a lot of money or the fancy things that money can buy, and in fact has opted for a career with less stability than her professional degree would have guaranteed her. While she does not use the same expression as Lise, she has internalised parts of this Québécois value into her identity and is much more compelled by that, rather than the Anglo-Saxon tradition she perceives in the US.

#### **4.1.3.2. Independence & Individuality**

Above, Karine and others expressed disbelief over the unwillingness of Québécois Francophones to prioritise the potential of future success, for themselves or their children. This lack of “effort” could be attributed to the engrained modesty and humility as a legacy of ancestral Catholic roots that still permeates throughout Québécois society today. Similarly, Vietnamese participants mentioned the value of independence, as an important aspect of Québécois society that is demonstrated by the emancipation of children at the age of eighteen. For Karine and Gérald (above), the value of independence is prioritized more among Québécois than the future success of their children.



*« C'est moins commun chez les Québécois de se «je vais économiser pour mes enfants.» Je parle en général. Je sais que ce n'est pas tout le monde. C'est comme «moi, jusqu'à tes 18 ans, je t'aide, mais après ça tu te débrouilles.» J'en ai des amis qui ont commencé à payer un loyer à 18 ans parce qu'ils avaient 18 ans chez leurs parents. Pour moi, c'est un non sens total et pour mes parents même chose. Avec ce que j'ai eu comme enfance, c'est sûr que mes enfants, je vais leur payer toutes leurs études. Comme, je m'en fous si tu as ton iPod ou pas, tes études, c'est moi qui vais les payer. Ça a toujours été comme ça chez nous. »*

(“It's less common among Québécois to say ‘I am going to save for my kids’. I am speaking in general. I know that it is not everyone. It's more like ‘me, until you are 18 years old, I will help you. But after that, you are on your own.’ I have a friend who started paying rent at 18 years because they were 18 years old living with their parents. For me, it makes no sense, and for my parents it's the same thing. With what I had as a child, it is certain that my kids, I am going to pay for them, all their studies. Like, I don't care if you have an ipod or not, your studies, it is me who is going to pay for them. This is always how it was at our house.”)

Karine finds that there is a direct conflict between how she was raised, and how she plans to raise her children, and the focus of independence in Québécois society. While independence is a positive trait, she finds it is at the expense of taking care of your children's future. Dorais & Richard (2007) similarly highlight that their Vietnamese informants find their family values are in direct contrast to this Québécois value.

Dominique believes that the value of independence is not aligned with some of the traditional values that she practices, and this perception is informed by the reaction she receives from her Québécois Francophone peers.

*« Malgré le fait que je suis née au Québec, ici, au Canada... qu'est-ce qui est drôle c'est que quand je suis ici, je ne me sens pas comme si j'étais une vraie Québécoise parce que j'ai la culture vietnamienne. Une des affaires c'est que tu t'en vas au travail et tu dois compter sur le fait que... j'ai 34 ans et je reste encore avec mes parents et c'est très courant au Vietnam, et c'est très bien accepté, mais c'est pas aussi bien accepté ici. Mes collègues se moquent carrément de moi. C'est genre «tu n'es pas indépendante». Ils promouvaient [promeuvent] beaucoup l'indépendance, l'autonomie des enfants. À l'âge de 18 ans, ils quittent le nid familial, alors que pour moi, je reste ici jusqu'à temps que ça me tente, et c'est un peu mal vu de la part des Québécois. Je ne partage pas cette valeur. Je n'ai pas cette façon de faire. »*

(“Despite the fact that I was born in Quebec, here in Canada. What is funny is that when I am here, I do not feel like I am a real Québécois because I have the Vietnamese culture. One of the things is that you leave when you go to work, and you have to consider the fact that I am 34 years old and I still live at home with my parents and it is very common in Vietnam, and it is very well accepted, but it is not so well accepted here. My colleagues tease me to my face. It's like ‘you are not independent’. They promote a lot independence, the autonomy of children. At the age of 18,

they leave the family nest, but for me, I will stay here until the time that I feel like it, and it is a little badly perceived by the Québécois. I do not share this value. I do not have this way of doing things.”)

While Dominique has a professional career, she remains at home by choice, and this is a practice that is well accepted in the Vietnamese community, but she says that she is openly mocked for this by her Québécois Francophone peers. She finds that this practice distinguishes her from them, and it is because of this value of personal autonomy in particular that she does not hold, that she cannot identify strongly as Québécois. In contrast to the Québécois household, she says « *...au fond, la famille vietnamienne c'est interdépendance. Tu restes à la maison, tu aides tout le monde. Tu es indépendant dans ce que tu fais, mais tu aides aussi le reste du monde et le reste du monde va t'aider aussi.* » (“...basically, the Vietnamese family is interdependent. You live at the house, you help everyone. You are independent in what you do, but you also help everyone else and the rest is going to help you too.”).

She is not the only one who is attached more to the interdependence of the Vietnamese home. Jacques says, “as the eldest, I have to always try to listen to my parents, be like a third parents or somewhat and try to... sometimes... put my ego aside and try to help the family as a whole.” This “collectivism” at home in contrast to “Quebec individualism” as he calls it, is part of the multifaceted reason that prevents him from identifying as Québécois. He does note however, that this sense of individualism may not necessarily be a quintessentially Québécois characteristic and that the “Vietnamese way” is in contrast to most North American or “occidental” cultures.

Not everyone who mentioned this value thought about it in a negative light. Alexandre tries to actively reject the pressure from his mother to adhere to the traditional Vietnamese values of

remaining in the home until married. He prefers the “liberal” values touted in Quebec where after the age of eighteen, you are treated and considered an adult.

*« ...Ici au Québec, à 18 ans, tu as le droit de vivre seul. Peu importe si tu es marié ou pas. Ma mère, « non non, tu n'es pas marié, tu restes un enfant. » Pour la vie. Et puis, je dirais que je suis encore plus libéral que cela parce que je n'ai pas l'intention de me marier et ma mère n'aime pas cela.*

*À cause que ma mère s'attache tellement aux valeurs traditionnelles du Vietnam, ça m'a influencé à suivre encore plus les valeurs québécoises et même, les dépasser et prendre mes propres valeurs. Même, ici, pas mal aujourd'hui, je crois que les Québécois, c'est libre, c'est encore bien vu que quelqu'un de trente ou quarante ans ne soit pas marié. »*

(“...Because here in Quebec, at 18 years old, you have the right to live alone. No matter if you are married or not. My mother, ‘no, no, you are not married, you stay a child’. For your life. So then, I say that I am more liberal than that because I have no intention of marrying and my mother does not like this.

Because my mother is very much attached to the traditional values of Vietnam, this influences me to follow even more Quebecois values and at the same time, go beyond then and find my own values. Even here, I believe that the Quebecois, they are free. It is still well perceived for someone who is thirty or forty years old to not be married.”)

Similarly, Lise has a very positive view of this Québécois value of autonomy, particularly as it relates to women and marriage. She was comparing it to a traditional Haitian culture where

*« pour une fille c'était inconcevable ne de pas se marier, tandis qu'ici, la majorité de mes amis sont en couple, mais c'est la minorité qui s'est mariée. Oui, le mariage revient, mais malgré tout, ça revient en force et tout ça... mais ce n'est pas par obligation. »* (“for a girl, it was inconceivable to not be married, while here, the majority of my friends are in couples, but it is the minority who is married. Yes, marriage is coming back, but nonetheless, that comeback and all that...but it is not by obligation”).

Adherence or rejection of these two values seems to have an inconclusive effect on Québécois identity of second generation immigrants, but are nonetheless a consideration for second generation immigrants and their negotiation process of Québécois identity. Participants who adhere to the values are likely to identify strongly as Québécois, such as Imelda and Alexandre,

but rejection of Québécois specific values does not necessarily mean that that Quebec identity is rejected, as in the cases of Lise, France, Darlène, Jean-François, Karine, and Gérald who all identify strongly as Québécois. However, adherence to traditional collective Vietnamese values can have the effect of lowering levels of identification as Québécois, because of the stark contrast to values of autonomy and independence. Furthermore, it is almost primarily Francophones who recognise these two societal trends as cultural values in Quebec, which may be a result of more interactions with Québécois Francophones at work and in social life.

The previous chapter discussed the civic and political considerations that second generation immigrants incorporate into their negotiation of Québécois identity. The first half of this chapter explored some the cultural aspects that are part of this negotiation by looking at the food culture, the arts and entertainment industry, and the cultural values that are associated with Québécois culture, that are rooted in the majority French-Canadian population. The rest of this chapter will explore the culture of Montreal that is perceived to be available to these second generation immigrants only because of the major metropolitan city that they live in within the province of Quebec. The exceptionalism of Montreal creates a space in which second generations can identify with Quebec through Montreal, and their Montrealer identity or where the strength of the Montrealer identity acts in competition with other national identities.

## **4.2. *Montreal Exceptionalism***

“I’m more from Montreal than Quebec. The diversity, and that it’s bilingual. Quebec, you thinking straight Jean-Guy Rubber Boots, you know what I mean?”

- Ian, 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

The origin of the term “Jean-Guy Rubber Boots” is not exactly clear, but it certainly has a negative and derogatory connotation as it’s used to refer to a working class, probably uneducated

person of French-Canadian origin. While Ian may or may not have intended his reference to be offensive, it speaks to a wider perspective among participants about the regions outside of Montreal. Participants consider Montreal the unique economic, cultural, and politically enlightened exception to the more closed-off and conservative regions around Quebec, making “Montrealer” an easy identity to attach to for visible minority second generation immigrants.

Ian attributes his strong identification to the city as due to the bilingualism and diversity that he sees and experiences in Montreal. However, his reference to a fictional French-Canadian stereotype aptly describes his sentiments of the province as a whole; not only white and unilingual French, but possibly closed to diversity versus the acceptance he can find in Montreal.

This differentiation between Montreal and the regions, results in mixed outcomes for participants as it relates to Quebec identity. First, there are those that identify with Montreal *rather than* the larger national identity of Quebec. Secondly, there are those that identify as Québécois *because* of their positive identification with Montreal. What is shared is a common appreciation of Montreal within Quebec, as distinct from the regions, namely due to the bilingualism, the multiculturalism and diversity, and the amenities and type of lifestyle that the city affords to its residents. Participants express these sentiments but while many of these feelings are based on visits and first-hand knowledge of the regions, they are also based on perceptions of the political climate and discourse present in the province.

All except one participant lived in Montreal at the time of their interview. The one person who did not, was temporarily studying in another city within the province of Quebec. With exception

of a few participants who grew up in the suburbs of Montreal, almost all participants identified as Montrealer to some degree, and generally quite strongly.

How each person defines the borders of “Montreal” differs, with some only referring to the island of Montreal, while others would include the suburbs like Laval, and those on the South Shore or the West Island. Despite where they draw the physical boundaries, differentiating Montreal from Quebec is based on three large criteria: bilingualism, multiculturalism and diversity, and the amenities available as a major metropolitan. All three of these criteria are generally thought to add a richness and wealth to the city that is often thought to be missing in the regions.

#### **4.2.1. Bilingualism**

Officially, Quebec is a unilingual French province, as defined by the 1977 French Language Charter<sup>72</sup>. However, Montreal is home to not only a number of historically Anglophone populations, but also hosts almost 87% of the provinces immigrant population<sup>73</sup>, many who do not have English or French as their maternal language. Therefore, Montreal is often thought of as functionally bilingual, if not multilingual. With two major English language universities and an attractive tourist industry, non-French speakers are ever present in the city. In addition, in an increasingly global world in which English is often the language of business, English-French bilingualism is considered an asset for many jobs. Of the over 3.7 million residents of Montreal, over 54% are English-French bilingual<sup>74</sup>, as compared to the rest of Quebec where only 32% of

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<sup>72</sup> For more information, see section 1.3.2.

<sup>73</sup> From the 2011 NHS, total immigrants in the province of Quebec is 974 895 and 846 645 (86.8%) of them are in the Montreal CMA. Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

<sup>74</sup> Based on 2011 NHS data regarding knowledge of official languages. Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 National Household Survey, Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 99-010-X2011036.

the population is English-French bilingual. This obviously will vary depending on the region or municipality.

It is this mix of languages and the historical linguistic duality of Montreal that many second generation immigrants recognise as unique in Montreal, and in which they believe adds value to Quebec as a province and to the city. Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrants says that

*« Le fait qu'on puisse parler soit en français, soit en anglais, je trouve ça intéressant, riche. C'est à toi de décider dans quelle langue tu peux, mais il y a une possibilité de parler les deux langues. Je trouve que c'est beau et ce n'est pas partout qu'on peut vivre cette liberté linguistique. »*

(“The fact that we can speak either French or English, I find that interesting, rich. It is you who decides in which language you can, but there is a possibility to speak the two languages. I find that this is beautiful and it is not everywhere that one can live this linguistic liberty.”)

Lise talks about this same “mix” and influence that she sees between the two cultures and languages. She describes how recently, she finds Montreal has become a hybrid.

*« ...spécifiquement aussi, ce qui me fascine, moi, à Montréal c'est le mélange. Il y a deux cultures fortes à Montréal : la culture Anglophone et la culture Francophone. Je trouve ça intéressant de voir qu'elles se mélangent de plus en plus, et de plus en plus il y a de la collaboration entre les deux communautés. Il y a des spectacles en français et en anglais. Il y a une réelle collaboration et ça, je trouve ça le fun. Il n'y avait pas ça il y a peut-être cinq ou dix ans. Je vois qu'il y a vraiment une hybridité des deux et que t'as des Francophones qui assument totalement le fait qu'ils sont influencés par la culture Francophone et l'inverse aussi. Tu as un Patrick Watson qui va s'associer à Karkwa. Comme tu as une Ariane Moffatt qui va lancer un disque en anglais parce qu'elle vit dans le Mile-End et que pour elle, c'est normal ».*

(“Specifically also, something that fascinates me, in Montreal, it is the mix. There are two strong cultures in Montreal: the Anglophone and the Francophone culture. I find this interesting to see that they mix together more and more, and more and more there is collaboration between the two communities. There are shows in French and in English. There is a real collaboration and this, I find this is fun. There was not this, maybe five or ten years ago. I see that there is a real hybridity of the two and that you have the Francophones who totally embody the fact that they are influenced by the Francophone culture and the inverse as well. You have Patrick Watson who is going to be associated with Karkwa. Like you have Ariane Moffatt who will release an album in English because she lives in the Mile End and for her, it's normal.”)<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Patrick Watson is a celebrated Montreal Anglophone singer and songwriter who has collaborated with Karkwa, a Francophone Montreal-based band who sings mainly in French. However, Karkwa, for their third album which won the 2010 winning Polaris music prize, they invited Anglophone guest musicians, such as Patrick Watson.

Montreal is not simply Anglophone and Francophone to the 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, but it is really more collaboration between the two that has become part of everyday life in Montreal. She uses an example of musicians and artists based in Montreal who emanate this hybridity that is unique to Montreal. This duality is not only reflected in the city, but potentially part of the attachment to the bilingualism is because almost all participants were bilingual themselves to some degree. Only one Anglo-Caribbean woman describe her level in French as basic, and some Filipino young men were not confident in their French language skills, although they were educated in French and said they were able to carry on conversations in French. Equally, a number of Francophones described their English as moderate, but were confident that they could carry on everyday conversations in English even if they did not do so often. Each participant had their preference of which language they were more comfortable in, but every one of them had at least some knowledge of both official languages, and used both languages in their everyday life to some degree.

The richness of languages in Montreal is not only reserved for English and French, but in fact many people also describes the multilingual nature of the city as a unique defining feature. Abby says, “In Montreal, you hear more than just French and English. You hear Arabic, Spanish, Mandarin on the streets. I think that defines Montreal much more than anywhere else.” This multilingual nature is also reflected in the demographics of participants. Many people spoke more than English and French, with many speaking either Vietnamese, Tagalog, Creole or another dialect at home with their parents, as well as a number of participants also spoke Spanish or another language they had learned in school or in their travels.

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Arianne Moffatt is a Francophone, albeit bilingual Quebec singer and songwriter and has released both French and English language albums.



Participants are very careful to point out that they believe that bilingualism or multilingualism in Quebec is unique to Montreal, and that once you are beyond the borders of the city, wherever you believe it is, the rest of Quebec is not as mixed, and only French is to be found. In speaking about Montreal, Harold and Nicolas describes the uniqueness of the city.

“Montreal is more of a place where a lot of people immigrated here, and it’s different cultures not just one specific culture. And I mean, it’s, they’re more, they accept better than like I said Québécois people. Yeah, there’s English, there’s French, there’s all kinds of languages, not just one specific language to speak.”

- Harold, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“...French and English. It’s freedom,. You do whatever you want. It’s not stuck with one rule...the French, only French. No, everything is mix. A lot of people is mix, that’s the thing I like about Montreal. If you go in Quebec City and all of them, you might see some black people, but not like in Montreal. I’m just not talking about me, everybody. You see all these Asians, all these Hindu, I like the mix.”

Nicolas talks about himself as a mix. He is 27 years old and is multiethnic. He was raised in Spanish, French, and Haitian Creole. He was educated in French, and up until a few years ago, knew very little English. As his network of Anglophone friends grew, he pushed himself to learn English among his friends and even preferred to have our interview conducted in English rather than French. He works in both languages, and lives with his girlfriend who he describes as unilingually Anglophone. His appreciation for Montreal is based on this mix that he sees in himself and in the city.

Similarly, Lise uses the word “hybrid” to describe the linguistic duality of Montreal. She also uses this term later on to describe her own state of being, a “hybridity” between her Québécois and her Haitian backgrounds. Like Nicolas, she can see herself reflected in the city, as a hybrid individual that fits into a whole city of hybrids, creating a unique experience. In other cities in the province, both she and Nicolas do not see others who look like them, but in addition they do

not see people who live a bilingual life. Karine similarly points out that just outside of Montreal, these differences are already visible.

*« Montréal ce n'est pas pareil, dans le sens où c'est une grande métropole. Ici, les gens parlent français, anglais, tout le monde parle plein de langues, et on dirait que c'est une fausse normalité. Pour moi, l'image du Québec, c'est Montréal, mais ce n'est pas vrai. Tu sors de la périphérie de Montréal et de ses environs, les gens parlent juste en français, ou ne sont pas habitués de voir des immigrants. Ce n'est pas la même dynamique. Ici, moi, être Vietnamiennne, ça ne fait pas grand-chose. »*

(“Montreal, it is not the same, in the sense where it is a big metropolis. Here, the people speak French, English, everyone speaks many languages, and we say that it is a false normality. For me, the image of Quebec, it is Montreal, but this is not true. You go to the periphery of Montreal and around it, the people speak just French, or they are not used to seeing immigrants. It is not the same dynamic. Here, me, to be Vietnamese, it's not a big deal.”)

The 23 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant, notes that when she imagines Quebec, she pictures Montreal. She says *« Je viens de Montréal et on dirait que je m'identifie beaucoup plus à Montréal qu'au Québec. C'est Montréal en premier, Québec en deuxième et Canada en troisième. »* (“I come from Montreal, and we could say that I identify much more with Montreal than with Quebec. It is Montreal first, Quebec second, and Canadian third.”). Her Montrealer identity takes primacy for her, but while she still retains a Québécois identity, her image of Quebec is from a Montreal perspective. She is Québécois because of Montreal, and in spite of the fact that the regions are not representative of the bilingualism and diversity that she is used to and appreciates.

Gérald is also aware of his limited vision, when it comes to thinking about Montreal as representative of Quebec.

*« Je pense que c'est le côté très ouvert aux diversités au Québec à laquelle je m'identifie plus. Mais en même temps, je pense que c'est biaisé parce que je suis à Montréal. Je suis pas au Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, je suis pas à Rimouski. »*

(“I think that it is also very open to diversities in Quebec to which I identify more. But at the same time, I think that it is biased because I am in Montreal. I am not in Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean, I am not in Rimouski.”)

From his experiences of living in Montreal, Gérald sees all kinds of diversity everyday, but he knows that this is not the reality of the rest of the province. Quebec is diverse because of Montreal, but this vision is “biased” or a “false normality”, and if they lived in a different city, these may not be their main descriptors of Quebec. Both Karine and Gérald note not necessarily just a linguistic diversity in Montreal, but also a broader diversity. What this broader diversity looks like is discussed in the next section.

#### **4.2.2. Multicultural Montreal**

As Gérald alluded to above, he sees Montreal as diverse. In the quote below, he describes a gamut of diversity that he sees.

*« Mais Montréal, les différences, je trouve qu'on vit très bien les différences culturelles et multiethniques. Dans le sens où je marchais sur Saint-Laurent hier et on voyait des lesbiennes, des homosexuels, des Haïtiens, des Latinos, des Asiatiques, tout le monde marchait l'un à côté de l'autre. Il y avait des groupes mix et pour avoir voyagé dans le monde un peu, c'est rare qu'on voit autant d'ethnies, de cultures, de religions différentes cohabiter aussi simplement qu'on peut le voir disons à Montréal. »*

(“But Montreal, the differences, I find that we live very well with the cultural and multiethnic differences. In the sense where I was walking on St. Laurent yesterday, and we saw lesbians, homosexuals, Haitians, Latinos, Asians, everyone was walking beside one another. There were mixed groups and having travelled in the world a little bit, it is rare that we see so many different ethnicities, cultures, religions living together so easily as can be seen, say in Montreal.”)

Whether it is ethnic or racial, sexual, religious, or cultural diversity, it is all present in Montreal, and everyone is living along side each other in relative harmony. This demographic multiculturalism, where a number of cultural communities occupy the same geographic region, is particularly a source of pride for not only Gérald, but also for Leah, an 18 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant, who says

“I love how Montreal is... like I said, I like the diversity of like the culture and stuff like that, but also the fact that you can have English, French...there's so much to learn. So much is there. So I love being a Montrealer in that way. So much is accessible to me. That's why I really consider myself a Montrealer. And I love living in the city that's mostly why. The presence of difference, a lot of diverse cultures coming together, that's what, I feel the most proud of. Cause you think

that a lot of different cultures, there might be a lot of conflict, but there isn't that I know of actually. I feel kind of proud of that."

It is not only the pride of the demographic and relatively peaceful pluralism that Leah speaks about, but it is also the richness and ability to learn in this exchange and the mixing of cultures. Nancy, who I interviewed in a café in Côte-des-Neiges, a historically immigrant neighbourhood, says Montreal is "not just white. It's a diversity of people here. I could learn from different cultures in Montreal, here, this area [Côte-des-Neiges] especially."

Together multiculturalism as a demographic reality, as well as an interaction among different groups, creates a welcoming space for these visible minority second generation immigrants. Montreal is a place that "accepts" them or makes them feel less "uneasy" or "out of place", as opposed to other places within the province of Quebec, where they have been "singled out" because of their physical differences.

"Montreal is already a multicultural place. And there's nice places to visit, but it's just a multicultural place. There's different places, you can find... not like fit in places, but here [Côte-des-Neiges] there's Filipino, so we live around this area. You kind of fit in. I don't know. Montreal to me, accepts everyone, compared to other places in Quebec."

- Joshua, 20 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

*« C'est le fait qu'il y a beaucoup de cultures. Tu ne te sens pas gêné du tout. Tu rentres et t'es comme il y a plein de gens et tu ne te sens pas trop différent des autres.... Je me sens plus comme une extraterrestre, comme un alien quand je suis en Abitibi parce que je suis la seule asiatique. »*

("It's the fact that there are many cultures. You do not feel uneasy at all. You come and you are like there are plenty of people and you do not feel very different from others. I feel more like an extraterrestrial, like an alien when I am in Abitibi because I am the only Asian.")

- Dominique, 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

"In Montreal, you'll see multiculturalism. It's just a melting pot of cultures and immigrants. I don't feel singled out, whereas if I were to go somewhere else in Quebec I feel singled out. When I was applying to U of Laval, my friends were like 'you know you're gonna be there and you're gonna be the only Asian person, you're gonna be singled out'. And that's pretty much it I guess. I think that's the whole thing I figured out about being Canadian or Quebecer. I feel like Quebecer, unless I was white, I wouldn't feel included and then I feel singled out cause obviously I'm different. But whereas Canadian, and Montreal, there's a good equilibrium, and it's a good mix of

diversity and I feel included in it. I don't feel excluded. I feel like I can include myself and identify as a Montrealer and a Canadian because I feel included and in the group, let's say, versus if I was a Quebecer."

- Jacques, 21 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Joshua, Dominique and Jacques all feel more at ease in Montreal because there are other members of their ethnic or racial group around, so as not to make them feel uncomfortable or "excluded". However, while the attachment to Montreal is strong for many, at least one participant took it further down to the neighbourhood level, noting that neighbourhoods where non-whites make up large proportions is where he feels the most comfortable. He also is more drawn to the Cote-des-Neiges area because of his family history there and for its large Filipino population, as well as Chinatown where there are a number of East Asian restaurants, businesses, and people that fill the streets.

"My lack of history or lack of affinity to Canadian-Québécois made Montreal more of like the default I guess. Even if you said Montreal, I'd probably even add more nuance to that by saying Cote-des-Neiges in particular. That's where my parents started and that's where I think there's spatial significance, I think. I feel most comfortable in Cote-des-Neiges, I do, and in Chinatown. I feel less comfortable in [my university]. I feel less comfortable in spaces like this [café near downtown university]...I feel it like physiologically, a sense of tension. My body gets tense whenever I'm the only person there. It's only rationally, after I leave, and I start to like breathe normally."

For Oscar, a 30-something Filipino second generation immigrant, Montreal was his "default" because of feelings of exclusion from some of the national identities available to him. This feeling of discomfort manifests itself "physiologically", when in many parts of Canada, Quebec and even in Montreal, Oscar often finds himself the only visible minority. To him, Montreal, and other cities across Canada, is only multiracial in certain neighbourhoods and that many places within the city are predominately white. Jacques does not agree completely, but rather sees a multicultural Montrealer identity the same way that he sees his Canadian identity. Feelings of exclusion will be explored in chapter 5 and chapter 6 will address how these second

generation immigrants from Montreal negotiate their Canadian identity, in contrast to their Québécois identity.

Like Dominique above, others spoke about their experiences when visiting the regions.

*« Quand j'étais à Côte-Nord, en Abitibi ou dans le bas du fleuve (Bas-Saint-Laurent), je ne sais pas si c'est mon Québec. Je les sentais juste plus...comme juste les gens qui te regardent tout le temps parce que c'est une petite ville et ils sont comme «Tu ne viens clairement pas d'ici. On ne te connaît pas.» Les gens qui ralentissent dans la rue. C'est pour ça que je pense aussi que quand je parle du Québec, je parle plus de Montréal »*

(“When I was in the Côte-Nord, in Abitibi or in the region below the river (Bas-Saint-Laurent), I do not know if it is my Quebec. I felt just more...like just the people who watch you all the time because it is a small city and they are like ‘you clearly are not from here. We don’t know you.’ The people stop in the street. It is for this that I think as well that when I talk about Quebec, I am talking more about Montreal.”)

- Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Well, again, the diversity that there is here. If we were in a rural region, it would be novel to have somebody from a different skin colour. Even sometimes you drive by and you get a double take, because you’re in a region where there is no exposure. Here, everything is normal. There is different languages, different cultures, different grocery stores, everything. Again, you don’t feel out of place.

- Florence, a 29 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

This distinction between a diverse and multicultural Montreal and the regions is one of the reasons that the Montrealer identity is more accessible to these second generation immigrants. It represents who they are, but it also makes them feel like a part of the community around them, rather than an exception that warrants “people stop[ping] in the street” or doing a “double take”. But again we see the same narrative as above, where Beatrice views the ideal Montreal as defining Quebec, because it is what she is familiar with and a place where she is included. The identification with Montreal is perhaps feeding this identification with Quebec, as the Montreal experience is generalised to the larger Québécois experience, even if it is not recognised to be true by participants.

Participants attribute these types of incidents to the fact that there is less diversity in the regions, and that seeing people from different ethnic and racial backgrounds is novel for many who live there. However, many participants also believe that this lack of “exposure” can result in discrimination because of the presence of negative stereotypes or lack of information.

I mean, I feel like when you're in a lot of Quebec, it's rural. If you go to Quebec City, or if you come to Montreal, those are metropolitan cities so maybe there's a little bit more... like education about certain things. And I feel like maybe outside of the cities there are people who are a little bit... ignorant to certain things. Not that they, that they're trying to discriminate on purpose, but yes, that they probably don't know certain things, so they, they lean a certain way and aren't as accepting.

- Erin, a 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Il faudrait que je différencie encore Montréal vs Québec. Comme en dehors de Montréal, je les trouve très fermé d'esprit, très Québécois pur laine que moi ça me rejoint moins. Je les trouve, à la limite, racistes, mais racistes comme ignorants. Je ne pense pas que c'est un racisme comme méchant. C'est juste qu'ils ne côtoient pas les autres communautés culturelles. Pour eux, on est des étrangers un peu ».*

(“It necessary that I differentiate again Montreal versus Quebec. Like outside of Montreal, I find it very closed in spirit, very *pur laine* (pure wool) Québécois, that me, and that connects me less. I find them, to a point... racist, but racist like ignorant. I do not think that it is a malicious racism. It is just that they have not interacted with cultural communities. For them, we are a bit like foreigners.”)

- Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

I feel like a lot of people say that we, Quebec is a really open minded place, and we are able to live with diversity, in cultural diversity and everything. But I feel like it's mostly just in Montreal. If you go out of the metropolitan area, you will find really close-minded point of views about culture and diversity. And I feel like we are being general about that, we don't really look outside of Montreal. In general, I feel like in Canada, and in Quebec, in the cities-areas, people are really open-minded and they don't really care if you're like black or white, or yellow, or whatever. There are still the stereotypes and the bad images in their heads about the culture in general, one particular culture. I feel like they can overcome it more than people outside of the city. They can look over, and just be your friend, even though they know that oh, black people, they steal a lot, whatever.

- Annick, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

This discrimination that is spoken about is not thought to be malicious in nature, but rather based on lack of “exposure” or information about specific groups that is unavailable in the regions where interactions with visible minorities and immigrants are rare. Chapter 7 will go into a more

in depth exploration of discrimination and racism faced by visible minority second generation immigrants from Montreal.

These sentiments about the regions in relation to Montreal are not only based on personal experiences, but can be seen reflected in the political discourse and debates that are present in the province. At the particular time of my interviews, many participants spoke about the proposed Charter as a symbol of this difference. While more detailed opinions regarding politics were discussed in chapter 3, the following quotes describe how due to the diversity of Montreal, participants perceive the policy discourse as different and that what may be acceptable in the regions would not be acceptable in Montreal.

“Quebec city is also very nice, there’s a lot of festivals. But I find once you get out of the big urban centres, sometimes it could get very...people are closed off, they’re close-minded. Did you hear about the little town, between Montreal and Quebec, they passed a law banning Sharia law? Do you really think there’s a problem with Sharia law in a little town like this? No. They did that to make a point.”

Lester is referring to the 2005 event when a small town called in Quebec, called Hérouxville passed a Code of Conduct<sup>76</sup> reaffirming the equality between men and women and explicitly banning practices such as “stoning women” that are often associated with honour killings in the Muslim world, and misinterpreted as part of Sharia Law. The town in fact had no Muslims in their population, nor any immigrants for that matter, but the policy was criticised for while not explicitly doing so, implying an unwillingness to welcome and host immigrants, particularly those of the Muslim faith, in their municipality.

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<sup>76</sup> (CBC News, 2007b, 2007c)



For Lester, he believes “they did it to make a point” to potential future immigrants, that they were not welcome in their town, and painted a picture of what life would be like in any of the non-metropolitan areas of Quebec. For him, this Code of Conduct accurately represents the mentality of the regions and the Québécois who live there. Therefore, Lester does not need personal interactions with people in the regions, but he can glean what life may be like in the regions for someone who looks different, has a different religion or cultural practices, or who comes from outside of the province, based on information he gets in the news and hear in the political discourse in the province.

The proposed charter had the same effect, although this time it appeared to its critics to explicitly targeting religious minorities, banning overt religious symbols from all provincial public service workplaces, which in this province includes hospitals, universities, and day cares. While none of my research participants felt the Charter would directly affect them, they were acutely aware that the support for the Charter differed depending on where one lived and who they knew; meaning that those who live in Montreal who have more interactions with minorities were less likely to support the Charter than those who lived in the regions and had never or rarely interact with minorities. The passing of the Charter may not have a direct effect on the second generation immigrant participants in my sample as individuals, but they believed that it would be detrimental to the diversity and multiculturalism that they believe makes Montreal unique and special. This is especially pertinent; as for some Montreal is their only tie to the province.

*« Toute cette diversité, tu peux aller n'importe où... dans une boîte de nuit ou un club et tu vois toutes différentes cultures, ethniques, dans la même place, en même temps, mais pourtant, tu regardes que les pays sont en guerre, mais à Montréal, c'est le fun. Ils fêtent ensemble. Tu vas dans des restaurants, tu vois toutes ces diversités. Avec la Charte, je crois que c'est ça ce que Montréal va perdre. »*

(“All this diversity, you can go wherever...in a bar or a night club and you see all different cultures, ethnicities, in the same place, at the same time. Yet, you see that the countries are at war, but in Montreal, it is fun. They party together. You go in restaurants, you see all this diversity. With the Charter, I think that it is this that Montreal will lose.”)

- Olivier, a 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« Je parle de l'île de Montréal parce que quand on sort un peu, on va à Laval, on voit que les positions sont totalement différentes. On l'a vu juste sur la question de la Charte où les gens à Montréal étaient beaucoup plus contre certains éléments de la Charte. Pas nécessairement contre la Charte, mais contre certains éléments parce qu'ils avaient rencontré des gens, ils avaient eu des expériences.*

*Aussi, étant donné que Montréal a beaucoup d'universités, il accueille beaucoup d'étrangers. Ça permet que ces gens amènent leurs bagages culturels. Ça permet aux autres qui viennent de l'extérieur, des différentes régions, d'être confrontés à une nouvelle réalité et de pouvoir apprendre de ces différentes communautés. Montréal est un élément important dans la déconstruction du racisme. C'est pour ça que je mets un peu de confiance à Montréal. »*

(“I speak about the Island of Montreal because when we leave a little bit, we go to Laval, we see that the positions are totally different. We can see this just on the question of the Charter, where the people of Montreal were much more against certain elements of the Charter. Not necessarily against the Charter, but against certain elements because they have met some people, they have had some experiences.

As well, given that Montreal has many universities, it hosts many foreigners. This means that many people will bring their cultural baggage. This means that others will come from the outside, from different regions, and be confronted by a new reality and can learn from these different communities. Montreal is an important element in the deconstruction of racism. It is for this that I put a bit more confidence in Montreal.”)

- Kevin, a 25 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Both Olivier and Kevin view Montreal as an exception when it comes to opposition for the charter and credit this directly to the diversity and interactions that occur in such a demographically heterogeneous city. The richness that this adds to Montreal, and to the province as a whole, will be at risk if the had Charter passed, which according to polls has widespread support outside of the City of Montreal<sup>77</sup>. The Charter debate highlighted this Montreal exceptionalism for participants, and supported their vision of the regions as reluctant to cultural, racial and religious diversity.

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<sup>77</sup> Sixty-five percent of people in Quebec expressed overall support for the Charter of Values, with 35% expressing strong support. Those more likely to support the charter were outside of Montreal, those over 35 years of age, and PQ and CAQ supporters (Angus Reid Global, 2013). Other polls show around 40 to 60% support in the province with lower support in the two largest cities of Montreal and Quebec City, and a division among Francophones and Anglophones, with Francophones more likely to support the Charter (M. Gagnon, 2014; Ha, 2013).

### 4.2.3. The Montreal Way of Life

There is also a recognized lifestyle or quality of life that is afforded to those who live in Montreal that participants appreciate and love about the city. While some describe a general vibe or air to the city, others point to the arts and culture scene, the types of services available to them, or even the different types of neighbourhoods and food that are a result of the cultural diversity that the city embodies.

*« Je pourrais te parler surtout de Montréal, peut-être parce que...c'est sûr que moi, je suis née ici et je vis à Montréal. Donc, les valeurs québécoises que je connais, c'est plus ici qu'en région, même si j'ai voyagé dans quelques parties du Québec. Et à Montréal, je veux dire, cette ouverture au niveau des festivals, de la musique, de la nourriture, tu ne trouveras pas cette diversité culturelle ailleurs dans le monde. Ici, je veux dire, tu veux manger de la nourriture afghane, il y a un resto sur la rue Duluth. Tu veux manger de la bouffe haïtienne, somalienne, tu as tout ce que tu veux ici. »*

(“I could talk to you mainly about Montreal, maybe because...it is certain that me, I was born here and I live in Montreal. Therefore the Québécois values that I know, it is more here than of the regions, even if I travel to some parts of Quebec. And in Montreal, I mean to say, this openness for festivals, of music, of food, you will not find this cultural diversity elsewhere in the world. Here, I mean to say, you want to eat Afghan food, there is a restaurant on Duluth Street. You want to eat Haitian food, Somalian food, you have all that you want here.”)

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« La culture montréalaise musicale, la culture gastronomique à Montréal qui est toute dans le mix de tout. J'ai une liste de restaurants préférés qui est comme innombrable de toutes les cultures. Les restaurants dim sum, tout ça, oui, c'est ça. L'accès facile aussi à la musique underground, au spectacle underground, de théâtre et tout ça. Je trouve qu'à Montréal c'est bien pour ça et il y a une vague aussi de cohabitation comme j'avais dit tout à l'heure qui est amusante et agréable à voir en fait. Comme le dimanche, marcher à Montréal, c'est une belle activité. Je vois pas pourquoi les gens voudraient habiter en banlieue de Montréal plutôt que d'habiter à Montréal parce que au moins, je ne passe pas mes fins de semaine à tondre mon gazon. Je passe mes fins de semaine à profiter des parcs et à marcher sur le bord de la rue, voir les gens. Il y a de la vie, il y a du dynamisme et il y a une belle vague.*

(“The Montreal music culture, the gastronomic culture in Montreal that is all in the mix of everything. I have a list of favourite restaurants that is innumerable of all cultures. The dim sum restaurants, all that, yes, that's it. The easy access as well, to underground music, an underground show, of theatre, and all that. I find that in Montreal, it is great for this and there is an air as well of living together like I have said before that is fun and nice to see in fact. Like Sundays, walking in Montreal, it is a beautiful activity. I do not see why people would want to live in the suburbs of Montreal more than living in Montreal, because at least, I don't spend my weekends mowing the lawn. I spend my weekends profiting from the parks, and walking on the sides of the road, people watching. There is life, there is dynamism and there is a good vibe.”)

- Gérald, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant



snow suits next to ice sculptures. Participants thought that all these festivals contributed to the vibrancy and liveliness of the city, even when the weather may put a damper on things.

In addition to the festivals and the rest of the music scene that defines Montreal, access to the arts, and a general standard of living is thought to be relatively inexpensive in Montreal, in comparison to other Canadian cities.

“I love that we have pianos now on the street. There are pianos on Saint-Denis, I play piano so I play them just for fun. I love that there is cheap music, good shows, amazing shows that you can see for cheap. And there’s like museums, it’s not too expensive. It’s really accessible. I feel like even just the fact that there’s graffiti everywhere, well not everywhere, but there’s a space for it, and it just promotes all kinds of art, like street art, more kind of high classical art...”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Tu peux tout faire à petit budget ici. C’est une vie cheap. Mais pas cheap dans le sens pas bonne qualité, cheap dans le sens non expensive, dans le sens c’est pas cher... On est capable de bien vivre ici pour assez peu, contrairement au reste du Canada où avoir une maison tu peux facilement dépenser dans les demi-millions ou les millions de dollars comme à Toronto ou à Vancouver. Ici, tu peux t’acheter quelque chose à 300 000. C’est cher, mais ça reste quand même nettement moins cher qu’à Toronto ou qu’à Vancouver. »*

(“You can do everything on a small budget here. It is a cheap life. But not cheap in the sense of not good quality, cheap in the sense not expensive, in the sense it’s not expensive... We are capable of living well here for very little, in contrast to the rest of Canada where to have a house you can easily spend in the half millions or millions of dollars like in Toronto and Vancouver. Here, you can buy yourself something for \$300, 000. It’s expensive, but it is still clearly less expensive than Toronto and Vancouver.”)

- Lise, a 29 year old Haitian second generation immigrant

“Everything is accessible here. If I want Tim Horton’s, I will get Tim Horton’s, cause it’s gonna be there, and there. And the food is amazing here, cheap food. You don’t need a car here. Honestly, you don’t need a car. If I were to have a car, there’s no point to it, cause I’d be taking the metro to school. All the [work sites] I go to, it’s near some sort of metro, at least 5 minutes away by another bus.”

- Mary, a 22 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Accessibility can refer to the cost, as Lise describes, but can also refer to the availability of services and the ease of accessing them. As Brenda mentions, in the warmer months there are pianos placed on the streets in which anyone can play for free, and the public can profit from the free music. Alternatively, Mary talks about the breadth of services available to her because she

lives in a city, but also talks about the inexpensive food and transportation available to her specifically in Montreal. The metro and bus system is convenient for getting around the city and the metro is a service that is accessible and used by all, « *c'est là que tu vois tout le monde, toutes les conditions sociales. Il y en a même des fois des artistes riches qui prennent le métro* » (“it is there that you see everyone, of all social conditions. There are still sometimes rich artists who take the metro”). For Darlène, the metro is a symbol of Montreal where all different types of people of Montreal come together, independent of class or race. It brings people together and is a symbol of the ability to live together in relative harmony that is valued as part of the multicultural nature of Montreal.

With the focus of Montreal being its diversity, it is difficult to talk about the neighbourhoods as uniform. As Florence mentioned above, the different neighbourhoods are what make Montreal special, but each neighbourhood offers a unique element to Montreal. As Lise says,

*« Tu marches sur Ontario et tu marches, chaque quartier a sa vibration différente. La rue Ontario, c'est n'est pas la rue Masson et la rue Masson ce n'est pas l'avenue du Mont-Royal et l'avenue du Mont-Royal ce n'est pas Saint-Viateur. Tu es ailleurs. Tu es dans complètement autre chose. Tu as juste à rouler un peu à vélo et tu va être dans un autre univers et la sensation ne sera pas la même, et la façon d'agir, les commerces, la façon dont les gens agissent dans la ville ne sera pas la même non plus, et ça me fascine. À la fois, cette ville a quelque chose d'unique dans sa vibration, mais à la fois chacun de ses quartiers est aussi extrêmement différent. »*

(“You walk on Ontario, and you walk, each neighbourhood has their different vibe. Ontario Street, it is not Masson Street, and Masson Street is not Mont Royal Avenue, and Mont Royal Avenue is not Saint Viateur. You are somewhere else. You are completely in something else. You just have to bike a bit and you are going to be in another universe and the sensation will not be the same, and the behaviour, the businesses, the way that the people behave in the city will never be the same as well, and that fascinates me. At the same time, this city has something unique in its vibe, but at the same time each of its neighbourhoods are extremely different.”)

- Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

While it may be difficult to pinpoint, this indescribable vibrancy and life that is present in Montreal, it is what allows people to attach to the Montreal identity, potentially more so than that of the Québécois identity that is marred by the perceptions of the regions that are set in stark

contrast to the multiculturalism and “open” nature of Montreal. While participants identify with Quebec *because* of Montreal, and *in spite* of the regions, some people, like Ian who opened this section, identify much more with Montreal, *rather than* with Quebec. However, this does not necessarily mean that participants are devoid of Québécois identity if they are Montrealers, but the Montreal identity and the culture of the city are both facilitating and competing factors in second generation immigrant’s negotiation of Québécois identity. The strength of the Montrealer identity is also described in other studies on second generation immigrants in Montreal, often with the Montreal identity taking primacy (M. Labelle, et al., 2001), but its influence on Québécois identities has not been discussed.

While I have spoken about how participants appreciate the bilingualism, the multiculturalism, and the amenities available to them in Montreal, there are always exceptions. For example, Alexandre, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant says when talking about his strong Montrealer identity:

*« C’est vraiment que j’ai été ici toute ma vie. (rires). Pas à cause que j’aime Montréal... Bah, je l’aime bien, tsé, J’ai habité dans d’autres villes et je trouve que Montréal est, jusqu’à date une des meilleures villes que j’ai jamais été. Tsé, les gens sont sympa, pis le taux de crime est pas trop élevé, tsé. Mais, ça dépend des quartiers, bien sûr. Les quartiers que j’ai été sont été biens. J’aime bien Montréal, je suppose. Mais encore là, comme j’ai dit, je l’ai mis à cause que j’ai été né toute ma vie.*

(“It is really that I have been here my whole life (laughs). Not because I love Montreal, well, I like Montreal a lot, you know. I have lived in other cities and I find that Montreal is, to date, one of the best cities that I have ever been. You know, the people are nice, the rate of crime is not too high, you know. But that depends on the neighbourhood, for sure. The neighbourhoods that I have been are good. I like Montreal a lot, I suppose. But still, like I said, I said that because I was born here and been here all my life.”)

While he likes Montreal, he does not mention any of the aspects that numerous of his cohorts did, as discussed above. He believes he is simply a Montrealer based on a default civic-type

characteristic: he was born here and he currently lives here. His opinions about the city are second to these facts.

Finally, just as Montreal neighbourhoods are thought to be each unique, the regions of Quebec are also not created equally, and at least one participant recognises this. Not only are the regions distinct from Montreal, but they can also be culturally distinct from each other.

*« ...si tu compares quelqu'un de Val-D'or avec quelqu'un de Sept-Îles, par exemple, ils ont des valeurs communes, mais la culture n'est pas nécessairement la même parce que c'est très grand le Québec. Et puis je crois même qu'au niveau de la langue, les termes qui sont utilisés, les expressions, la compréhension aussi, les différents même villages, ça, c'est quelque chose à retravailler et souvent, il y a une incompréhension entre la ville et les régions et souvent cette tension entre les deux qui est créée »*

(“...if you compare someone from *Val-D'or* with someone from *Sept-Îles*, for example, they have the same common values, but the culture is not necessarily the same because Quebec is very big. And then I believe as well at the level of language, the terms that are used, the expression, the understanding as well, even the different villages, this is something to rework and often, there is a misunderstanding between the city and the regions and often there is this tension between the two that is created”)

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

There is a danger in generalising the Montreal experience to the regions, and the regional experience to all of Quebec, including Montreal. The danger lies in the tension and the vilification of either the regions or the province as a whole. Ian's reference to a hypothetical “Jean-Guy Rubber Boots” represents the negative views that are sometimes attributed to people from the regions, or to Quebec as a province, from both people who live in Quebec, and those in the rest of Canada.

### **4.3. Conclusion**

This chapter explores the cultural aspects of Québécois society that are considered by second generation immigrants in their negotiation of national Québécois identity. These considerations fall along two central themes; the first are the cultural aspects of Québécois identity, such as food



culture, arts and entertainment, and values that second generation immigrants tend to see as rooted in an ethnic French-Canadian culture. The second theme is aspects of the culture of Montreal, described by participants as bilingualism, multiculturalism and diversity, and the wealth of amenities available. Participants see Montreal as an exception within Quebec on account of these aspects, and second generation immigrants often have a Montrealer identity that either trumps their other national or civic identities, or is the source of or a complement to their Québécois identity.

Participants across both linguistic groups and racial groups appreciate and attach to the food culture and the arts and entertainment in Quebec, even if at the same time they perceived them as rooted in French-Canadian ethnic culture. However, participants generally choose a predominant official language for their media consumption, and consequently may often feel excluded when they find themselves in conversations with others who consume the media predominantly in the opposite official language as they do. This was particularly true for those participants implicated in English media who feel excluded from French-Canadian dominated Francophone media. Furthermore, the societal values of extreme humility and fierce independence were mentioned primarily, with the exception of Leon, by Francophone participants, in particular the Vietnamese participants. This supports previous findings about the Vietnamese community in Quebec which report that their informants believe that what distinguishes them from the Québécois host society is a focus on family piety and upward mobility (L. J. Dorais & Richard, 2007; Méthot, 1995). Both Haitian and Vietnamese participants believe that this difference in values may exist because the immigrant narrative is about sacrifice for a better life for your children. As to why Anglophone participants did not

identify these values, it may be related to the lack of school and workplace interactions where these values are likely to be expressed. Finally, participants across all four groups recognised the specificity of the Montreal case in regards to the regions, and how that either defines or differentiate from Québécois identity.

The previous chapter described the potential inclusive and exclusive nature of the civic and political characteristics that second generation immigrants factor into their negotiation of Québécois identity. Purely civic characteristics are inclusive of all people in the territory of Quebec, but can also be considered exclusive when the condition of birthright is added. Political institutions and policies are valued for their goals of inclusiveness, but certain discourses are thought to have the potential to exclude second generation immigrants when they believe it is at the expense of diversity or based on the promotion of only a faction of French-Canadian interests.

This chapter mirrors this negotiation of inclusive versus exclusive characteristics. While some participants embrace the food, arts and entertainment, and values, the cultural aspects that are mentioned are based in a French-Canadian culture that participants feel may exclude them based on their own personal preferences and values. However, the Montrealer identity is seen as an exception within Quebec and one that is based on more inclusiveness because of the bilingualism and multiculturalism of the city itself. The next chapter will further explore this notion of exclusion and the process of negotiation that second generation immigrants have in their (dis)identification with Québécois identity.

## 5. Characteristics of Exclusion and Disidentification with Québécois Identity

*Although I'm born in Quebec, I'm not a Québécois. I'm not. A. 'Cause I'm black, and B, 'cause I'm not Francophone, I'm Anglophone, and my parents aren't from here.*

- Brenda, 32 years old, Anglo-Caribbean Second generation

The sentiments that Brenda expresses in the above quote are common among the second generation immigrants that I interviewed and quite succinctly presents the challenge of the “excluded other” living in Quebec. Although they *should* be Québécois, according to a state defined definition, they do not always consider themselves Québécois because of one or more characteristics that they feel may deny them this identification. Whether it is language, accent, race, or ethnicity, they have difficulty considering themselves Québécois because that part of their identity is not “affirmed” by the larger Québécois society. Those who understand the definition of Québécois to be exclusive of, or allusive to them because of one of these characteristics, may not identify as Québécois, however, this is not necessarily always the case. As discussed in the previous chapters (chapters 3 and 4), there are both civic and culturally ethnic characteristics that second generation immigrants consider in their negotiation of Québécois identity. What is presented below are the most prominent characteristics in which second generation immigrants feel may exclude them from what it means to be a Québécois, based on a definition produced and reproduced within Quebec society. Despite the civic nature of a state definition of Québécois, an ethnic based understanding is still common among participants, where not only is knowledge of the French language required, but a mastery of the language with a Québécois accent is valued, and to some being a visible minority or non-white will automatically exclude even if the linguistic characteristics are met.

However, this knowledge of an exclusive definition of being Québécois has also created a *disidentification* (Muñoz, 1999) with Quebec, where a redefinition of being Québécois is expressed; one of which is inclusive of them, and in spite of an understanding that some portion of the population believes in an exclusionary definition of Québécois. These redefinitions take many forms, some of which are civic in nature, but could also be one based on an open and “liberal” value system that accepts everyone, or the creation of different types of Québécois, at least one of which can be inclusive of second generation immigrants, but are considered by participants to be Québécois nonetheless. This pattern of disidentification is discussed below in section 5.4.

### **5.1. *Is Language enough?***

“To be a Quebecer you gotta speak French, at home you speak French.”

- Ian, 27-year old, second generation Anglo-Caribbean immigrant

Certainly participants named the French language as a distinct characteristic of Quebec, and all participants had at least some knowledge of the French language. Only one participant described her French as at a “basic” level, but even she was able to work in a bilingual environment and assist French clients when required. The above comment from Ian demonstrates a common sentiment among both Francophone and Anglophone participants; in order to identify and be identified as Québécois, the French language is required; but is language enough?

From participants’ perspectives, it is not enough to have a knowledge of the French language to be considered a Québécois, but in order to be affirmed as a Québécois, having a mastery of the language, speaking French as your maternal language, or as Ian states, speaking French in your

home<sup>78</sup>, are often other criteria that second generation immigrants believe are imposed on them that they are not always able to meet. Obviously, it is Anglophones who are less likely to fit these standards, but Francophones in my sample alike, understand this requirement and are aware that even if they do meet these requirements, there are other characteristics that may inevitably exclude them and others like them.

Sometimes these high standards may appear self imposed; Lester, a 27-year old, mixed race Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant says:

“I guess for a lot of people, to identify as a Quebecer or Québécois would be language. That’s the primary thing. I guess I don’t feel comfortable being labelled as Québécois because I don’t feel... 100% comfortable in French. I guess that’s the big thing for a lot of people, being 100% comfortable in French. Where you can just have thoughts in French and it just comes off of your tongue like that. I’m not at that point.”

Lester describes his French as good. “I can speak, I can speak it at work, I can speak with my friends”, but he admits that he lacks some vocabulary and certainly some of the French Québécois slang. Despite his ability to perform most of his daily activities in French, he is apprehensive on whether he can consider himself a Québécois. *His* French is not enough. “I can explain myself easily. When it comes to the most complicated things it takes a little more time for me to formulate what I want to say”, but to consider himself Québécois, Lester must be “100% comfortable”. He must be perfect. Olivier, a 24-year old second generation Haitian agrees and says that to be a Québécois « *il faut parler français, absolument. Bien maîtriser le français, absolument* » (“it is a necessity to speak French, absolutely. Master French well, absolutely.”) Although it seems as if Lester has self imposed this definition, he and others have

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<sup>78</sup> In the 2012 election, the PQ campaign released details of their plans to promote and protect the French language, including prioritising immigrants who speak French at home over those who simply know the language, even if it sometimes means bringing in people with less job skills (The Canadian Press, 2012).

constructed this understanding from what they believe is the common understanding of the majority and have internalised this exclusion in their own definition.

Hélène, a 25-year old child of Vietnamese immigrants, takes a softer approach:

“I do think French is important. I think it’s part of Quebec, whether you’re mainly English or not, even though you can speak a bit of French, it’s okay. But I feel like to at least understand, it’s the majority, the main language here, and I feel like it’s important to know at least the language to be able to work, to communicate, to understand each other. I think that if I try to think of my French friends they would be like well a true Quebecer needs to know French and speak French fluently.”

Hélène recognises the importance of knowing French while living in Quebec. It is the language of majority and it holds great value for that majority. More practically, it is a gateway to participation in society; not only to work, but also to foster a dialogue between groups and individuals. However, as someone who considers herself completely bilingual, and who has struggled for a place for herself as both a Francophone and an Anglophone, she is acutely aware of the requirements that her friends have for being Québécois. She has perhaps not internalised the mastery of the language as a requirement on herself, but she knows that her friends, and many Québécois Francophones have.

Similarly, child of Filipino immigrants, 29-year old Catherine notes that not only would her Québécois Francophone friends not consider her Québécois, but they would probably regard her to others as simply their “English” friend. Her conclusion is based on a general feeling that her Québécois identity is not affirmed by the Québécois community at large because she was raised Anglophone.

“I don’t think it would cross their [my Québécois Francophone friends] mind really, unless I were to tell them you know, ‘oh, by the way, I’m Québécois’. Like I don’t think it would cross their mind to refer to me as that...also I think growing up in that environment of you know French

immersion and... English-speaking, you know living in the suburbs, in a predominantly English-speaking suburb, I find that... even though I can say 'yeah I'm Québécois', I don't think there was any sort of affirmation elsewhere, you know."

Catherine later particularly mentions the Quebec government as an important actor that she feels does not affirm her place in Québécois society, and remembers from her childhood an "us versus them" mentality on the playground, between Francophones and Anglophones. Erin further points out this exclusion of Anglophones from the definition of Québécois, and more generally the understanding of the province. The 26-year old second generation Anglo-Caribbean says:

"Just because the politics of the situation have always been there, pretty much since I've been born. So it's always been like English against French, you know. And I feel like that's engrained in our culture a little bit. So could they do anything to... get me to feel... part of Quebec... I can't say that I could do anything. I mean, every English person that I know from Quebec has pretty much the same feeling. That we are just really not that welcomed, that we are just tolerated, you know?"

Erin recognises this "us versus them" mentality that has taken up political space and has become "engrained in our culture". For her, it has pitted Anglophones against Francophones, and as a minority, she feels Anglophones are simply "tolerated" as part of the reality of the province. As a result, Erin finds herself unable to define herself as a Québécois; because as an Anglophone, she feels she is identified in contrast to a majority French-speaking Québécois society.

The perception that Anglophones are excluded from the definition of Québécois is also understood in the Francophone community. Like Hélène above, 23-year old second generation Vietnamese immigrant, Karine says,

*« Alors que d'autres immigrants, comme mon copain qui est Turc, qui parle anglais, qui est en train d'apprendre le français. Lui, il s'identifie aux valeurs d'ici, mais pourtant, les gens ne vont jamais le considérer comme un Québécois parce qu'il est Anglophone. C'est comme une barrière. »*

("Then there are other immigrants, like my boyfriend who is Turkish, who speaks English, who is currently learning French. He identifies with the values here [in Quebec], but yet, the people are never going to consider him a Québécois because he is Anglophone. It's like a barrier.")

Karine is aware of the requirements imposed by the Québécois Francophone population, and knows that her boyfriend who identifies with Quebec society in many ways, will always be on the outside because he is more Anglophone than Francophone.

Leon, a 28-year old second generation Vietnamese male bluntly states, “Quebecers are unbelievably nice and friendly people. They’re not xenophobic, they’re just anti-English.” As an Anglophone, who now works primarily in French, he takes a similar approach to Erin above, where he believes he is “tolerated” because he can speak French. They will treat him nicely and consider him “a nice guy, a good citizen of their society” *because* he is able to speak French with them. But when it comes to considering him a Québécois, Leon says, “I don’t think they view me as Québécois. I think they view me as a very nice cool person, and I think in their mind, it stops there.” For him, French is his ticket into society, but there are limits on how far that will take him. He feels it is still “their” society, and this distinction keeps him, and other Anglophones on the outside of what it means to be Québécois.

Similarly, 33-year old Maude, also a child of Vietnamese immigrants views language as her ticket to acceptance into Québécois society.

*« Étrangement, quand je vais en région, je ne sais pas si c'est parce que mon parler ressemble à leur parler. Ils oublient que j'ai les yeux bridés et que je viens d'ailleurs. Je pense que ce côté de la langue m'aide beaucoup plus à me faire accepter que si je ne parlais pas bien le français et que j'avais un gros accent, ils me recevraient peut-être différemment. »*

(“Strangely, when I go to the regions, I don’t know if it is because my speech resembles their speech... They forget that I have slanted eyes and that I come from elsewhere. I think that also the language helps me a lot to be accepted, in contrast to if I didn’t speak French very well and I had a large accent, they would probably perceive me differently.”)



Maude believes that her ability to speak like a Québécois, with a fluency in the language gives her a foothold into the society. However, she alludes to other considerations for Québécois Francophones. The fact that she has the same accent as them helps her, but in addition to this, she believes that people see her “*yeux bridés*” (slanted eyes) that indicate her race, and then presumptions are made concerning her immigrant status.

Although language is an important criterion for inclusion in Québécois society, participants believe that language alone is not enough. Anglophones feel as if they are often excluded, even if they have a firm grasp on the language. Even then, a firm grasp may not be enough, as it is felt that often a mastery of the language is imposed. Finally, even if these criteria are met, there are potentially additional norms that often place these second generation immigrants on the outside of the boundaries of being considered Québécois, such as accent, and race and ethnicity.

## **5.2. *T’accent est b’en, là!***

“In Quebec, if you speak French, you’re in...Unless it’s like a weird French. If you speak Quebec French like I do, you are in.”

- Leon, 28-year old, second generation Vietnamese immigrant

I have never been to the neighbourhood before, and was surprised to even see on Google Maps that Montreal had a *Petit Maghreb* (Little Maghreb). This is historically a French immigrant neighbourhood with large pockets of Haitians and obviously Maghrebis. I am here to meet Henri at his apartment.

While seated at his bar height kitchen table, I am getting my papers and digital recorder ready to begin the interview and Henri and I are chatting about what language the interview will be in. I originally contacted him over email, with my standard bilingual email with, as always, the

French portion first. His response was in English, and I followed his lead and our correspondence has since been in English. Through my experience with earlier interviews, I am aware that often my affiliation with McGill University, as an English institution, presupposes that I am Anglophone and some people will default to English, despite French being their more dominant official language. Meaning either French is their maternal language, first official language, or the language in which they were primarily educated.

I have already looked at the English survey Henri has chosen to complete and can see that French is his maternal language and that he went to French primary and secondary schools. I therefore ask, in French, if he prefers that we do the interview in French. Henri replies yes, if I am more comfortable. I explain that I am comfortable in both languages, but insist that my comfort is not what is important, but rather I would like to do the interview in the language in which he feels he can better express himself; after all, it is him who will be doing most of the talking. I expect him to choose French, given his responses in the questionnaire; he chooses English.

Henri is a 33-year old man, whose parents are both from Haiti. He identifies himself as strongly Québécois and describes his culture as Québécois. He continues to explain the cultural activities that he participates in that he considers Québécois.

“...the sport, the hockey. I mean, football, *les Allouettes*, ‘cause hockey is a big thing, right. It’s like a religion. If you don’t know hockey...[laughs] In terms of the radio, I like 96.9<sup>79</sup>, I know about them, I know about the songs, the most popular songs... going every year to pick up some apples, that’s embracing the culture.”

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<sup>79</sup> 96.9 CKOI is the same local radio station that Darlène referred to negatively when discussing what she considered Québécois culture.

Despite these aspects that he has embraced, Henri says that he finds he has always been missing a key feature: the Québécois accent. Despite his French education in Montreal, he claims that the accent never did quite “stick” to him.

“I didn’t quite embrace the accent, it didn’t stick to me. The Québécois accent, when I try to speak, if they don’t understand me, they don’t. I tried.”

He describes his accent as a Montrealer accent, one that is not quite Anglophone, Francophone, nor Creole. He finds that the lack of this key characteristic makes it difficult for him to be understood by Québécois Francophones. He believes this has kept him from being accepted by Québécois society, and therefore he cannot fully identify with being Québécois.

“And then... and when I mean me, I mean not a black guy that’s from here that has a Quebec accent to be accepted somehow. Accepted in the sense that because you don’t have the accent, they’ll be like hmmm... but even if you have a French accent from France, they’ll be like hmmm... until I see a person like that, until I hear someone like me...”

The accent is the ultimate characteristic that he believes prevents him from being considered part of the majority, by the majority. Henri references what he sees and hears in politics and the media that he consumes, as evidence of acceptance, or in this case, lack thereof, in the community. He admits that there are not always many people of his race represented either, and even argues that the representations of black men particularly are generally negative in the news. However, he asserts that even when there are positive representations, the only acceptable representations are those with the right accent.

“...when I listen to the radio, when I watch shows, when they get somebody from a different background even. The shows, but the radio and everything... so yes, even you see Italian or Haitian on the radio, pretty much they have the same accent, they talk the same. It’s fair and fine, but at the same time there’s others that doesn’t have the accent. This is why I’m like okay that’s their view of Italians to be in Quebec, or Haitian to be in Quebec”.

In Henri's opinion, the Quebec mainstream media, when it does choose to represent minorities, the minority individuals always have the same Québécois accent. It does not represent the heterogeneity of people present in the province. He does not hear people that speak French well, but who do not have the Québécois accent represented in media or in the political area. I cannot help but think that the lack of acceptance and representation of people who sounds like him, is possibly the reason that Henri has defaulted to English, not only for our interview, but in many walks of his life as well.

He tells me that he actually prefers to speak English now. He completed his college education in English, he works with the public almost exclusively in English, and mainly speaks English with his friends. I find his English quite good. He makes some minor grammatical errors, but he is quite easily understandable and confident in the language. As we have seen in the previous section, knowledge of the French language is an important characteristic that participants believe help others identify them as Québécois. However, just as some believed that knowledge of language is not enough, but rather a mastery of the language is required, Henri and others, for example Erin, a 26-year old child of Anglo-Caribbean parents, believe that "just knowing the French language isn't enough. [T]here needs to be certain aspects of the French language that you have to have as well. You have to have the accent" to be considered a Québécois, particularly by the Québécois Francophone majority.

This sentiment of exclusion based on accent is a more common sentiment among the Anglophone participants, but as we saw above with Maude, as a Francophone she believes having the Québécois accent is also an asset. Beth, a 32-year old child of Filipino immigrants describes a situation when travelling abroad and her general enjoyment when connecting with

other Canadians when away. She met two Québécois Francophone men in her hostel and describes the following conversation:

“...whenever the three of us would speak, one of them said to me like... "So why do you speak like that in French?" and I was "Like what?" and he was like "What's wrong with your accent?" I was like "I don't know, this is how I talk." I was a little insulted, I was like "Dude, we can communicate perfectly fine, and you understand everything I'm saying, but you don't like my accent?"

The interaction that Beth describes demonstrated to her the importance of the accent. Beth had identified herself as Québécois to these men and had engaged in familial conversations with them because of that commonality. However, despite that she was able to communicate “perfectly fine” with these men in their native language, they still questioned her Québécois authenticity because of the accent she had. Beth admits to me that this trip was shortly after high school, when her Québécois accent was “not perfect”, but has since become “more appropriate” after working in more French environments. However, many years later, the incident still marks her as one of the first times in which she felt “othered” and questioned her own belonging.

The idea that she describes a “more appropriate” accent demonstrates that indeed language may not be enough. A Québécois accent is believed to be extremely important in the context of Quebec in order for second generation immigrants from visible minority backgrounds to be accepted as Québécois. Similarly, Harold, as a 23-year old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant believes he has been treated differently because of his accent, resulting in feelings that he does not belong in Quebec. Harold was raised as an Anglophone, but attended French elementary and high school, works in both languages, and rates his competency in the French language the same as he does his English. So while someone might otherwise attribute their experience to perhaps a

lack of knowledge and confidence in the French language, the same cannot be said for Harold, Beth, and Henri. Yet they still experience feelings of exclusion.

“To me, for instance, they take French too seriously. If you’re not French, you kind of feel away [sic], you feel neglected. Me, for instance, my French isn’t Québécois French but I can still make a conversation with you. We sound a little different... and from there, they’re gonna treat you a certain way compared to somebody else...

...I can speak English to anyone who needs to be spoken to, and whoever I need to speak French, I’ll speak French, but I won’t judge somebody because their English isn’t the best, or because their French isn’t the best. I’ll try to understand, the best out of it, so if you speak to me in French and your French isn’t the best, I’m not gonna make fun of you and make it seem like oh this guy doesn’t belong here because he doesn’t speak French, you know? That’s what I’m saying. The people who’s like really at the top, they feel like they’re too good to speak to people who speak in English only, or their French doesn’t sound like their French. That’s what I mean when I say “they”.”

Harold has had or witnessed others’ negative experiences when interacting with Québécois Francophones, where they have been made fun of by them because they “sound a little different” or their “French isn’t the best”. This can result in feelings of exclusion in Quebec, or hinder a feeling of belonging to Québécois society. He is adamant that those perpetuating these strict norms of mastery of the French language and a Québécois accent are Québécois Francophones.

Carly agrees. The 19-year old Jamaican second generation immigrant particularly points out that to be Québécois, “you have to speak Quebecer French, not the regular French-French people survive on, but the whole... They have such an accent, a really hard accent to it. So if you don’t have that accent you’re not Quebecer. And those people that tend to have that accent, tend to be white.”

She recognises that a Québécois accented French is a requirement to be a Québécois. While Carly identifies as Québécois “a little bit”, her relatively low identity is due to her understanding that there is an exclusive definition of who is a Québécois, and that she falls out of that category

on many fronts. However, she does not see Québécois as a primordial category, but rather one that is created and constructed to favour those who have the appropriate characteristics. In regards to French-Canadians, she says:

“I guess they have the upper hand, because they have the ideals that everyone needs to have, but they didn’t just naturally have it. Yeah. You see a Quebecer, the white ones... you don’t see, well I haven’t seen at least any other Quebecer person.”

She not only feels excluded due to her accent, but her race automatically excludes her as well. Similarly, Garrett feels that his race gives him away as an outsider, even before he speaks. He recounts an experience he had when travelling with a sports team around Quebec:

“I was one of the only coloured people, with ethnic background other than Quebecer. And they would ask me where I am from, and I’d tell them ‘well, what do you mean where I am from? I speak French, and I’m from Quebec.’ ‘Well...’ ‘What do you mean well? ‘Cause I’m black?’ You mean like... so obviously, their mindset is if you’re not white, and you don’t have the Quebecer accent, you’re not from here, you’re from somewhere else. I hate to answer like that, but it’s the reality. That’s how I see it, that’s what I’ve been through, what I’ve experienced.”

Garrett is a 23-year old child of Anglo-Caribbean parents and like Henri, Erin, Beth, Harold, and Carly, Garrett believes that to be considered Québécois by others, language is not enough; he must also have the Québécois accent. However, characteristics such as language and accent do not function in isolation, and that they interact with race and ethnicity. The next section will explore this other common characteristics of exclusion.

### **5.3. Race or Ethnicity**

« ...pour le Québécois typique, un québécois c’est blanc, même si tu dis que tu es né ici, tu es différent. »

(“...for a typical Québécois, a Québécois is white, even if you say that you were born here, you are different.”)

- Jean-François, 35-year old Haitian second generation immigrant

Just as Garrett described in the section above, even if he speaks French, he believes his race will always be one of the indicators of his otherness in the Quebec context. He attributes his

experiences to the fact that he was black, and what is evident among participants is that they find that this exclusion is not only for blacks, but for anyone that is perceived to be non-white, Québécois identity is generally not attributed to them by the Québécois majority. This otherness is often conflated with immigrant status and is particularly true in the regions outside of Montreal, but not exclusively. This understanding is reproduced in the media and in public policy, which are seen as created by the majority French-Canadian population.

Kevin, a 25-year old child of Haitian immigrants demonstrates this “prerequisite” of whiteness in Quebec society.

*« Un des prérequis [pour être Québécois], ça prend nécessairement que tu sois blanc, mais si tu commences à être un peu bronzé, on va te demander d'où tu viens, tes cheveux ne sont pas lisses. Ça, c'est un des prérequis. »*

(“One of the prerequisites [to be Québécois], it is necessary that you be white, but if you start to become a bit tanned, we will ask you ‘where are you from?’ Your hair is not smooth. That, is one of the prerequisites.”)

Kevin believes that any sort of otherness, darker skin or natural hair will raise suspicion about his origins, while certainly being non-white will exclude him from being Québécois. While it is not clear from Kevin’s quote who is imposing this definition, both Garrett and Jean-François root the boundaries as defined by the majority French-Canadians.

*Je suis une minorité visible et ils ne m'ont jamais considéré comme un Québécois. Tu es un immigrant même si tu es né ici. ...C'est l'image au complet du Québécois de souche: blanc, cheveux brun ou blond, yeux bleus, bruns. La place de l'immigrant, qu'il soit de deuxième, troisième, quatrième génération, ça n'a pas d'importance pour eux-autres. Tu es un immigrant. Tu n'es pas Québécois.*

(“I am a visible minority and they will never consider me a Québécois. You are an immigrant even if you are born here...It is the entire image of the old stock Québécois: White, brown hair or blond, blue or brown eyes. The place of the immigrant, whether they are the second, third, or fourth generation, it is not important for them. You are an immigrant. You are not Québécois”)



The “they” or “them” that Jean-François is referring to, are the French-Canadian majority. He makes the caveat that this sentiment is not necessarily the same across all parts of the province, particularly on the island of Montreal. This Montreal exceptionalism, as a place where diversity is embraced, is discussed in chapter 4 above. Jean-François believes that being of another race or ethnicity that is visibly non-white, denotes a certain immigrant status to ethnic French-Canadians. Even if one is born in Quebec, speaks the language, has the accent, if you are non-white, there is a lack of “acknowledgement” of your Québécois identity, particularly in the regions. Lise, a 29-year old child of Haitian immigrant parents says:

*« L’acknowledgment... d’être reconnue tant et aussi longtemps que l’hybridité de mon identité n’est pas reconnue en région, je ne peux pas me sentir totalement d’ici parce qu’en région, on me fait sentir que je ne viens pas totalement d’ici... même certains.... À Montréal, des fois, ils disent suffisamment des remarques étranges ou blessantes pour que je ne me sente pas d’ici ».*

(“The acknowledgment...of being recognised. As long as the hybridity of my identity is not recognised in the regions, I cannot feel totally from here because in the regions, they make me feel as if I don’t come totally from here...similarly...in Montreal they sometimes say strange or hurtful remarks to make me feel not from here.”)

The hybridity that Lise is talking about is that she is Québécois of Haitian descent. She feels the combination of these two parts of her are not acknowledged; she cannot be Québécois, rather she is usually acknowledged as from elsewhere. While she relegates these sentiments mostly to the regions of Quebec, she recalls times when it happens in Montreal. She tells the following story about her encounter with a woman during a cold winter day waiting for a bus in Montreal:

*« ...il y avait une madame qui arrive au coin de la rue et qui dit : « Ah, il fait froid, hein... » J’ai dit : « Oui, il fait vraiment pas chaud, le vent... » « Ça doit être vraiment difficile de vous adopter pour vous... Heille, votre premier hiver... » Je la regarde... « mon premier hiver... vraiment... euh non... » « Ah, oui? Ça fait combien de temps que vous êtes ici? » « Ça va faire 28 ans dans quelques jours. » Et là, elle a compris que si j’avais dit 28 ans dans quelques jours, elle a tout à fait compris que j’étais née ici et que sa remarque ne tenait pas debout. »*

(There was a woman who arrived at the corner of the street and who said ‘Ah, it is cold, hey.’ I said, ‘Yes, it is not very warm, the wind...’ ‘It must be very difficult for you to get used to, huh...your first winter.’ I looked at her... ‘my first winter...really, no way.’ ‘Ah really? How long have you been here?’ ‘It is going to be 28 years in a few days.’ And there, she understood

that I am 28 years old in a few days, she completely understood that I was born here and that her comment did not make sense.”)

It should be noted that Lise has very strong Québécois accent, and we discuss this fact while talking about this incident. The woman assumed Lise to be an immigrant because of the fact that she is black. Despite her stellar level of French, thick Québécois accent, and also the fact that she was well dressed for the weather, as anyone who has lived through a Montreal winter would be, this woman did not recognise Lise, a black woman, as a fellow Québécois. But rather saw her as an outsider, epitomised by the assumption of her recent immigrant status.

Olivier similarly says that if you are not white, your origins and place of birth will always be questioned in Quebec.

*« Maintenant, pour être un vrai Québécois, il faut parler français absolument. Bien maîtriser le français absolument. Être pour un Québec indépendant absolument et aussi, ...si tu n'es pas blanc, ils vont te regarder et ils vont dire «Est-ce que tu es né(e) au Québec?» Même si tu parles bien français, «Est-ce que tu es né(e) au Québec?» Au moins, donne-moi le bénéfice du doute que j'aurais pu être né en Ontario... Au moins, demande-moi si je suis né au Canada, mais ils ne disent pas si tu es né(e) au Canada... «Est-ce que tu es né(e) au Québec?» C'est ça aussi vraiment. »*

(“Now, to be a true Québécois, it is absolutely necessary to speak French. Absolutely master French well. Absolutely be for an independent Quebec, and also...if you are not white, they are going to look at you and they will say ‘Were you born in Quebec?’ Even if you speak French well, ‘Were you born in Quebec?’ At least, give me the benefit of the doubt that I could have been born in Ontario...at least ask me if I was born in Canada. But they don’t say if you were born in Canada. ‘Were you born in Quebec?’ It’s that really.”)

Not only is he assumed not to have been born in Quebec, he is assumed to be an immigrant, when in his opinion, he could be considered at least Canadian, so as not to assume that he is an immigrant. Furthermore, Olivier notes that even if he speaks French well, in his case fluidly and without a trace of foreign accent, his origins are suspect nonetheless.

Correspondingly, Carly believes that her race excludes her from being both Québécois and Canadian in the eyes of some Québécois. She refers to a situation in a shopping mall with an older Québécois man, who asked if she was African. She responded that she is Canadian, but the man did not accept her answer. Even if she speaks French, Carly cannot be Québécois because she is black. Furthermore, she could not be Canadian<sup>80</sup> either, and was only assumed to be an immigrant.

“I’m trying to better myself, trying to say you know, if I speak French, let me do the French. And then I get treated like, ‘oh really’? There’s [sic] only two types of [black] people that speak French. The fact that I’m black doesn’t make me Canadian, because I have to be from somewhere else, why I speak French. No, I’m just Canadian. I was born here, they told me I have to learn French so I did it, and I’m talking in French because I need what I need to get. So I find it’s sad that you have to be African or Haitian in order to speak French, and being a Canadian doesn’t really count because, you know, you’re black. You’re not really, really from here, so... I don’t know, it’s pretty sad. It’s pretty narrow-minded, it’s kinda disgusting.”

These sentiments of exclusion from being Québécois are not unique to the black second generation, but also among the Asian participants. Elenor, a 34-year old child of Vietnamese immigrant parents says that while she identifies strongly as Québécois, she cannot fully do so because “identities also come from how people perceive you”. She recounts her experiences in one of the regions of Quebec, Mauricie:

“...people ask me all these questions, and I know I’m very different. And I know that Quebec is not Montreal. Quebec is so much bigger than Montreal is. But yeah... some people speak to me in English when they see me also, so I do realize that there’s a difference. Or people perceive me differently. When I speak, then it’s fine, but still people are curious when I’m not in Montreal.”

Elenor realises that she looks different than the majority white population in the region, and that her race generates questions about her migrant status. The fact that people speak to her in English reinforces this notion that she may be an immigrant, as historically immigrant groups in Quebec were thought to have chosen English as their language of choice, rather than French

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<sup>80</sup> Canadian identity is explored more thoroughly in the chapter 6.

(chapter 1). However, Elenor notes that when she speaks, it is better, as she is often then recognized as Québécois.

Claude, a 34-year old Vietnamese second generation immigrant, describes the shock of many Québécois Francophones to discover that he speaks French, as it is often assumed because of his racial category, he will not or cannot speak French, let alone with any fluency.

*« C'est comme 2013 c'est fini. Un petit anecdote... justement, récemment, j'ai comme j'ai participé à une discussion comme ça, il y a voilà peut-être six mois, à une discussion à Radio-Canada...et les commentaires que j'ai eus c'est comme «Oh, wow, t'es Chinois! T'écrit bien en français !» C'est comme pour moi « my God, man! » Ça fait 20 ans c'est fini ce genre de discussion. Moi, je suis rendu à un autre stade, alors que les Québécois eux autres, c'est comme, quand tu vas... mais peut-être que je parle de la vieille génération... Les jeunes peut-être moins, mais il y en a encore... ceux qui arrivent en dehors de Montréal, ils sont comme «Oh, wow, tu parles le français bien et tout ça. Comme wow, my God pour moi, c'est fini...C'est pas, comme je dis, c'est pas que je n'aime pas la culture, mais je ne m'y identifie pas.*

(“It’s like 2013, it’s over. A small anecdote...just recently, I like, I participated in a discussion like this, perhaps maybe six months ago in a discussion on Radio-Canada...and the comments that I had were like ‘oh wow, you are Chinese’<sup>81</sup>! You write well in French!’ It’s like for me ‘my God, man!’ It’s been 20 years this type of discussion is finished. Me, I have gone to another stage, but the Québécois, they themselves, it’s like, when you go, but maybe I am talking about the older generation...the youth maybe less, but there is still some...who arrive from outside of Montreal, they are like ‘oh wow, you speak French well’ and all that. Like ‘wow, my God’, for me, it’s done...It’s not, like I said, it’s not that I don’t like the culture, but I don’t identify with it.”)

As Lise and Elenor from above have, Claude attributes these questions to those from outside of Montreal, or even to an older generation. However, these experiences have a negative effect on his Québécois identity, as he finds although he likes aspects of the culture, he is unable to identify with it because of experiences described above. Because he is Asian, he is not affirmed as Francophone and therefore cannot be Québécois. These experiences faced by participants will be framed as microaggressions (Sue, et al., 2007) which will be explored in more depth in the chapter on discrimination and racism (chapter 7), however they are also useful demonstrations of

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<sup>81</sup> Claude’s family is ethnically Chinese from Vietnam.

the presumed foreignness of second generation immigrants from visible minority groups based on their race, for all four target groups.

Gérald, a 32-year old Vietnamese child of immigrants describes a similar scenario he witnessed when he was in school.

*« Dans les travaux d'équipe, étrangement, j'étais toujours avec le groupe des étudiants étrangers. J'étais toujours avec les Sénégalais, les Européens ou...mais plus avec les Sénégalais et les Sud-Américains. Donc, j'étais toujours avec les gens de couleur, mais pas parce que je voulais nécessairement être avec eux, mais les groupes se formaient et automatiquement, les gens de couleur venaient me voir, mais les blancs Francophones ne venaient pas me voir. Donc, je me ramassais avec eux et là, tout d'un coup, on arrive à l'exposé oral, je commence à parler et là, tout d'un coup, depuis... à partir de ces moments, en général, les Blancs venaient me voir parce qu'ils réalisaient que je n'étais pas un étudiant étranger, que j'étais un étudiant québécois. »*

(“In the team work, strangely, I was always with the group of international students. I was always with the Senegalese, the Europeans or...but more with the Senegalese and the South Americans. So, I was always with the people of colour, but not because I necessarily wanted to be with them, but the groups formed themselves and automatically the people of colour came to see me, but the white Francophones did not come to see me. So, I got together with them, and suddenly, we arrive at the oral presentations, I begin to talk and suddenly, since...from this moment, in general, the whites came to see me because they realised that I was not an international student, but that I was a Québécois student.”)

Due to Gérald's racial category, he was mistaken for an international student or an immigrant and was excluded from working with the Québécois Francophones. As with Elenor above, once it is recognized that he speaks French with fluency and a Québécois accent, he found that his situation fared more positively with the Québécois Francophones, in that they were more willing to work with him.

However, this willingness or acceptance is not necessarily without limitations. Gérald is still not acknowledged as a Québécois, but rather he is considered 'like' them, rather than one of them.

*« Sauf que lorsque je parle et qu'ils entendent mon accent québécois ils font comme «Oh, t'es comme nous !» C'est ça...«Comme nous» et non pas t'es Québécois, mais plus t'es «comme nous». Tu nous ressembles pas, mais tes comme nous. »*

(“Unless I speak and they hear my Québécois accent and they are like ‘oh, you are like us!’ ... ‘Like us’ and not ‘you are Québécois’, but more you are ‘like us’. You don’t look like us, but you are like us.”)

His receives preferential treatment when his Québécois accent is recognised, but it still excludes him from being identified as Québécois because he does not look like a typical Québécois, understood as being white. Similarly, Jean-François talks about how he believes the typical Quebecois views him.

*« Le Québécois typique, une fois qu’il te connaît, il est chaleureux, c’est une bonne personne. Il va t’aider. C’est quelqu’un de serviable, mais il est méfiant et sa méfiance, des fois, le bloque. C’est quand qu’il va te parler qu’il va voir «il parle comme moi, Il mange comme moi. Son équipe préférée c’est le Canadien de Montréal. It’s a good guy.» Mais avant ça, c’est comme si t’es un Haïtien qui va voler nos jobs et nos femmes. »*

(The typical Québécois, once they know you, they are warm, it’s a good person. They are going to help you. It’s someone who is helpful, but he is suspicious and his suspicion, at times, block him. It’s when he is going to talk to you, when he is going to see you; ‘He speaks like me. He eats like me. His preferred team is the Montreal *Canadiens*. It’s a good guy.’ But before this, it’s like you are a Haitian who is going to steal our jobs and our women.”)

Jean-François believes he will always primarily be viewed as Haitian, but once someone speaks with him and gets to know him, he will be affirmed not as a Québécois, but a simply ‘like’ the Québécois, because of the way he speaks, what he eats, and the local hockey team that he supports. He can be well-integrated and considered a ‘good guy’, but like Leon above, “in their mind, it stops there”. He is not a Québécois, he can only simply be “like’ them because he will always be Haitian first in their eyes.

This sentiment of exclusion based on race or ethnicity is not based solely on individual encounters and interactions, but participants also feel it permeates through representations of Québécois society, such as political discourse and the mass media. Twenty-nine year old child of Haitian parents, Émile talks about these racial and historical ancestral standards that are produced and reproduced by the state.

« ...dans l'imaginaire de la plupart des gens, un Québécois c'est un homme blanc ou une femme blanche québécoise, qui évolue dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent, qui vit là, qui est né là, qui maîtrise le français, qui comprends un peu l'anglais, mais pas forcément, qui a des origines françaises. C'est cette perception...qui est catholique aussi. C'est cette perception que j'ai de... la société renvoie c'est quoi qui est supposé être un Québécois. Pour comprendre l'image que j'ai l'impression que la société me renvoie de c'est quoi être un Québécois, la société québécoise, dans la province de Québec, il faut juste regarder le gouvernement qui est en place en ce moment... Le gouvernement québécois avec leur projet de souveraineté qui traduit un malaise non seulement identitaire, mais un malaise aussi de la place politique... du poids politique qu'ils occupent au sein de la confédération. »

(“...in the imagination of the majority of people, a Québécois it is a white man, or a Québécois white woman, who grows up in the valley of the St. Laurent, who lives there, who is born there, who masters French, who understands a little English, but not necessarily, who has French origins. It is this perception...who is catholic as well. It is this perception that I have of...the society puts out there, as what, who is supposedly a Québécois, the Québécois society, in the province of Quebec, one just needs to look at the government who in place at this moment...the Québécois government with their sovereignty project which translates an uneasiness, not only of identity, but an uneasiness also of the political place, the political weight that they occupy since confederation.”)

Through the political discourse produced by the parties in power, in this case Émile is particularly talking about the *Parti Québécois* (PQ), there is a message of who can be included as a Québécois. He mentions the sovereignty project as a discourse in which the boundaries of who is Québécois are reinforced as white, with an ancestral history that is tied to Quebec. Beyond politics, he believes that the mainstream media is also culprit to reinforcing the dominant standard.

Émile's understanding of who is considered Québécois is informed by media representations that render him “invisible”.

« On n'a rien qu'à regarder le 7 jour, La semaine, le journal de Montréal... Si moi et toi, on ne se reconnaît pas, sur le cover de ces magazines, tu vois à l'intérieur des magazines dans les enjeux qui sont défendus, on est invisible, selon ce critère. »

(“We just have to look at the 7 jour, La semaine, le journal de Montréal...if me and you, we don't see ourselves, on the cover of these magazines, you look inside of these magazines in the issues that are defended, we are invisible, no matter the criteria.”)

This is similar to Kevin from above. When he spoke about the prerequisite of being white in order to be considered Québécois, he based it off of his understanding of “*la construction médiatique*” (the media construction). Furthermore, Gilles, a 22-year old second generation immigrant, discusses the “publicised” definition of what it means to be Québécois.

*« Donc, c’est cette notion de vrai Québécois... c’est une notion peut-être un peu commerciale entres guillemets ou médiatisée. Le vrai bon Québécois Francophone caucasien avec une femme catholique pratiquante et des enfants baptisés. »*

(“So, it is this notion of true Québécois...it is a notion perhaps a little commercial in quotations or publicised. The true good Québécois white Francophone with a practising catholic wife and baptised children.”)

Gilles says “commercial” or “publicised” specifically in quotations because he does not necessarily use this definition as his personal classification, but is aware that it exists in some people’s minds and is reproduced in mass media. This ability to be aware of the “common” definition of what it means to be Québécois, but disidentify by redefining what it means to be Québécois, is explored at length in the section directly below.

More specifically, while I did not pose questions directly about the proposed Charter of Values, a number of participants spoke about it in conversation. While on its face, the Charter claims to be protecting the secularism of the provincial state, many are quick to point out the racist undertones and consequences of it. Brenda a 32-year old Anglo-Caribbean second generation says about the Charter:

“...it’s essentially racist. It’s trying to...[thinking] create practices that exclude certain groups...you are excluding mass groups of people who are not white. Who are not white, who are Anglophone or Francophone, doesn’t really matter. So you are making it so people who are white can keep their jobs, and people who are not white, or who don’t spouse the same values as you [cannot keep their jobs].”



The opinions concerning the Charter and other politics and policies are discussed in much more detail above in chapter 3. However, with Brenda's comments, we can see that a policy put forward by a government in power that is supposed to stand for Québécois values, can be viewed as exclusionary. And in Brenda's opinion, language similarities to the majority population will not spare you, because if you are non-white, you are considered an outsider.

Garrett agrees with this sentiment when talking about the recent 2014 provincial elections that were often centred on the Charter and sovereignty. He says regarding those visible minorities who vote for the PQ:

"The people who aren't Quebec of Quebec descent, but know the French language as a mother tongue. This still applies to you, I hope you know. Just because you speak French, it doesn't mean you'll get off scot-free. Everything will be good for you just because you speak the language? There's other stuff that will come down hard on you, the whole religion thing and being different, not seeming like a Quebecer in their eyes."

In his opinion, speaking the language of the majority will not be enough to be considered Québécois, but they will target citizens because of an overt religious symbol or because you "aren't Quebec of Quebec descent" or white. No matter if you speak French, according to Garret, visible minorities will not appear like Québécois in the eyes of the dominant majority.

Of course language, accent, and race are not the only characteristics of exclusion discussed by participants, and neither do they work in isolation. However, they were rather the more prominent themes that participants mentioned in their interviews. As shown, language and accent can act as barriers or as pathways into being affirmed as Québécois, but they interact with race in a way where race or ethnicity is a visible external indicator of otherness. Even if membership is established through displays of competence in the language with an "appropriate"

accent, there is still an implicit understanding of exclusion among second generation immigrants based on an “us versus them” mentality, where non-whites can be “like” Québécois, but are not Québécois.

As seen in chapters 3 and 4, cultural knowledge, political opinions, and even what are seen as societal values are characteristics that when lacking those similar to the majority, can create feelings of exclusion, but moreover these aspects are part of the process that second generations encounter when negotiating Québécois identity. The sections above explore the strict boundaries that second generation immigrants believe the dominant majority applies to the definition of who is a Québécois that inherently excludes non-whites and those who may not be well versed in French. However, exclusion may not necessarily mean non-identification, as participants find ways to attach to the Québécois identity despite the messages they interpret from numerous societal sources (everyday interaction, government discourse, media representations) promoting an essentialist definition of Québécois identity. The section below will explore this disidentification as a way to negotiate the boundaries of Québécois identity.

#### ***5.4. Disidentification: Québécois in spite of Exclusion***

“I feel like I identify with Quebecers, but they don’t necessarily identify with me.”

- Dorothy, 32-year old child of Filipino immigrants

Disidentifications (Muñoz, 1999) are the strategies that minorities employ in order to identify with a seemingly fixed essentialist identity. The above sections of this chapter establish that second generation immigrants often feel as if they are measured against the strict boundaries delineating Québécois identity, most often those related to language, accent, and race and ethnicity. Without a mastery of the French language or an “appropriate” Québécois accent,

second generation immigrants find that it is difficult to be recognised or acknowledged as Québécois. However, even if they do meet these criteria, they often find themselves excluded based on their real or perceived racial or ethnic category. Disidentification is defined by a recognition of these expectations and norms usually set by the dominant majority, and espoused in the media and politics, but rather than rejection of the identity or a counter identity, to disidentify, in the Quebec context is a strategy of redefinition in which the boundaries around Québécois identity are redrawn and create a way in which second generation immigrants can participate and be included.

The central redefinitions that take form are defining Quebec identity using 1) civic or cultural characteristics that are accessible to all; 2) viewing Quebec identity as a part of ones identity or in combination with a home ethnic identity; 3) using state defined or understandings of state policies of interculturalism or multiculturalism that promote a pluralistic society; 4) creating different classifications or types of a Québécois that explicitly or implicitly include immigrants and children of immigrants; and finally, 5) Anglophones will often use the English alternative, Quebecer, in order to identify with the province of Quebec, avoiding the use of Québécois because it implies a white French-Canadian. These redefinitions are a way for second generation immigrants to negotiate their own Québécois identity in the face of their understanding that the societal definition of Québécois is a white French-Canadian.

#### **5.4.1. The Civic Québécois out of Spite**

One the first redefinitions of Québécois identity is based on a civic understanding, or a belief that they are culturally similar to the dominant majority and therefore should not be excluded. What sets this redefinition apart from the civic and the cultural modes of identification above, are that

these are predicated on an understanding that the dominant definitions exclude them, but they choose to identify nonetheless.

Beth, a 32-year-old Filipino child of immigrants, takes what she calls the “liberal” view where her participation in society, and ability to speak and work in French, includes her in the Québécois identity.

“You might have the most open-minded people, like ‘Yea you live here, you participate in society, in community, in all that stuff. You speak French, you work. Sure, you are Quebecois.’ I mean, that’s a liberal-open minded view. Conversely, I am sure there is [sic] plenty of other views like... I don’t know if this is old school, like the *pur laine* point of view, you know. Like ‘Oh well, you’re not born here. Your family is not from here.’ I’m sure that still exists. There is that one, which I find kind of aggressive and closed-minded. That’s the one I kind of choose to ignore. My point of view is the most liberal one. I am from here. I identify a lot with... I love the French language. I love being able to speak French, work in the language...”

She recognises that there are alternative views coming from the dominant majority, or the “*pur laine*”<sup>82</sup> Québécois, but she chooses to ignore this sentiment, and instead embraces one that suits how she feels on a daily basis. On a daily basis, this exclusion is not at the forefront of her mind. This is despite the perceived assumptions from members of the dominant Québécois Francophone majority that she does not participate nor is invested in the dominant society.

“...on a day-to-day basis it doesn’t really cross my mind. I feel very much at home here, I feel like this is my home. But living with a Francophone roommate, a Quebecois roommate, we are always speaking in French to each other. And then she’d always be surprised if I knew anything related to cultural references of Quebec. She’d be like ‘Oh my god, how do you know that actor, or that TV show?’ And I’m like... ‘I live here, you know.’ But I guess that has to do with the way she identified me as well, you know what I mean. She was always surprised, and I never corrected her, or reprimanded her or reproached her or anything. But every time it was some reference or another... and she was like ‘You know who this person is?’ and I was like ‘Yeah, you know, I read the news, I still know what’s going on.’”

Based on her day-to-day life, Beth feels a part of Québécois society, even if she occasionally experiences incidents that make her feel excluded. Similarly, France, a 23-year-old child of

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<sup>82</sup> Literally translates to “pure wool” and is meant to denote an ethnic French-Canadian.

Haitian immigrants talk about two definitions that exist for Québécois; one that she uses to define herself, and one that she knows is prevalent throughout Quebec discourse.

*« C'est qu'il y a deux définitions d'être Québécois. Il y a celle 'mainstream' où est-ce que... bon, pour la forme, on est Québécois et ok, on va s'affirmer comme ça et on vit ici, donc on est Québécois et moi je m'implique et dans mes discours c'est sûr que je dis que je suis Québécoise. Mais ça reste que dans les faits, après ça, on va avoir un autre débat et 'hop'. Tout à coup les gens vont utiliser le mot «Québécois» et on va savoir que je ne ferais pas partie de la définition,*

*("It's that there are two definitions for being Québécois. There is this mainstream where it is...best said, we are Québécois and ok, we are going to assert ourselves as that and we live here, therefore we are Québécois. And me, I get involved and in my discourse it is certain that I say that I am Québécois. But the fact remains that, after all this, we are going to have another debate and 'hop'. Suddenly, people are going to use the word Québécois and we are going to know that I am not made to be part of that definition.")*

France takes on a civic definition for herself of what it means to be Québécois, and believes that it is a 'mainstream' definition. She lives in Quebec and she participates in her community.

France talks to me specifically about her heavy involvement with a provincial political party, as well as her numerous volunteer efforts at church and for community groups. Given her participation in provincial politics, she is acutely aware of the polarising political debates that often happen in the province and were going on at the time of her interview. These debates have the ability to force the population to define who is and who is not a Québécois, which in her opinion, often excludes herself, because of her second generation immigrant status or her race. Despite all of this, France would certainly define herself as a Québécois.

Jean-François, the 35-year old Haitian child of immigrants, also talks about the many ways he is Québécois. Not only does it include such civic characteristics as living, working, and paying taxes, but he also includes cultural aspects, like the way he lives, who he dates, and what he eats. He is Québécois on all these criteria, and it helps him to identify as Québécois.

*« C'est sûr que je me considère Québécois, j'habite ici, je paie mes taxes. J'utilise des services. Je suis Québécois, mais est-ce la première chose que je dis? Non. C'est sûr que je suis*

*Québécois par rapport à où je travaille, qui je fréquente, qu'est-ce que je mange, c'est quoi mon rythme de vie, qu'est-ce que je connais... c'est mon entourage. Je vis au Québec, mais est-ce que je m'identifie Québécois en premier? Non. Je m'identifie comme Haïtien, Canadien. Le Québécois va venir parce que j'ai dit «oui» au questionnaire, j'habite au Québec. Je vais remplir le questionnaire par rapport à si tu te sens Québécois, est-ce que tu vas utiliser la culture... oui, je vis dedans. C'est pas comme si je vais m'isoler et que ça n'existait pas. J'utilise tout ce qui va être utilisé, mais c'est la mentalité qui est différente et que je n'aime pas. C'est sûr que je ne veux pas être péjoratif pour tout le monde, mais il y a 30%, 40%... le 40% est dur à convaincre, mais si on arrive à le convaincre, ça va faire toute la différence. »*

(“For sure, I consider myself Québécois. I live here, I pay my taxes. I use the services. I am Québécois, but is it the first thing that I say? No. For sure I am Québécois with respect to where I work, who I date, what it is I eat. It is my rhythm of life, it is what I know...it is my entourage. I live in Quebec, but do I identify myself as Québécois first? No. I identify myself as Haitian, Canadian. The Québécois is going to come in because I said yes in the questionnaire, I live in Quebec. I am going to fill out the questionnaire relative to if you feel Québécois, are you going to use the culture, yes I live inside. It is not as if I isolate myself and that it doesn't exist at all. I use all that is going to be used, but it is the mentality that is different and that I do not like. For sure, I don't want to be pejorative towards everyone, but there is 30%, 40%...the 40% is difficult to convince, but if we were able to convince them, it would make all the difference.”)

Jean-François also mentions a mentality which he claims 40% of the population promotes. As mentioned above, the mentality is that which, as a visible minority, he will always be considered an immigrant, rather than Quebecois. He acknowledges that there is a sizable proportion of the population that will inevitably exclude him, but as with France and Beth above, he identifies as Québécois nonetheless due to his participation and implication in the society.

The estimate of the size of the population that believes and promotes an exclusive Quebecois identity varies among those interviewed. While I would have thought that the approximated size of the population would have an effect on the propensity for these individuals to identify as Quebecois, there does not seem to be a discernable pattern. Participants agree with Jean-François and state that this opinion cannot be generalised to the entire Quebecois Francophone population, and estimate that it is a minority, perhaps 10%, 20% or 40%, but still there are differing results on whether this will lead to identification, non-identification, or disidentification with Quebecois identity.

For example, Brenda, the 32-year old Anglo-Caribbean child of immigrants talks about the “radical groups that infringe on the rights of Anglophone people, people who are just not Francophone” and how they “give Québécois a bad rep [sic].” She continues to say that this minority of people forces an image onto the Québécois Francophone majority that “makes them like all look not very accepting, or not very open to other cultures... it’s the minority that kind of spoils it for the rest of them”. Brenda, despite her positive interactions with many Québécois, does not identify herself as Québécois, because she is aware of this exclusive definition of what it means to be Québécois propagated by a minority of “radicals” within the Quebec population.

On the other hand, both Mary and Leon identify very strongly as Québécois, but each of them has a very different estimate of how big this “super extremist Québécois” group is, in Mary’s case, and “white French-Canadians” in Leon’s case. Mary, a 22-year old Filipino child of immigrants, believes that 6% of the population of Quebec are “super extremist Québécois people who like... I don’t know, who just are mean to coloured people. That’s pretty much it. You hear stories about... even the little things, like just because you respond in English”. This is in contrast to Leon who believes that 85% of the Quebec population believes in a mainly ethnic definition of Québécois, meaning that his race, as a Vietnamese second generation immigrant, will undoubtedly exclude him from being considered by the majority as Québécois.

#### **5.4.2. The Partial Quebecois**

If we look again at Jean-François’ comments above, while he identifies as Québécois, he states that it not his primary or first response. Instead, Québécois is the third identity he would claim, but he is certainly all three of them. He says:

*« Oui, je suis Québécois. J'adore ici, je suis né ici, j'ai des enfants qui sont nés ici. Mais mon identité n'est pas québécoise en premier. Je suis Haïtien, Canadien, Québécois. »*

(“Yes, I am Québécois. I love it here. I was born here. I have kids who are born here. But my identity is not Québécois first. I am Haitian, Canadian, Québécois.”)

This demonstrates another strategy of disidentification, where Québécois identity can be part of their entire identity, but it is not the only way that they identify. As discussed in chapter 1, sustained ethnic identity is not thought to impede the process of integration. But Québécois being *part* of your identity is considered disidentification because it is premised on the participants’ belief that Québécois identity is all consuming, and fully identifying as Québécois may not leave room for their other parts of their identity because it is characterised by specific traits that they may not always subscribe to or desire to subscribe to. Participants who use this strategy view and understand Québécois identity as a holistic, often all-consuming identity. But rather than rejecting it, they find a way to identify with it nonetheless.

Carly, a 19 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant, feels excluded from the Québécois identity, and as a result identifies only “a little bit” as Québécois. She explains that in Quebec, She feels that “everyone [is expected] to kind of conform to that Quebec, like now you’re Quebecer, forget about your whole past, your whole history, and just focus on the Quebec history. They’re so pushy on conforming, they want you to conform to their standards.” Carly has struggled to conform to the language and accent requirements as discussed above, and also sees her race as a barrier to her consideration as a Québécois.

“Well, apart from the fact that I’m black and they’re white, but... my whole history. I can’t be a Quebecer because I have history. The only way I can fully out be a Quebecer is humbling to discard, disregard all my history. All my ancestors, like everything that happened to the black people. Just completely stay away from... everything that reminds me or anything that helps me hold on to that little bit of Jamaica. I don’t know. I’m gonna have to disregard everything about me, and just make a whole new me.”



In addition, she also sees the Québécois identity as assimilationist, in which it would not allow her to hold on to her home ethnic, in this case, Jamaican identity. Lester simply states “you’re Québécois only, or you’re not Québécois at all...it’s all or nothing.” He is unable to identify with being Québécois because it denies him his other ethnicities that he is close to.

Similarly, Jacques, a 21-year old Vietnamese child of immigrants “feel[s] like when you want to identify as a Quebecer, for me, identifying as a Quebecer, I feel like taking that identity takes too much of a part of your identity.” He goes on to discuss one of the central identifiers of Quebec as a Québécois accented French. He says that taking on the Québécois identity would entail that this accent and language

“...means a lot to you, cause it reminds you of who you are I guess and what your ancestors have done. I feel like even though I was born in Quebec, I’ve always felt that because of how my family are [sic] scattered all over the world, I identify back to, or I remember from where I come from that I can’t adhere to this ideology of French as being very important and that it has to be protected. Because I feel like French just tells me to talk, and I just learned it to be able to function in Quebec.”

Jacques functions primarily in French, but he sees himself more as a user of French for civic functions, and is reluctant to take on a strong Québécois identity because he feels as if it would force him to give up aspects of with his Vietnamese heritage and history. Others, like Maude feel like because her Vietnamese identity is important to her, she cannot be fully Québécois, but rather her two identities make up her whole identity.

*« Je suis Québécoise, oui, mais une grande partie aussi que j’ai une culture vietnamienne et c’est quelque chose ‘I embrace’ parce que ça fait de moi une Québécoise différente que d’un Québécois pur laine. Je pense que ça fait ma richesse, en fait. C’est pour ça que je ne me considère pas un cinq[ur l’échelle likert dans le questionnaire]. Je suis Québécoise aux trois quarts, mais il y a un quart où mon identité vietnamienne est assez forte et c’est quelque chose d’important que je garde ce quart de moi qui me différencie. »*

(“I am Québécois, yes, but a large part as well is that I have a Vietnamese culture and it is something I embrace because it makes me a different Québécois than a Québécois ‘*pur laine*’. I think that it gives me richness, actually. It is for this that I do not consider myself a five [on the likert scale on the questionnaire]. I am Québécois three-quarters, but there is a quarter of my Vietnamese identity strong enough and it is something important that I keep this quarter of me to differentiate myself.”)

Not everyone sees Quebec identity as a zero-sum game like Lester, or as mutually exclusive to other identities like Jacques. Maude sees her Vietnamese and Québécois side as both a part of her identity that makes her unique from the Québécois Francophone majority. This is reminiscent of Lise, who above described her identity as a hybrid between Haitian and Québécois, even if this “hybridity” or mix is not “acknowledged” by the majority.

#### **5.4.3. The New Multiethnic Quebecois**

Lise and Maude have redefined what it means to be Québécois by finding a balance between their home ethnic identity and their Québécois upbringing. They are creating a new multiethnic Québécois that is inclusive of them, despite the understanding that they are not often viewed as Québécois, and that a mixed identity is not always acceptable for Québécois Francophones.

*« Moi, je dirais... c'est la relation entre... parce qu'il y a différentes définitions pour différents types de personnes. Quelqu'un qui est né au Québec, ce serait un petit peu plus facile. Ils ont déjà... leurs familles... autour des valeurs et tout ça... et je trouve que t'es un petit peu grandi dans la culture québécoise, donc ce serait un peu dur de ne pas être considéré comme un vrai Québécois, mais quelqu'un qui est de descendant immigrant ou des immigrants, je trouve qu'un vrai Québécois ça serait la personne qui trouve la relation... pas la relation... l'équilibre entre leur culture d'origine et la culture québécoise... »*

(“Me, I say... it's the relation between...because there are different definitions for different types of people. Someone who is born in Quebec, it is a little bit easier. They already have...their families...around values and all that...and I find that you are a little bit raised in the Québécois culture, then it is a little hard not to be considered a true Québécois, but someone who is a descendant of immigrants, or immigrants, I find that a true Québécois it is the person who finds the relation...not the relation...the equilibrium between their culture and the Québécois culture...”)

The above quote from Michel, a 19-year old child of Haitian immigrants elaborated what Lise and Maude say above, and he has redefined what it means to be a Québécois for immigrants or

children of immigrants, who he finds often have more trouble being considered Québécois. He believes that finding an “equilibrium” where both a home ethnic culture and Québécois culture can be part of your identity is what defines a Québécois, even if the standard definition may differ.

For Lise, Maude, and Michel, this sentiment is in line with an official Canadian multicultural approach, where all cultures are equally important, but we come together as a cultural mosaic to form one united and cohesive country. Or arguably they have internalised the Quebec model of Interculturalism. The province of Quebec has never signed on to the Canadian Multiculturalism Act and instead promotes Interculturalism, which is very clear that there is a dominant Québécois Francophone majority into which minorities are expected to integrate (see chapter 1 for more details).

Participants are aware that they are expected to conform to the dominant majority, but they maintain ties to the home ethnic culture at the same time as being Québécois. However, according to participants, there are additional barriers to being considered Québécois in practice. There remains this unattainable standard for children of visible minority immigrants, whether it is language, accent, other cultural factors, or race. Dorothy struggles with this divide between policy and practice:

“I feel like there are many different ways of looking at it. And I want to identify as a true Québécois, but at the same time, I don’t think a true Québécois would accept that, you know. And so like... yeah, in some ways, I do identify as a Québécois, because I grew up here, because I’ve seen the struggle of the French people. Well, I want to identify as a Québécois because I want to be a part of this society, I want to grow in this society, and I want to contribute to the society. But then, at the same time, I feel like I can’t be a true Québécois because my parents are immigrants, and because... well my parents are immigrants, yeah, it’s not like my ancestors are the immigrants. My parents are the immigrants, you know. [pause] Yeah, because, no I don’t know those song that my Québécois friends sing along to, and I don’t know what those TV shows are, I don’t really... There’s a lot about... people, that were here, historically... No, I’m not part of that

culture. But I find that's just another culture that lives inside Quebec, and not necessarily the culture that defines Quebec."

Dorothy has trouble considering herself a Québécois because of her perception of other people's acceptance of her as child of immigrants with a more recent history in Quebec, and a lack of ability to relate to aspects of the Québécois Francophone culture. But she desires to be a part of Quebec and disidentifies with Quebec by redefining Quebec's Interculturalism, a state-sponsored vision of a pluralistic Quebec, to fit more with her vision of a Quebec with a multiculturalism policy, where all cultures make up part of Quebec, rather than it being defined by a dominant Québécois Francophone majority.

Henri has done the same where he says that "a Québécois is like, they're all open and accepting the culture and whatever. That's what a Québécois is, but you don't see that everywhere". As with Beth and Dorothy above, he is aware that his definition is not necessarily the common understanding, but he has created an ideal definition that can include him, as he feels excluded because of his lack of Québécois accent.

Many people not only see an "open" and multiethnic Quebec as uniquely their definition, but also recognise its roots in mainly two communities that are leading the charge in changing the definition of what it means to be Québécois. Firstly, as discussed above, the specificity of Montreal helps shape their opinions of Quebec as a diverse and accepting society, both for multilinguals, and multiethnics (see section 4.2). Secondly, participants attribute the closed definition of Québécois identity to an older generation, and see openness in more recent generations. Michel says:

*« La génération un peu plus vieille sont très... racistes... sont très pour les Québécois blancs chrétiens, je pourrais dire. Je trouve qu'ils sont 'closed-minded'. Je trouve que la génération avant nous est très centrée sur l'idéal Québec... hommes, femmes, chrétiens, enfants, souveraineté... Je trouve que notre génération a un peu changé ça. Ça c'est un plus. »*

(“The generation a little older are very... racist... they are really for the white Christian Québécois, I could say. I find that they are closed-minded. I find that the generation before us is very centred on the ideal Quebec. Men, women, Christians, kids, sovereignty... I find that our generation has changed that a bit. That is a plus.”)

Similarly, Mary from above, who talked about the “super extremist Québécois” who have exclusionary definitions of Québécois identity said, when asked to clarify who those people were:

“The super white people, super old white people that at the time who voted, and lost the vote, so they're sad because they lost and they're taking it out on immigrants... Yeah, definitely the old people. The younger people, this generation, younger people... got much better, more open and more open-minded. Being open-minded is a thing now. It's definitely the thing. It's more the older people I find. I never really met anyone young that would... yeah, 'I'm not gonna serve you because you're Filipino' or anything. No, definitely the older people.”

Gilles believes that despite a large proportion of the population maintaining a traditional ethnic definition of a Québécois, the younger generation is more likely to recognise a multiethnic Québécois as a true Québécois.

*« De mon vécu... une bonne partie de la population voterait pour qu'un vrai Québécois ça soit un blanc, Caucasien avec un nom de famille prononçable, mais s'attend changé, c'est-à-dire que moi je suis dans les cégeps beaucoup du Québec et tu vois la différence., entre quand moi je suis rentré au cégep et maintenant, il y a une différence palpable au niveau de la perception de qu'est-ce qu'un Québécois. Donc, les gens... ceux qui on... mais il y a plus de gens qui vont dire qu'un vrai Québécois c'est un Québécois multiethnique. »*

(“In my opinion, a good part of the population would vote for a true Québécois that is white, Caucasian with a pronounceable last name, but it's expected to change, meaning to say that me, I am in the CÉGEPs often in Quebec and you see the difference, between when I went back to CÉGEP and now, there is a palpable difference at the level of the perception of what is a Québécois. So, the people, those who are... but there are more people who are going to say a true Québécois it is a multiethnic Québécois.”)

Conversely, France still believes that the exclusionary sentiments, while mainly rooted in the older generation, are still present in the current younger generation.

« ...c'est le discours de nous et de eux où bien souvent pour les gens de la génération précédente... et même du monde de notre génération que c'est difficile de se considérer à 100%, peu importe tous les efforts que tu voudrais faire. »

(“...It is the discourse of us and of them where often for the people of the preceding generation...and same with people of our generation, that it's difficult to consider you 100% [Québécois], no matter all your efforts that you would like to do.”)

#### 5.4.4. Typology of Québécois

Another method of disidentification used by participants was to define different types of Québécois, where there exists a type of person who is “more” Québécois as compared to them, but nonetheless defining themselves as Québécois. Participants perceived, or sometimes unwittingly define an essentialist definition of Québécois, where they themselves are Québécois, but distinct from the Québécois dominant majority. This is demonstrated often with the use of such terms as *Québécois de souche* or *Québécois pur laine*.

The use of these terms denotes a potential hierarchy that may exist within the term Québécois. There are those that are ‘old stock’ or ‘pure’ as in those who have been here over a number of generations or who may be descendants of the original French settlers, or as Dorothy puts it, descendants of the “*filles de roi*” (daughters of the king)<sup>83</sup>. We have seen these terms used by Jean-François, Maude and Beth above, but they are not alone in this typology. France refers to the “hop” that often happens which will force a distinction between Québécois Francophones and everyone else, and Kenneth talks about those who may be “more” Québécois than him.

“...actually...I consider myself...low Québécois actually. Cause I was... there's Québécois that's pure, born, their parents are Québécois, they don't know how to speak English... those guys are pretty much pure Québécois, they're more Québécois than I am.”

Kenneth is a 23-year old child of Filipino immigrants and defines a clear hierarchy of Québécois where he is a “low”, while those who are not children of immigrants are “more Québécois”. He

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<sup>83</sup> See footnote 65.

still identifies as Québécois, but as a different type. He does not fit into the essentialist “pure” definition of what it means to be Québécois that he perceives the dominant majority promotes, but rather he has found a strategy that still allows him to identify.

This creation of typologies of Québécois, in which at least one type allows for inclusion of second generation immigrants and possibly others, is not unique. Earlier, I introduced Kevin, who believes that being white is one of the prerequisites of being Québécois. He generally believes that an essentialist ethnic definition of who is a Québécois is present in Quebec. However, this understanding of Québécois identity is only one of three definitions of Québécois identity that he thinks are prevalent in Québécois society. His personal vision is civic in nature.

*« ...je pense qu'être Québécois n'a pas besoin d'avoir une couleur ou une religion ou d'être athée. Il doit justement avoir une pluralité de ce qu'est un Québécois. Une personne qui est née ici et qui contribue, pour moi, c'est un Québécois. »*

(“...I think that to be Québécois does not require to have one colour or one religion or to be atheist. You just need to have a [an idea of] plurality for what is a Québécois. A person who is born here at who contributes, for me, that is a Québécois.”)

This is the identity that he personally uses to disidentify with the dominant understandings of being Québécois, but he also recognises an emerging immigrant Québécois identity that is due to the exclusion from the more common essentialist definition of what it means to be Québécois.

Kevin explains:

*« ...la perception du Québécois d'ascendance française vs les Québécois de différentes communautés. Il y a cette idée où l'on ne veut pas s'identifier au Québec...de plus en plus, il y a un mouvement qui s'en va dans ce sens, où les gens commencent à rejeter l'idée que c'est aux autres de nous définir comme Québécois ou pas. On se dit Québécois, mais à notre manière. »*

(“...the perception of the Québécois Francophones vs. the Québécois of different communities. There is this idea where we do not want to identify with Quebec...increasingly, there is a movement that is going in the direction where the people are starting to reject the idea that it is others who define us as Québécois or not. We say that we are Québécois, but in our own way.”)

While Kevin's precise observation was not repeated by others, the general idea of having a different way of defining oneself, but still as Québécois is less of a hierarchy as Kenneth presents, but more of just a multiplicity of possibilities of who can be a Québécois, that is inclusive of immigrants and child of immigrants specifically. There is no one who is "more" or "less" Québécois, but they are all Québécois of different types.

Similarly, Joshua, a 20-year old Filipino second generation immigrant thinks that children of immigrants should be considered Québécois, but distinguishes them from other Québécois Francophones who have a longer history in Quebec. They are "*les enfants [des immigrants] qui sont Québécois*" (the children [of immigrants] who are Québécois). He makes the distinction that children of immigrants are different than other Québécois, but they are wholly Québécois nonetheless.

"The true Québécois who... aren't here [living the in the Côte des Neiges neighbourhood]. Like, cause I'm born here too but like... ancestors are from here and everything, background here, everything is [from] here I find. You can't still say...you can't say to my parents oh you're Québécois, cause they are really from somewhere else, immigrant parents. They should really include them. If you're talking about politicians, include, say Québécois, talking about everyone, no... you should mention everyone. Like...'*les immigrants, qui sont venu ici, les enfants qui sont québécois*' and everything. I rather they mention everyone."

By creating and redefining a version of being Québécois as one that includes children of immigrants, Joshua disidentifies with Quebec. He establishes that he is Québécois, but that he, as a child of immigrants cannot usually be included in the commonly understood definition, and in order to include him, this distinction needs to be made.

#### **5.4.5. Quebecer, not Québécois**

Finally, some Anglophone participants often would not necessarily attribute the Québécois label to themselves or people like them, but they were open to the possibility of identifying as



Quebecer. For them, the term Québécois was laden with meaning and refers exclusively to the French-Canadian population, with a number of characteristics, often out of reach for visible minority second generation immigrants. In the following comments by Hector and Leah describe the image they associate with being Québécois, and how they are more comfortable with the label Quebecer.

“When I hear the word Québécois, I sort of think of white, French, and I don’t know. To me, it doesn’t have the best connotation as a Quebecer. A Quebecer would be someone who’s from Quebec, Quebec culture is the culture of the province of Quebec. Québécois is that culture that’s primarily white, definitely French and... it’s not the same.”

- Hector, a 19 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“...I don’t think that’s something that you can gain, it’s just something that you are and you’re born with, I feel. Maybe I’m just influenced by what everybody else thinks, and the fact that to be a Québécois you have to be Caucasian, have a French last name, have big accent, swear every three words... stuff like that...I see myself more, not in that type of stereotypical Québécois, but as a Québécois living in Quebec. I don’t know if there’s two different ones. I feel like there’s two types of Québécois, those, the actual Québécois, the group that... we separate, and the being from Quebec. I think when you say it in English is better actually. I’m a Quebecer. Cause Québécois is that... yeah there you go. I feel more of a Quebecer, and not a Québécois.”

- Leah, an 18 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

These two Filipino second generation immigrants attached a white, Francophone definition to the word Québécois, but did not attribute the comparable to the English equivalent, Quebecer. They viewed Quebecer as a more inclusive term, one that could include them. Similarly, Margaret, a 32-year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrants said:

“I can say I’m a Quebecer, because there’s different versions of it, but my version, the common one I believe, is a Quebecer, somebody who’s fully Francophone, they usually say I’m a Quebecer...I’m a Quebecer but I’m not one of the originals, my roots are not from here but at the same time I don’t like the fact that they say... it’s a language thing. You don’t have to be French-speaking to be considered a Québécois. I’m a Quebecer, I can say I’m a Quebecer but I don’t because I know what it stands for, and what it could probably mean to someone, I can only imagine to the real that have had too many generations here, I’m a first generation born here, so... yea, I don’t really identify as a Quebecer at all.”

While Margaret doesn’t identify as Québécois or Quebecer, she is clear in explaining that she cannot identify as either because she knows that for the majority of people, it is meant to include

those with French-Canadian roots. Francophones on the other hand do not have an equivalent term to Quebecer that may function to distinguish themselves from ethnic French-Canadians, while still recognising themselves as part of Quebec. Often what happens in French is that participants will make reference to a Québécois *pur laine* or *de souche* to refer to someone of French-Canadian heritage, as we saw Maude do above when she discussed her Vietnamese heritage and how it “makes [her] a different Québécois than a Québécois ‘*pur laine*’”. The term Quebecer was almost never used during an interview that took place in French, as it is considered an English word.

Disidentifications are the strategies that minorities employ in order to identify with a seemingly fixed essentialist identity. In the Quebec context, the strategies employed were to redefine the Québécois identity in ways that could be inclusive of second generation immigrants, particularly those recognised as visible minorities. Some of the redefinitions include creating a civic definition in contrast to the essentialist ethnic definition, incorporating a multitude of identities in conjunction with a Québécois identity that creates a distinct Québécois, embracing a multicultural definition of Quebec, creating a hierarchy or typology of Québécois, or finally, attaching more to the English term Quebecers, rather than Québécois.

### **5.5. Conclusion**

While there is no one single definition of what it is to be a Québécois among second generation immigrant participants, among most of the participants there is an understanding that some portion of the population believes in an essentialist and ethnic definition of what it means to be a Québécois; a white, Francophone who speaks French as his or her maternal language and with a Québécois accent. While none of my participants could fit the racial criterion, those who

fulfilled the fluency and accent requirements still often felt othered. Therefore, all four target groups had narratives of exclusion, as they find their otherness is ascribed to them, particularly by the dominant French-Canadian majority, whether it is based on their perceived race or ethnic category, or real or perceived preferred official language. While Anglophones may be more likely to feel as if they are excluded because of their own language preference or accent, Francophone participants are also aware that these limitations exist even if it may not be relevant for them. Even if feelings of acceptance were present, it was only because they were viewed to be “like” the Québécois, but not actually Québécois.

These understandings of how the Québécois Francophone majority perceives visible minorities are in spite of the state defined definition of a Québécois that attempts to “de-ethnicise” the term. The term Québécois remains ethnicised in the minds of participants and has been shown to be true also among the dominant French-Canadian majority (Montreuil & Bourhis, 2001) and is meant to include only those who meet the strict criteria. This often excludes immigrants and child of immigrants, particularly those from visible minority backgrounds.

While participants discussed individual incidents and experiences that helped in internalising this definition, the media and political discourse in the province also work to reproduce this essentialist definition. However, despite the “invisibility” and the “us versus them” mentality in some political party discourse and policies, this knowledge of exclusion does not always lead to non-identification with Quebec.

In addition to non- or counter-identification, second generation immigrants in Quebec have employed strategies that allow them to identify with the category of Québécois, despite the fixed characteristics defining it. Participants have redefined Québécois in a number of inclusive ways, so that they, and other like them can claim that identity. This coping strategy allows second generation immigrants of colour to claim a Québécois identity in spite of the definitions that are often allusive or denied to them. The only coping strategy that was exclusive to one target group would be that identifying as a Quebecer but not Québécois was uniquely coming from only Anglophone participants, as to them it had more inclusive connotations. For Francophone participants, if the term Quebecer were used to describe themselves, it was often used interchangeably with Québécois. But more generally, the term Quebecer is an English term and was not used by Francophone participants.

This chapter, and the previous two chapters, explored the different criteria that second generation immigrants use to negotiate Québécois identity. Sentiments and attachments to political discourses and cultural activities are considered in this negotiation, as are civic and ethnic definitions of who is Québécois. These definitions are informed by not only their personal understanding, but also what second generation immigrants believe the definitions of the dominant majority are. The ethnic definitions often result in feelings of exclusion, which can be circumvented by a number of coping strategies that second generation immigrants employ in order to identify as Québécois nonetheless. The next chapter will look at the factors important in negotiating Canadian identity, with particularly focus on the competition that may exist between Québécois and Canadian national identities.

## **6. Canadian Identity: Characterised by Indifference**

This chapter will focus on the process of negotiation that second generation immigrants in Quebec have concerning Canadian identity. While there are generally positive perceptions of what it means to be Canadian, these are not without their criticisms. The first part of this chapter (sections 6.1, and its subsections) will focus on the image of Canada as a utopia from the perspective of these second generation immigrants, and how these (mis)conceptualisations are factored into their definitions of being Canadian. These understandings are often set in direct contrast to Quebec, as well as international locations. The second part of the chapter (section 6.2) will argue that these conceptualisations are constructed despite a lack of concrete knowledge of life in the rest of Canada, outside of Quebec, which in their words may be due to a lack of opportunities, but more importantly a lack of interest or indifference to the rest of Canada.

### **6.1. *Canada, the Utopia***

“... equality, humanitarianism, peace, and like... yeah, just respect for all people. I feel like that’s kind of how I grew up seeing Canada.”

- Dorothy, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Dorothy’s quote above summarizes the generally positive perception of Canadian identity and society that participants have. The aspects of Canadian identity that participants consider in their negotiation of their Canadian identity to be centrally three-fold; 1) the reputation and role that Canada plays in international affairs, 2) the social and public infrastructure and institutions that permit a certain quality of life, and finally, 3) the multiculturalism (official and non-official) that Canada promotes. This positive outlook is based on their comparison to other countries or how they believe other countries view Canada. However, the conservative government under the leadership of Stephen Harper, who was in power at the time of my field work, has created an environment in which these second generation youth of Quebec find they cannot attach to,

meaning that the current politics on the national scale are also a consideration in their identity, just as provincial politics were in relation to their provincial national identity. Finally, some participants are attached to the idea of a united Canada, one that includes Quebec, and therefore these second generation immigrants in Quebec consider the federalist-sovereigntist political discourse in their negotiation of Canadian identity. This is parallel to the considerations that second generation immigrants have regarding the sovereignty movement in their negotiation process of Québécois identity.

### **6.1.1. Canada on the International Stage**

If one word could be used to summarise the sentiments of the participants concerning Canada and its reputation, it would be “peaceful”. Not only do they think that Canada itself is a peaceful country, they also extend this sentiment of “pacifism” to Canada’s role as peacekeepers abroad rather than instigators of war.

*« ... j’étais fière de m’identifier en tant que Canadienne parce que le Canada représentait un pays de paix, d’ouverture, etc. Tout le monde veut aller au moins une fois au Canada ».*

(“...I was proud to identify myself as Canadian because Canada represents a country of peace, openness, ect. Everyone wants to go at least once to Canada.”)

- Bernadette, a 31 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Le Canada c’est reconnu internationalement. Le Canada c’est comme un pays de paix. Le Canada a une réputation de quelque chose de paisible, un endroit paisible. C’est pas le pays que tu vas voir en guerre. Il y a une forme de sagesse ou de paix, juste de bien-être qui est véhiculé par rapport au Canada. »*

(“Canada is recognised internationally. Canada is like a country of peace. Canada has a reputation of something peaceful, a peaceful place. It is not a country that you are going to see in war. There is a form of wisdom or of peace, just of well-being that is conveyed over Canada.”)

- Iven, a 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Bernadette and Iven both believe that the reputation of Canada as a peaceful country is known internationally, and that people believe it is a nice place to live or visit. Iven also points out that

in Canada, you will not see war-like conditions. Others, like Beth and Lise, agree and find that despite some political controversies, Canada remains relatively “stable” and at “peace”.

“I mean, despite its imperfections, we are not war torn country. We are pretty politically stable, you know. I mean, anytime the idea of a referendum comes up, I think that's the most controversy this country must muster up, for better or for worse. I mean, referendums are pretty dramatic... Tuition hikes, whatever.”

- Beth, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

*« ... c'est quand même bien que des visions irréconcilables mon dieu ont quand même fait tenir un pays pendant 150 ans... je veux dire, on ne s'est pas fait tiré dessus, on a été en paix, on a même été un modèle de paix pendant plusieurs années avec les Casques bleus. Ce côté pacifiste, tu as les droits envers la personne... Oui, ce sont des affaires que j'apprécie chez les Canadien. »*

(“Even if there are irreconcilable visions, my God, we still held together a country for 150 years. I mean to say, we didn't take each other down. We were at peace, we even had a model of peace for many years, with the peacekeepers. The pacifist side, you have the rights of the person. Yes, this is the things I like about Canadians.”)

- Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Lise is referring to her opinion that the Canadian vision of multiculturalism is consistently at odds with the assertion of Quebec as a distinct founding nation of Canada. She believes that despite these irreconcilable differences, Canada has still managed to maintain a relatively peaceful existence, and that this “model of peace” is extended to Canada's international efforts, embodied by Canada's role as peacekeepers abroad.

This perception is not unique to Canada at the country level, but also to the individual level, where Canadians have a reputation for being “polite”, “friendly”, and “nice”. Annick's comments below are an example of this sentiment.

“I feel like Canadians all over the world are seen as good people, generally. My sister once told me that when you travel around the world with like a backpack and a Canadian sign on it, people will say like ‘oh you're Canadian, that's awesome, that's cool, Canadians are all awesome’, even though they never went to Canada. They know we are nice people, we don't like kill one another. But mostly I feel like Canadians are genuinely kind and polite.”

The 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant is happy that Canadians have such a good reputation abroad and can attach to this sentiment. However, this does not necessarily mean that Annick identifies the most with Canada. In fact, she identifies more with Quebec, as she finds that culturally she is Québécois. Lise similarly has a small attachment to Canadian identity, but is still able to identify positive aspects of the Canadian identity that she appreciates.

Lise brought up the idea of Canada being viewed as peacekeepers on the international stage, and she is not alone in this appreciation of how Canada is perceived by other countries.

“I like how the army is too, they don’t attack much. They’re more on the defence side, more on the humble side, the way I see it. Just proud to be Canadian.”

- Jeffrey, a 24 year old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“Canadians like peace, peacekeepers, we live in peace, we don’t like war. When I think about Canadians I think of peace and not war. More like Martin Luther King, as opposed to Malcolm X in America.”

- Ian, a 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“And we are helpers. It’s a country of ‘we’ll support you, we’ll peace-keep.’ It just feels like a nice thoughtful nation. Peaceful, we don’t start wars. I think we’d follow the States, but we don’t start beef with other countries.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« ... le côté pacifique des Canadiens aussi. On est toujours bien perçu à l'étranger [...] Je trouve dans les valeurs canadiennes de pacifisme, de coopération, de Casques bleus et tout ça, c'est quelque chose à laquelle je m'identifie bien. »*

(“...the pacifist side of Canadians as well. We are always well perceived by foreigners [...] I find in the values Canadian of pacifism, of cooperation, of peacekeepers and all that, it is some in which I identify with a lot.”)

- Gérald, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

While participants can see that Canada participates in wars, they do not see Canada as a major instigator, but rather one that will help keep the peace or perhaps only join in a defensive role. Jeffrey, Ian and Brenda strongly identify with the Canadian identity, and part of the reason is their perception of Canada as a peaceful country. Gérald identifies with these values, but for



him it does not necessarily translate into a strong Canadian identity, but rather a moderate one, with a comparable strong Québécois identity. Furthermore, Darlène confirms she has practically no Canadian identity, but appreciates the relative security that Canada has to offer, and the humanitarian efforts that Canada gives to those abroad, namely accepting refugees.

*« Le fait qu'on est un pays aussi vaste, aussi calme politiquement parlant. Je n'aime pas la politique, je ne m'y reconnais pas, mais au moins, je me sens en sécurité. Je suis en sécurité, c'est grand. On a la capacité pour recevoir plusieurs personnes. Parfois, on a aidé des gens qui avait besoin d'un refuge. »*

(“The fact that we are a large country, as well calm politically speaking. I do not like politics, I do not recognise myself there, but at least, I feel secure. I am secure, it's big. We have the capacity to receive many people. Sometimes, we have helped people who have needed refuge.”)

- Darlène, a 26 year-old Haitian mixed-race second generation immigrant

Olivier, a 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, believes that Canada does very important work abroad, but is still critical of the level of the role that Canada plays, believing that Canada can and should do more to help countries build strong communities. His ideas are fairly vague, but like others, he believes that the humanitarian side of Canada was a great pride when he was younger. However, he believes that given the capacity of Canada, as a country, we can do more to help countries that require aid. This however, does not affect his tendency to strongly identify as Canadian.

*« Je dirais que le Canada pourrait faire plus pour aider certains pays du tiers monde ou qu'ils ont une grosse communauté forte... Le Canada pourrait faire plus pour aider ces pays. Parce que aussi, la politique, c'est une autre game. Quand tu comprends la politique, t'es comme c'est vraiment dégueulasse. Des fois, ils le savent, mais c'est une game. Parfois, ils vont laisser un pays souffrir juste pour mieux contrôler. Quand j'étais plus jeune, le Canada c'était une fierté. Plus jeune, être Canadien, tu es plus fier qu'être Québécois parce que le Canada était partout dans les autres pays, on était reconnu vraiment éthiquement pour avoir une diversité culturelle, mais je trouve que le Canada pourrait faire plus vraiment pour aider beaucoup plus de pays que leurs communautés sont très fortes. »*

(“I am saying that Canada can do more to help certain third-world countries or have a big strong community. Canada can do more to help these countries. Because, politics is another game. When you understand politics, you are, like, it is very disgusting. Sometimes, they know this, but it is a game. Sometimes, they are going to leave a country to suffer just to control them better. When I was young, Canada was a pride. Much younger, to be Canadian, you are more proud to be Québécois because Canada was all over the place in other countries. We were really recognised

ethically for having cultural diversity, but I find that Canada can do more, really to help many more countries so that their communities are stronger.”)

Having a positive outlook about the nature of Canada’s reputation and role abroad does not appear to have a pattered effect on the how these second generation immigrants identify with Canadian identity. In some cases, having this vision will still result in a low Canadian identity, and conversely even those with a strong sense of Canadian identity still are critical of the potential role that Canada can play. But certainly the perception of Canada abroad is generally anticipated by these second generation immigrants to be positive, and this positive reputation is certainly a factor in negotiating Canadian identity. Furthermore, Olivier talked about the reputation that Canada has of being multicultural. This perception is prominent among the second generation immigrants I interviewed, and will be discussed more below in section 6.1.3. However, first, an exploration of the negotiation of Canadian identity via Canada’s institutions and quality of life is presented.

### **6.1.2. Canadian Institutions and Quality of Life**

“I identify with Canadian values, democracy, open-mindedness, healthcare...”

- Lester, a 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Canada is not the only country that provides a democratic and secure institutional regime; nor is it the only advanced welfare state. But participants, in their contradistinction with the United States and developing countries around the world, believe that the life in which they have in Canada is one of privilege and one of which they can appreciate, given their knowledge and experiences of countries abroad; whether it is the countries in which their parents are from, countries they have worked or lived, or the United States in which they have visited. The types of institutions and quality of life that participants appreciate are epitomised by the quote from Lester above and can be separated into three broad categories that overlap in many ways in the

eyes of participants; the first is a general level of democracy and social order present in Canada, the second is at the level of the welfare state and the services they benefit from by living in Canada, and the third is a respect of rights for minority groups.

There is an expressed general appreciation for the social order that largely governs life in Canada. Participants talked about the presence of democracy, freedom of speech, and freedom of movement, as examples of rights and privileges that they enjoy and appreciate about Canada.

“I like being in a modern country. I like being in a developed country, I guess democracy is something, but it’s not unique to Canada. I’m definitely proud of that, Canada is democratic.”

- Hector, a 20 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

« *Exactement, et la démocratie oui aussi et surtout the rule of law, les affaires comme ça. Je trouve que c’est quelque chose d’important en tant que Canadien et aussi, ce que je m’identifie beaucoup Canadien, c’est sûr que c’est très différent de moi et a Chinese man disons, c’est le fait que ici, on est très environnemental, tout ce qui écologique et ça, moi je m’identifie aussi à ça. Donc, c’est un blend de tout ça, c’est un mix.* »

(“Exactly, and yes, democracy as well, and certainly the rule of law, the things like this. I find that it is something of importance as a Canadian, and as well that I identify a lot as Canadian. It is certain that it is very different for me and let’s say, a Chinese man, meaning that, it is the fact that here, we are very environmental, all that is ecological and this, I identify with this as well. Therefore, it is a blend of all that, it is a mix.”)

- Claude, a 34 year-old Vietnamese migrant (arrived at age of three)

“Democracy, ‘cause I know a lot of countries don’t have it. I really like democracy, freedom of speech, all that stuff.”

- Kurt, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“I like being free, [to] move around. I don’t like to be pin[ned] down somewhere. As a Canadian, you can go anywhere and do anything you want and the world is yours if you want. And I’m not sure that other people from other countries, with other experiences would think or feel so confident the same way that I do about being Canadian and having this freedom.”

- Elenor, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

All four of these participants talk about the democratic regime and the freedoms that they have in Canada, in comparison to what they perceive in other countries. While these privileges are not unique to Canada, and of course exist in Quebec and Montreal, as a part of Canada, they know

that it is not a worldwide universal privilege and appreciate the existence in which they have in Canada. Some people are a bit more tangible in what they believe the effects of living in Canada are, as compared to other places.

“The living, it’s different. I went to a lot of countries. I went to Jamaica, I went to Dominican Republic, I went to Puerto Rico and... compared Canada, in those countries, it’s different. We’re living the life. We have to be happy with what we have, but it’s different. [...] Everything. I got an apartment, I work, I could get a job anytime, you know. If I go to the next country, it’s gonna be hard. Canada you have a lot of advantage to live.”

- Nicolas, a 27 year old Haitian second generation immigrant

“Comparatively to countries in strife, we are pretty cozy. We don't have genocide, malaria, no rampant AIDS. We are pretty good, we don't have civil war.”

- Beth, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Nicolas and Beth are talking about two different aspects of life, but they can be related to the idea of stability and security that some participants mentioned above in the last section. As a politically stable country, Canada is seen to provide other aspects of security of person, such as the ability to deal with economic recessions, epidemics or ethnic conflict. This in turn allows people to “live the life” in relative security. This is related to the next topic, regarding the existence of a welfare state or rather Canada as a social democratic state; one that functions on the principles of capitalism, but has appropriate social infrastructure to be an effective welfare state. An effective welfare state regime is defined as one in which the state restructures “income distributions and incentives through pensions, healthcare education, and other state and sometimes private services” (Van den Berg & Janoski, 2005).

“It's our liberty, freedom here. The space, the security, and how our government cares for us, and takes care of us. So that's what made me identify the importance of being a Canadian. Also, versus being an American, 'cause there, if you are sick you are sick. If you have no job, you pretty much have to steal to survive. Whereas here, there is a safety blanket. In a sense it's good, because then there is less violence since you don't have to go steal or rob to eat. We have a safety blanket here, thank goodness.”

- Faye, a 35 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Faye refers to the liberties and freedoms that she has in Canada, related to the democratic political infrastructure, similar to the freedom of speech and freedom of movement that participants mentioned above. But she also talks about the security that she has in Canada, and particularly refers to the “safety blanket” or the welfare state infrastructure that “takes care of us”. She particularly contrasts this Canadian model to that of the US where she perceives there is a significantly less governmental intervention. Others are quick to make this comparison as well, as can be seen below.

*« Une des affaires que j’aime beaucoup du Canada c’est que... c’est le système. C’est pas capitaliste exactement, mais socialism. So basically... Même si la société est un peu faible sur le fait ou qu’il t’attaque sur ce que tu travailles pour, ils te donnent toujours une base égale à tout le monde qui veut dire une éducation, la santé, et c’est ça. C’est très important comme société parce que si tu vois en Amérique où que tous les riches font des lois pour l’argent dans leurs poches... Je trouve que le Canada c’est un peu plus pour le peuple. J’aime beaucoup ça. »*

(“One of the things that I like a lot about Canada is that, it is the system. It is not capitalist exactly, but socialism. So basically, even if society is a little weak on that fact or that it attacks you on something you work for, they give you always a equal base to everyone who wants, say an education, health and that’s it. It is very important for society because if you see in America where all the rich people makes the laws to put money in their pockets, I find that Canada it is a little more for the people. I like this a lot.”)

- Michel, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

“I feel like it’s more socially conscious, more socialist more than capitalist. I mean it’s capitalist, but there’s like free health care, you know. So that’s like a value. Education is cheaper than in the States, although is going up so that’s different. So I think Canada values education, health care, takes care of its people.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Similar to the comments regarding Quebec in chapter 3, in comparison to the United States, Canada is seen as much more “socialist” or progressive due to that fact that they offer particular collective goods to their citizens. Whereas Canada is seen as more socialist than the US and other countries, as we saw in section 3.2.1, Quebec is seen as even more leftist than the rest of Canada, or as Canada as a whole. Others go on to compare Canada to the US and other countries.

“We have generally roofs over our heads, there's pretty good infrastructure for health care. I mean, we are not even the US, which is like this juggernaut and they can't even get their health care together. [...] Education is relatively affordable, again compared to the United States, which is... There's so many... I mean, even though I find it hard to see a doctor, but I still can see one.”

- Beth, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“Education. From what I hear, it's way more [sic] higher than the United States, where you have to pay this big amount of money to go through that. Here in Canada, they have so much support from the government, they have programs, they have community services, so much more than I see other countries offer to people.”

- Jeffrey, a 24 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“The fact that we have some benefits compared to other countries, like our education is pretty cheap compared to a lot of places in the world, so I feel proud knowing that government is doing a good job. We have a good education system, and our schools aren't the worst, we have McGill, we have Concordia. Our healthcare too is kind of cool. I like the fact that we can have free healthcare. When I go visit my family in California, and I talk to my grandmother, I talk to her, she tells me about her health benefits, and I tell her about mine, I tell my cousins about school, I'm like 'oh yeah I only have to pay this'. I kind of feel proud and I kind of feel bad for them too, because they're super in debt. I like that part.”

- Leah, an 18 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“It's not a third world country, obviously, and it's well developed. I'm kind of happy of being here, I'm Canadian, and obviously the healthcare, I can't stress that enough. That makes me Canadian, free healthcare makes me Canadian. [...] when I lived in the Philippines, even just being in the emergency room for one little thing, you have to pay for it.”

- Mary, a 22 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Regarding the welfare state, participants seem to mention mainly two domains: education and health care. The fact that they only mention these two domains to the exclusion of perhaps child tax benefits, employment insurance, or even pension plans, is probably due to the age and life course stage in which participants were at the time. Only three participants had children at the time of interviews, and while 18 out of 56 participants were current students, all but 5 participants have some post-secondary training, signalling a potential to value accessible education. Furthermore, given that my sample is between 18 to 35 years of age, many may not be actively thinking about retirement, and almost all participants that were not students were gainfully employed at the time of their interview.

Mary makes an explicit reference to the Philippines when she compares the ability to access free health care. As we saw above in section 3.2.1, she expressed the fact that she received relatively free post-secondary education in Quebec, as compared to other provinces in Canada, made her Québécois. Here, the fact that she has “free healthcare”, compared to life in the Philippines, is what makes her Canadian. Healthcare is a shared federal-provincial power, but she attributes her access to healthcare as a Canada-wide phenomenon because it is similar across all provinces. The same cannot be said for the relatively lower tuition rates in Quebec for Québécois students, as compared to the rest of Canada.

Finally, the last characteristic that participants attach to, as part of Canadian identity, is the idea that Canada protects minority rights, particularly those related to the LGBT community, women, and diverse ethnic and racial populations. The relationship Canada has in regards to multiculturalism will be discussed further in the next section, but participants believe that Canada and Canadians’ “open-mindedness” on key issues, is a defining feature of Canadian identity.

“Generally, Canadians are more tolerant. There is belief in gay marriage, women's rights, pro-choice. Less conservative. I think these are things that I value, and the majority of Canadians as well.”

- Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“...in terms of Canadian society too, the fact that it’s super like, you know, gay marriage, and abortion. There seems to be a lot of respect for women, and respect for... yeah, sexuality, diversity, things like that.”

- Dorothy, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“They’re fairly open people. Not only to different cultures but to things like homosexuals and people that are different from them. They have a certain openness about such things.”

- Elenor, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

“I guess it’s accepting about all types of people, even gay people, you know, even homosexuals.”

- Ian, a 27 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“And more acceptance, perhaps, in our country than other places just overall. I mean, we still have our racial issues, or gay rights issues, or a whole bunch of things... but then it’s kind of... again, basically more friendly and there’s more acceptance in general I think.”

- Evelyn, a 32 year old Filipino second generation immigrant

This is not to say that all is perfect, but that for participants, in comparison to other countries where women and members of the LGBT community may not have any rights, and may face the daily threat of systemic violence, Canada is seen as a fairly progressive place in this right. While the participants above identify strongly as Canadian, this is not to say that it is mutually exclusive from their Québécois identity. Furthermore, these aspects of Canadian identity may be part of the reason that second generation immigrants identify with Canada, but it is also not the only reason. To serve as a contrast, both Émile and Leon discuss how services that they have access to Canada are not the reason why they have Canadian identity, but rather it just happens to be a place where they have access to these things that they appreciate.

“It’s not like oh I’m proud of being Canadian because social ‘blah blah’ health care. It’s more no, I believe in universal healthcare, and Canada happens to have that, which is good. It’s not me, Canada, and then health care. It’s me, health care, oh FYI Canada has it. For me, I don’t identify as much with Canada. Because you know Scandinavia has that too, and that’s pretty cool too but I don’t consider myself Scandinavian more than Canadian. Or Canadian more than Scandinavian almost at this point in my life.”

- Leon, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

« Haiti is the country where my parents are from. If I’m a punk ass motherfucker, *peut-être que je vais m’en foutre...* maybe I won’t care about that but since I have a memory and I’m in this struggle *identitaire*, I cannot forget. The part that Canada plays into the big narrative that made it possible for me to be out of Haiti right now... The thing is Canada is not gold medal... To live in Canada I have access to higher education and stuff like that... *c’est pas une fin, c’est un moyen.* »

(“Haiti is the country where my parents are from. If I am a punk-ass motherfucker, maybe I won’t give a fuck, maybe I won’t care about that, but since I have a memory and I’m in the identity struggle, I cannot forget. That part that Canada plays into the big narrative that made it possible for me to be out of Haiti right now, the thing in Canada is not gold medal. To live in Canada, I have access to higher education and stuff like that, it is not the end, it is the means.”)

- Émile, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant



While the quality of life that Canada's social democratic regime offers to its citizens is one way in which people identify with Canada, particularly as it relates to other jurisdictions, such as the US, it is not the only reason in which people identify. Even if values behind Canadian institutions fall in line with the individual, it is not their only consideration when negotiating their sense of Canadian identity. The next two sections describe two factors that second generation immigrants found problematic when negotiating their Canadian identity; namely the current political discourse and leadership under the Conservative government, and the feelings of English-French animosity that they believe is present across the country. The two characteristics do not resonate well with second generation immigrants from Quebec.

#### **6.1.2.1. Conservative Directions & Harper**

*« Je ne suis pas particulièrement fière d'être Canadienne à cause de sa politique et de son représentant. »*

("I am not particularly proud to be Canadian because of its policies and what it represents.")

- Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

While there is a general positive attitude regarding Canada's institutions and its international reputation, participants expressed that they found Canada to be more conservative than Quebec, and that particularly under the Conservative leadership of Stephen Harper, the Prime Minister of Canada at the time of my field work, participants felt very distant from the Canadian identity because they perceived a lack of shared values with the current government.

At the same time as participants recognise and appreciate the rights and privileges they and others have by virtue of living in Canada, as well as the reputation that their country benefits from abroad given its efforts in humanitarian aid and peacekeeping, many feel that in recent

years, the Canadian government under the rule of the Conservative party has gone in the wrong direction, namely towards the right.

“Now... it’s changing with the conservative government, kind of in power, it’s turning into this more... American. Like there’s a lot of money that’s being cut out of cultural funding stuff, you know. And a lot of money is being put into building prisons, and it’s becoming a lot more conservative and it’s not going well right now. But I have hope that this is not going to stay. Yeah, I feel like it’s becoming more socially conservative too. Oh yeah, ‘cause before, we were kind of like the forerunners in gay marriage, so it was socially left. And now we are going more socially right. I feel like, I don’t know if it was happening here, but the whole abortion... ‘cause it’s pretty free here, you can have an abortion up to like terms of abortions here. I think there’s a limit, but... it’s pretty open.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Brenda brings up a number of issues that others also touch upon. First there were the cuts to the funding of the arts that became a particularly salient issue in Quebec because of the strong desire to promote the French language and Québécois culture. In 2008, the federal government announced large cuts to federal arts grants<sup>84</sup>, which spawned public backlash from a number of Québécois artists culminating in a viral video which depicted stuffy white Anglophone federal bureaucrats blundering through, in broken and heavily English-accented French, a face-to-face audition by Michel Rivard, the lead singer of a popular folk-rock group in Quebec<sup>85</sup>. In the video, the refusal of funding and frustration depicted by the artist was meant to demonstrate the lack of understanding and distance that the federal government has about the French language and Québécois culture, both historically and in contemporary times.

This sentiment against the cuts to arts program funding resonated not only with Brenda, but with other participants who felt that the arts were an important issue in Quebec and in wider society as well.

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<sup>84</sup> For more information on the \$45 Million cuts to federal arts grants, see Benzie, Campion-Smith & Whittington (2008)

<sup>85</sup> Culture in Danger or *Culture en péril* can be viewed here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n3HVFslQ5M4>.

*« Honnêtement, avec le gouvernement Harper, je trouve ça difficile d'être Canadienne parce qu'il fait vraiment une politique trop rétrograde qui ne me rejoint pas du tout, qui retourne dans les vieilles valeurs. Je ne trouve pas qu'il fait avancer ni la cause du Québec ni la cause du Canada à l'étranger. Il est en train de réprimer le côté identitaire du Québec en coupant les arts et pour moi, je trouve que c'est important de maintenir une société évoluée comme en encourageant les arts et la culture, dans toute cette sphère d'une société. »*

"Honestly, with the Harper government, I find this difficult to be Canadian because it really has backwards politics that do not interest me at all, that go back to the old values. I do not find it advances either the Quebec cause nor the Canadian cause abroad. It is in the process of suppressing the identity side of Quebec by cutting the arts and for me, I find that it is important for maintaining an evolved society that encourages the arts and culture in all spheres of a society."

- Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« C'est le gouvernement conservateur Harper, je ne m'identifie pas nécessairement à ces valeurs. Des coupures qu'il a fait au niveau des arts, ça, je ne suis pas d'accord du tout. »*

"It is the Harper Conservative government, I do not necessarily identify with these values. The cuts that he did also in the arts, this I am not okay with at all."

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Brenda also talks about same-sex marriage rights and access to abortions that are available in Canada, relative to other countries, as positive advancements from her perspective. However, she also believes that a more socially right perspective is coming to the forefront via the Conservative government under the leadership of Steven Harper. Regarding same-sex marriage, when the Conservative Party came in into power in 2006, on a campaign promise, Stephen Harper held a free vote in parliament to potentially reverse the federal recognition of same-sex marriage, which became law under a Liberal government in 2005. The vote was defeated, thereby reaffirming the rights of same-sex couples to marry. Further controversy regarding this issue emerged in 2012 when a lesbian couple living outside of Canada were seeking divorce, only to be told that they were not legally married in Canada because they were non-residents, despite their marriage taking place in Canada (CBC News, 2012a). This effectively re-opened the debate on same-sex marriage, as Harper's official stance was that no changes to the law were needed even if they did render these marriages for non-residents invalid. Later that year, the Civil Marriage of Non-Residents Act was passed which declared such marriages legal and

permitted divorce in Canada if divorce of same-sex marriage in one's home country was not permitted (Fitzpatrick, 2013).

Participants like Brenda and Dorothy believe that Harper's actions effectively demonstrate a fight against gay marriage, even if the House of Commons as a whole reaffirm and uphold the law.

“If we are talking based on the Harper things, then I don't identify as Canadian. [...] There's more and more restrictions in immigration. They're fighting against abortion, they're fighting against gay marriage. There's still, I think Canadians in general, are still... They're not gonna put up with that. But yeah, it's just very frustrating to see the money going more towards defence than education, and things like that. And the status of women, like offices are being shut down, yeah.”

- Dorothy, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

As with Brenda above, Dorothy also talks about the eroding of abortion rights under the Harper regime. While Harper has not made moves to change access to abortions in Canada, in 2012 a backbencher in his party introduced a motion asking for a review of the question regarding the start of life; is it at conception or at birth. Due to this MP's personal pro-life stance, many viewed the introduction of this debate as an opening to effect change in the current status of abortion in Canada (Payton, 2012). Furthermore, in 2010 the Conservative government removed funding of abortions in foreign-aid maternal health plans (CBC News, 2010). This decision was reaffirmed by the same government in 2014 (Do, 2014). Participants perceive events such as these as an affront to gains made by women's rights groups and often attribute these sentiments to Harper himself, in addition to his party. Because he and his party are leading the country, the policies and principles that are touted by this government are part of the negotiation process for second generation immigrants of Canadian identity.

*« Côté armes nucléaires, côté comme stratégie, défense canadienne, peut-être plus ces affaires, avec Harper, je pense qu'on commence à ressembler aux États-Unis, un petit peu plus de droite,*

*alors que le Québec est un petit peu plus de gauche en général. C'est peut-être des petites différences, mais dire que je ne suis pas Canadienne, non. Ça n'atteint pas assez dans mon quotidien pour ça, mais c'est sûr qu'Harper qui est contre l'avortement je ne suis pas sûre... moi, dans le domaine médical, j'ai une autre position. Tu ne vois pas ce que je vois. Et l'aide médicale à mourir... c'est comme toutes ces affaires c'est quand même de gros sujets qu'on est différent, mais je ne suis pas encore là à dire que le Québec est complètement incompatible avec le reste du Canada ».*

“The nuclear arms side, the Canadian strategy, defence, maybe more these issues. With Harper, I think that we are starting to resemble the United States, a little bit more to the right. Then you have Quebec that is a little bit more left in general. It is maybe the little differences, but to say that I am not Canadian, no. It does not affect enough of my daily life for that, but it is certain that Harper is against abortion, I am not sure, me, in [my work] domain, I have another position. You do not see what I see. And euthanasia, it is like all of these issues, it is even the big subjects that we are different, but I am not at a place to say that Quebec is completely incompatible with the rest of Canada.”

- Karine, a 23 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« C'est toutes les, toutes les nouvelles lois je crois. Tout le fait que, tout ce qui touche à l'environnement. Tout ce qui touche aux coupures de financement de la recherche. Ils vont donner plus d'argent aux recherches qui selon eux vont remonter l'économie et ceux comme par exemple sociologie ou n'importe quoi l'art et tout vont couper. Je crois que c'est, c'est un, c'est un objectif à très, très, très court terme. Ce n'est pas un objectif à long terme pour... et aussi toutes les questions de... entre l'égalité de femme-homme, avortement, l'armement. C'est ça, donc vraiment plein de choses dont je ne suis pas nécessairement d'accord. »*

“It is all the, all the new laws I believe. All that, all that touches on the environment. All that touches on the cuts to funding of research. They are going to give more money to research that they believe will help boost the economy and those like for example, sociology or whatever art are all going to be cut. I believe that it is, it is a, it is a very very very short-term objective. It is not a long-term objective. And as well all the questions of, between the equality between women and men, abortion, the armament. It is this, so really many things which I am not necessarily okay with.”

- Bernadette, a 31 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Brenda mentioned the increased funding of prisons and other participants focused in on the increased funding put towards the military, particularly in lieu of other services or issues that participants feel are important. Finally, some participants mentioned that the Canadian government treatment of the environment is in stark contrast to that of the position in Quebec. Participants find that their personal political values are not in line with that of the Conservative government under Harper leadership, which is a consideration in their negotiation of what it means to be Canadian.

*« Mais il y a aussi une droite conservatrice qui est politique, économique. C'est aussi tellement présente que je ne sais pas si ce que j'entends beaucoup maintenant est-ce que c'est seulement*

*relié à eux autres ou est-ce que c'est quelque chose qui est ressenti par l'ensemble des Canadiens? Donc, parfois est-ce qu'il y a un clash? Autour de l'environnement, je pense que oui, en quelque part, des fois, et après je suis comme «Ah...non...» Peut-être qu'il y a une certaine similarité, mais je ne sais pas... Ce n'est pas toujours clair. »*

(“But there is also a conservative right that is political, economic. It is also so present that I do not know if it is that I hear it more now, is it only related to them or is it something that is felt by all Canadians? So sometimes is there a clash? Around the environment, I think that yes, in part, some times, and after I am like ‘ah non’. Maybe there is a certain similarity, but I don’t know. It is not always clear.

- Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« J'ai l'impression que peut-être les Québécois se pensent très ouverts. Ils protègent beaucoup l'environnement. Ils s'attardent beaucoup plus à l'aspect social. Ma perception du reste du Canada est peut-être plus... pas matérialiste, mais ils sont plus capitalistes que les Québécois. »*

(“I have the impression that maybe the Québécois thinking is very open. They protect a lot the environment. They are preoccupied a lot more on the social aspect. My perception of the rest of Canada is perhaps more, not materialistic, but they are more capitalist than the Québécois.”)

- Dominique, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Je t'avoue que c'est un peu difficile avec Harper au gouvernement qui coupe sur tout et qui veut mettre de l'argent dans l'armée, les armements, qui coupe beaucoup sur l'environnement, dans les arts également. Je ne vois pas nécessairement ce que je pourrais dire de positif. [...] Je t'avoue que la question est super pertinente et très difficile en même temps parce que je ne sais plus c'est quoi nécessairement les valeurs canadiennes. »*

(“I admit that it is a little difficult with Harper in government who cuts everything and who wants to put the money in the army, the armaments, who cuts a lot on the environment, in the arts as well. I do not necessarily see anything which I could say is positive. [...] I admit that the question is very pertinent and very difficult at the same time because I do not know necessarily what are Canadian values.”)

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Other issues that were mentioned above were the cuts to funding for social research, the debate on euthanasia or the right to die, and issues related to immigration. The effect of this “clash” of values, whether it is identified as between Québécois and Canadians, or individual participants and Stephen Harper, can effect the level at which participants identify with Canada. For some, not being in agreement with the direction of the Canadian government can diminish propensity to identify as Canadian, but certainly does not guarantee a completed absence of Canadian identity.

As Karine states above, *« je ne suis pas encore là à dire que le Québec est complètement incompatible avec le reste du Canada »* (“I am not at a place to say that Quebec is completely incompatible with the rest of Canada.”). In other words, it is possible to have both Québécois

and Canadian national identities, but the current political discourse, debates, and leaders can have a dynamic effect on one's identity. As Gérald's quote below demonstrates, under a different government, he was more likely to identify as Canadian.

*« Je m'identifiais plus comme un Canadien à l'époque... quand c'était le gouvernement libéral qui était là. Maintenant que c'est le gouvernement conservateur, je m'identifie moins aux politiques canadiennes maintenant qu'avant. Je trouve que la politique étrangère canadienne en a perdu beaucoup par rapport à ce que moi je prône comme valeurs de coopération et tout ça. [...] Avant, je m'identifiais beaucoup plus aux valeurs canadiennes par ses politiques de développement international. »*

(“I identified more like a Canada at the era when it was the Liberal government who was there. Now that it is the Conservative government, I identify less with the Canadian politics now than before. I find that the Canadian foreign policies are very lost in relation to what I advocate as values of cooperation and all that. [...] Before, I identified much more with Canadian values by the international development policies.”)

As a caveat, both Imelda and Beatrice mention that Canadian values are “not always clear” or they “do not know necessarily what” they are. This lack of ability to identify the major tenants of Canadian identity is tied to the indifference and lack of knowledge about Canada that is shared among participants. This will be discussed more in depth below in section 6.2, but first, tension between Quebec and Canada whether it is through political representatives, the media, or between citizens will be discussed below as another factor in the negotiation of Canadian identity for second generation immigrants.

#### **6.1.2.2. English-French Canada Animosity**

Participants spoke about the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada, that they view as marred with tension, and they believe that this tension flows down to the citizenry when they are forming their opinions regarding Québécois. Lise specifically felt that the federal parties give little recognition to Quebec because of the assumption that the incentive to invest resources in gaining votes in Quebec is low.

*« J'ai l'impression que quand Stephen Harper parle mettons ou Justin Trudeau ou whoever que j'ai l'impression qu'ils parlent aux Québécois et j'ai l'impression qu'on dirait que certains de ces*

*gens ont abandonné la partie. Ils savent qu'il y a une partie de la population qui est souverainiste donc ils sont comme «de toute façon, ils ne voteront pas pour nous, donc on ne se soucie pas d'eux.» Surtout chez les conservateurs, en fait. Il y a 10% des gens qui votent pour les conservateurs. C'est comme si on avait disparu de leur écran radar... parce qu'on ne vote pas pour eux. C'est comme si on n'existait pas, alors qu'on existe. »*

(“I have the impression that when Stephen Harper talks, or let's say Justin Trudeau, whoever, I have the impression that they talk about Québécois, and I have the impression that they say some of these people have abandoned the party. They know that there is a part of the population that is sovereigntist therefore they are like ‘anyways, they don't vote for us, therefore we are not concerned with them’. Certainly among the conservatives, in fact. There are 10% of people [in Quebec] who voted for the conservatives. It is like if we have disappeared from their radar screens because we do not vote for them. It is as if we do not exist, but we do exist.”)

This 29 year-old self-proclaimed sovereigntist feels like the federal political parties, no matter who is in power, often easily ignores Quebec because normally it is not thought to be voter rich for federalist parties. Since 1993, *Bloc Québécois*, a provincial nationalist party at the federal level, has held a majority of Quebec's 75 seats, in each Parliament, except for the 41st Parliament, which was the current Parliament of Canada at the time of my interviews. This perception that Lise has may actually be quite different now, given the Orange wave in the 2011 election, a term used to describe the large gains that the federal NDP made in the province, reducing the number of seats in the House of Commons to only 4 at the time of the election. Gilles similarly feels that elections are often a time when the importance of Quebec is not fully recognised. For him, these sentiments permeate to the individual level via the media.

*« Donc, réduire l'importance du Québec au niveau des élections. Donc, c'est encore une fois une démonstration que pour le reste du Canada, moins Québec a de l'importance, mieux c'est, et beaucoup dans les articles de journaux qui vont filtrer... quand je vois les médias canadiens, il y en plusieurs qui sont comme le Québec, il chiale, c'est des frogs, on les aime pas, ils gossent... ils n'utilisent pas ces expressions, mais ils sont désagréables... « le gouvernement canadien ne devrait pas s'occuper d'eux ». »*

(“Therefore, to reduce the importance of Quebec also at elections. So it is another time for the rest of Canada to demonstrate that the less importance Quebec has, the better. And often in the articles in newspapers, who are going to filter, when I see the Canadian media, there are many who are like ‘Quebec, they complain, they are frogs, we don't like them, they are annoying’. They don't use these expressions, but they are disagreeable. ‘The Canadian government should not be concerned by them’.”)



Gilles finds that the Canadian media represents Quebec quite negatively in the rest of Canada, and does not take the concerns that Quebec has with any importance or urgency that Québécois do, which can result in prejudice at the individual level. Henri has also felt this animosity at the individual level while visiting other parts of Canada.

“I find that, the rest of Canada, it shows that, I don’t know, I find like, prejudice about Quebecers, you know. When you say you’re from Quebec, it’s like it’s not a good thing. It’s better to say I’m from Haiti. I always found it a bit odd, I know there’s big history, but yeah. I’ll say that’s the bad thing about it when you live in Quebec and you go outside [to the rest] of Canada.”

This sentiment of animosity from the rest of Canada towards Quebec and Québécois is recognised by participants at the level of politics, the Canadian media, and interactions with individuals and it can have an effect on how people may identify with Canada. For Lise and Gilles, their Canadian identity is quite low and is partly due to these feelings of animosity and lack of recognition politically. On the other hand, Henri has had negative experiences while travelling in the rest of Canada, but it does not seem to affect his sense of Canadian identity. The incorporation of Quebec-Canada relations into participants’ negotiation of Canadian identity highlights the importance of politics and civic life, as well as day-to-day interactions and experiences. The next section will continue this discussion by exploring the ways that the federalist-sovereigntist debate is factored into second generation immigrants’ negotiation of Canadian identity.

#### **6.1.2.3. Canadian Unity**

The two preceding sections explored two characteristics about political life in Canada that are considered by second generation immigrants in the negotiation of Canadian identity; the current government in power, and the perceived animosity between French and English Canada. This section explored participants’ preferences for a united Canada and how that is factored into their Canadian identity. Their reasons for not supporting Quebec sovereignty, as discussed in the

chapter 3, are also bolstered by their desire to keep Canada together, which can result in some identifying more with Canada.

“I guess identify myself more as Canadian than Québécois, even though I lived here my entire life. Yea, I don’t agree with I guess Quebec politics in a way, so... I... I do believe in the unity of the country. I don’t believe in sovereignty of the province, so... I definitely, I am more towards being a Canadian.”

- Erin, a 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Je me rappelle quand j’étais plus jeune qu’on me demandait de quelle nationalité je suis, je disais que je suis Canadien. Je ne sais pas aussi si c’est à cause du fait que les personnes prônaient la souveraineté ou peu importe. Peut-être ça a joué par rapport à ça aussi, mais je suis plus instinctivement plus pro Canada. »*

(I remember when I was younger that I would asked myself what nationality I was, I said that I am Canadian. I do not know as well if it is because of the fact that people advocated for sovereignty or whatever. Maybe this has played a part as well, but I am more instinctively pro Canadian”

- Iven, a 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« C’était vraiment par rapport au souverainisme et au fédéralisme. Donc, mon appartenance canadienne est plus forte que celle de québécoise. »*

(“It was really concerning sovereignty and federalism. Therefore, my Canadian belonging is stronger than that of my Québécois.”)

- Dominique, a 3x year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« À vrai dire, je crois que je me considère plus Canadien que Québécois, mais juste à cause de l’affaire d’indépendance. C’est juste ça que je suis pas en accord. »*

(“Truly, I believe that I consider myself more Canadian than Québécois, but just because of the issue of independence. It is just this that I am not aligned with.”

- Alexandre, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant.

What is important to note here is that these participants feel “more” Canadian than Québécois, meaning that these two identities can co-exist and often do for participants, but often for different reasons. Political attachments to both Québécois and Canadian institutions are common for both identities. Identifying with federalism, or at the very least the unity of Canada is a reason why some participants might identify with Canada more than Quebec. However, we also saw above how not attaching to certain politics in Canada can have a negative effect on Canadian identity as it did in relation to Québécois identity in terms of the methods for protecting and promoting the French language and Québécois culture, including sovereignty, as was explored in chapter 3.

Both nationalisms are often associated with multiculturalism, but much of this vision of Quebec as multicultural and diverse is admittedly based on experiences of growing up in Montreal, as discussed in section 4.2. Despite these experiences, an understanding of strict essentialist boundaries that can be placed around Québécois identity is prominent among participants, which can affect their ability and desire to identify with Quebec. However, this sentiment is not as common among second generation immigrants for the Canadian identity. This issue is explored in the next section.

### **6.1.3. Multiculturalism and Being Canadian**

As we saw from the quotes earlier in this chapter, participants observe an open-mindedness in Canada for women rights and those of LGBT community (despite their opinions that in recent years there has been challenges to these advances). Furthermore, this open-mindedness is also observed in relation to ethnic and racial diversity, or rather through the demographic reality and the official policies of multiculturalism in Canada. Brenda compares this multiculturalism to that of the United States, where the perceived model of diversity is the “melting pot” rather than the salad bowl or cultural mosaic model that is often attributed to Canada.

“It’s a mosaic, in theory embraces all cultures since you don’t have to forego your home culture to say, “I’m Canadian, and that’s it.” So you can be Jewish, Muslim, West Indian, whatever and still practice what you do. So I think it’s pretty freeing. ‘Cause in the States it’s like a melting pot, right? So you’re American first, and whatever it is second. So I think that’s Canadian.”

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

However, a more common sentiment when discussing Canadian multiculturalism or how it manages diversity, is put in contrast with the perceived approach in Quebec. Rather than comparing Canada to countries beyond its borders, the differences regarding multiculturalism are more often set in contrast to what they perceive is the situation in Quebec. This could certainly

be an outcome of the semi-structured interview guide that asks about particularly Canadian identity and Québécois identity, but the observed difference is that participants, represented by those quoted below, view the Canadian approach and the boundaries around Canadian identity as more welcoming, accepting, and fluid, than the Quebec approach to diversity and the perceived Québécois essentialist identity that they find is promoted, as was presented in the preceding chapters 3, 4, and 5. In contrast, the more common vision of Canadian identity is one which is more flexible and can include these second generation immigrants and their parents.

Firstly, there is an understanding of the Canadian approach to multiculturalism being conducive to people keeping their “cultural baggage”, “roots”, or “history”. This is set in contrast to the approach in Quebec that participants view as less flexible and requires conforming to a dominant norm.

“I find Canada is so diverse in itself, and it’s more accepting to diversity, as opposed to Quebec that they want everyone to kinda conform to that Quebec, like ‘now you’re Quebecer, forget about your whole past, your whole history, and just focus on the Quebec history’. They’re so pushy on conforming. They want you to conform to their standards. [Canada] is like ‘come, try to speak French, try to be a unit, but still hold on to your personal history’.”

- Carly, a 19 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Dans l'identité canadienne, il n'y a rien de fixe. L'identité canadienne est multiple. Ce que j'aime bien dans l'idée du Canada c'est que les individus peuvent avoir cette espace pour pouvoir garder leurs convictions religieuses ou tout simplement garder leurs racines. Il n'y a pas de confrontation entre le Canada anglais et les différentes identités. [...] Oui, c'est plus libre parce qu'il n'y a pas cette confrontation de ce qu'est l'identité canadienne, donc les gens peuvent se sentir canadiens tout en gardant leur bagage culturel. C'est pour ça que c'est tout à fait différent de ce que le Québec vit. »*

(“In the Canadian identity, there is nothing fixed. The Canadian identity is multiple. I like a lot that in the idea of Canada, it is that individuals can have this space in order to keep their religious convictions or simply keep their roots. There is not a confrontation between English Canada and the different identities. [...] Yes, it is more free because there is not this confrontation of what is the Canadian identity, therefore people can feel Canadian, all while keeping their cultural baggage. It is for this that it is complete different than how Quebec functions.”)

- Kevin, a 25 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

“Canada is more friendly to being multicultural, being who you’re raised as. Just open to diversity. Quebec is solely, ‘we want you to speak French, we want you to be this, if not, you’re an outsider’. Being considered a Canadian, I won’t feel like an outsider because my parents’ are from the islands, they welcomed my parents, it was open arms, and they don’t treat anybody differently. That’s what I find.”

- Garrett, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

While Kevin does not explicitly say so in the above quote, in saying that there is “not a confrontation between English Canada and the different identities”, he is implying that in Quebec, there exists this confrontation between French-Canadians and the multitude of other identities present in Quebec on who is dominant and who is Québécois (see section 1.3 for historical context). He, and others like Carly and Garrett agree that without this confrontation, those in Canada are able to hold on to the cultural heritage while still being part of the Canadian whole. Natasha and Jean-Francois both attribute this to a different “mentality” between the parts of Canada that they have had experience with, and the parts of Quebec that they know.

“I think it’s the mentality. Over there [in Ontario], it’s multicultural and they accept, they truly embody and accept it, that’s what I believe. I don’t live there, so it’s only my experience. I mean, I could be wrong, but from what I’ve seen they embody their multiculturalism and they accept it. I don’t find that they make... people feel like they don’t belong. Over here [in Quebec], they will make you feel like you don’t belong. “

- Natasha, a 30 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« Je me sens plus Canadien parce que c’est open-minded. [...] Quand tu regardes Canada, je ne peux pas dire que c’est juste blanc parce que dans tous les publicités du gouvernement, c’est toujours multiculturel. Canada c’est multiculturel. C’est pas juste Canada blanc avec le bûcheron et sa chemise carotté qui s’en va couper le bois. Non, c’est pas ça... ou qui va tuer le castor pour sa fourrure. Une des meilleures [villes] canadiennes pour moi c’est Toronto. Toronto c’est comme Montréal mais en plus gros. C’est sûr qu’il y a plus de monde, mais la mentalité est différente. »*

(“I feel more Canadian because it is open-minded. [...] When you look at Canada, you cannot say that it is it just white because in all the ads of the government, it is always multicultural. Canada, it is multicultural. It is not just white Canada with the lumberjacks and his plaid shirt who is going to chop wood. No, it is not this. Or who is going to go kill a beaver for its fur. One of the best Canadian [cities] for me is Toronto. Toronto it is like Montreal, but bigger. It is certain that there are more people, but the mentality is different.”)

- Jean-François, a 35 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

While Jean-François does not make the direct comparison to Quebec, his references to lumberjacks in plaid shirts is a reference to caricatures of traditional Québécois stereotypes,

which not only embody a specific history for him, but is also associated with being white, to the exclusion of non-whites, as discussed in chapter 5. He compares this to an active inclusion of non-whites in federal governmental advertisements, but that this mentality is extended to the people and citizens in the rest of Canada as well, particularly in Toronto. Natasha uses a similar reference, given her experience with Toronto and more generally the province of Ontario. This issue of reference points, or lack of reference points is similar to that which occurs when using Montreal to define the Quebec experience, and is mirrored when using Toronto as a reference for all of Canada. I will touch on this issue later on in the chapter when I discuss the indifference and inexperience with the rest of Canada that informs, or fails to inform participants' perception of Canadian identity and society.

In Jean-François' conception of Canada, he believes that there is an active inclusion of non-whites, which he finds allows him space to identify as Canadian. In addition to the sentiments expressed above regarding the mentality of Canadians to allow people to hang on to their cultural backgrounds, some others believe that this has allowed them to be able to identify as Canadian, more readily than Québécois.

“That’s why I thought that I’m kind of lacking in being a full Quebecer, versus a Canadian. That’s what made me think also, cause in the Canadian part, since I think it’s such a free country, then you don’t necessarily have to be white or of European descent. You could speak different languages, not only just English, and not just have to be necessarily Catholic, ‘cause it’s such an open society there.”

- Faye, a 35 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

*« ... ça peut être difficile de se sentir à 100% dans la communauté d'accueil ici [au Québec]. Quelque chose que je ne ressens pas par rapport à mon identité canadienne, à l'inverse, que c'est plus facile d'être canadienne. [...] L'identité canadienne c'est l'identité de la diversité, c'est l'identité de... c'est le fait de savoir qu'on peut provenir de toutes les cultures et que tu n'as pas besoin de te réaffirmer pour devenir un Canadien. Tu es un Canadien, point. J'ai pas de difficulté à me considérer Canadienne ou à avoir un espèce de discours malaisant. Parfois, il n'y a pas de nous et de eux dans le discours canadien. On est tous Canadiens, tandis qu'au Québec, à cause de cette situation minoritaire où les gens ont dû se battre contre les colons anglais, souvent, ce*

*qu'ont voit aujourd'hui, c'est le discours de nous et de eux où bien souvent, pour les gens de la génération précédente, et même du monde de notre génération que c'est difficile de se considérer à 100%, peu importe tous les efforts que tu voudrais faire, ce serait, il y a cet aspect qui est plus difficile ici qu'ailleurs au Canada. »*

(“...it can be difficult to consider yourself 100% part of the host community here [in Quebec]. Something that I do not feel compared to by Canadian identity. In contrast, it is much easier to be Canadian. The Canadian identity it is the identity of diversity, it is the identity or, it is the fact of knowing that we can come from any culture at that you do not need to reaffirm that you have become Canadian. You are a Canadian, period. I have no difficulty considering myself Canadian or having a type of uncomfortable discourse. Sometimes, there is not the ‘us’ and the ‘them’ in the Canadian discourse. We are all Canadians, while in Quebec, because of this minority situation where people have had to battle against the English colonies, often, what we see today, it is the discourse of ‘us’ and of ‘them’ where very often, for people of the generation before, and even the people of our generation, it is difficult to consider yourself 100%, no matter all the efforts that you would like to do, it is, there is this aspect that is more difficult here than elsewhere in Canada.”)

- France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

“I guess in my own experience, growing up, my Canadian identity has never really been questioned. So, I just like, I didn’t need to really, I didn’t have to struggle with that identity, ever. Even through my activism, I never felt not Canadian. I guess ‘cause I grew up here. I’m from here, so, this is where I was born, and, I feel like, the attitude that I’ve gotten, the messages I’ve gotten from Canadian society has always been multiculturalism, and accepting and everything, even though I know that there’s definitely a racist history in there. A lot of people have been treated really horrible, but I’ve never had that experience. I’ve never felt not Canadian. I’ve definitely felt not Québécois.”

- Dorothy, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

For participants, in contrast to the essentialist requirements that they believe are present in order to be able to identify as Québécois, there are no comparable characteristics for Canadian identity. Rather, participants believe that because of the multiplicity of Canadian identity, many different types of people are able to fit into this identity and claim it for their own. And as France and Kevin point out, the struggle for identity is due to the minority position in which Quebec has held in relation to Canada.

These observations are of course are not without its criticisms. As we can see in Dorothy’s quote, she mentions that Canada does indeed have a racist history, and Kevin despite his support for the Canadian approach, also later admits that « *le multiculturalisme n’est pas parfait non plus* » (“multiculturalism is not perfect either”). Similarly, Felicia, a 28 year-old Anglo-

Caribbean second generation immigrant refutes much of what has been said above regarding the positive aspects that many participants focus on in Canada, such as the international role of Canada, the institutions, and multiculturalism, claiming that that understanding of Canada can be a “façade”.

“So there’s a certain façade that we kind of harbour. We seek comfort sometimes in the fact that we wouldn’t be compared, and we usually compare [what] our strengths are versus other country’s weaknesses, often with the States. And we hide I guess behind that. There’s a certain ambiguity that we harbour, in terms of politics, environment, history. These issues...but yea, I’d say that’s the thing that I don’t like. The fact that there can be a façade portrayed to us, and we accept it because we are either taught or we know or we see the peaceful nature being in Canada. Let’s say like... for example, historically, many people did not believe that Canada had slavery, which is false.”

Her comments point to the trend in the quotes of the other participants, in which they believe that relatively, life in Canada is better, without a recognition of the past and the ramifications it can have on the present. Lester points to the importance of “actually knowing the complete history, [because] it makes [him] a little more critical of Canada, a little more critical of the country [he’s] in.”

“I know historically, Canada has been... the history of the different populations that have immigrated here it’s really been about race, you know. You could only come here if you could get here from Europe, basically. And after a while, it was like ‘ok, fine, we need more people, let the Asians in’ [sarcastic].”

- Dorothy, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“It made me realize that this is not what’s Canada says it’s doing, so like... the guys, multiculturalism, everyone’s equal, so then why is it that you have racialisation of poverty? Why is it that you have a history or legacy of marginalization or oppression of peoples of colour?”

- Oscar, a 30-something Filipino second generation immigrant

Felicia, Lester, Dorothy and Oscar are all critical about way that Canada is represented, not only on the international stage, but as well to its own citizens. They believe that the rosy picture that is often painted about Canada is a “façade” which ignores the racist and oppressive history particularly for visible minorities and immigrants that as Oscar says, continues today as a legacy.



These critiques on some of the main identifiers of Canadian identity can effect the level at which people may identify with Canada, but it is not to say that these participants are completely devoid of Canadian identity. They can at the same time be critical of the place they are in and identify with it, as many people did for the Québécois identity as well. In other words, the perceived positive aspects as well as the critiques about Canada are all part of the negotiation of Canadian identity for these second generation immigrants in Quebec.

Furthermore, to say that there is not an understanding of Canadian identity as essentialist, as there is with Québécois identity, would be false. That said, it is observed to be a less common sentiment among participants as it was in regards to Québécois identity.

“Just in general. I find that, especially Canadians, if somebody says “I’m Canadian,” but you don’t see their face or anything you’re just gonna automatically assume it’s a Caucasian person, unless the person tells you ‘oh, I’m native, I’m half-Asian half-Québécois’ you know what I mean?”

- Catherine, a 29 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Catherine’s instinctual response when she hears the word “Canadian” is to think of a white person. Furthermore, the qualifiers that she uses, implies only certain exceptions, such as being Aboriginal or First Peoples, or ethnically or racially mixed, but nonetheless still white.

Alexandre agrees, but takes a softer approach.

*« D’abord, je suis né ici, et puis ça, dans les lois, c’est que si t’es né [ici], c’est que t’es Canadien. C’est sûr que mes parents sont du Vietnam, peut-être que j’ai 10-15 % que je suis genre, un immigrant dans un sens, sauf que je suis né ici, fait que je dirais que je suis 85 à 90 % Canadien. À cause que mes parents ne sont pas d’origine canadienne, mettons. »*

(“First of all, I was born here, and then this, in the laws, it is if you are born here, it is that you are Canadian. It is certain that my parents are from Vietnam, maybe that I have 10-15% that I am like an immigrant in a sense, except that I was born here, I would say that I am 85-90% Canadian. Because my parents are not of Canadian origins, let’s say.”)

He does not feel that he can be 100% Canadian because of the immigrant background of his parents. In his view, he thinks that in addition to being born in the country, which grants him

rights to a civic Canadian identity, he cannot be completely Canadian without deeper ancestral roots in Canada. This may his own internal definition, but as we saw with Québécois identity, participants perception can be influenced by how others, particularly the dominant majority views them.

*« Ok oui... Je pense la chose qui me manque disons... évidemment, ça on ne peut rien y changer. Je ne sais pas si on parle de racisme, mais moi, je trouve que veux veux pas, quand tu dis que t'es Canadien en 2013, on dit pas que dans cent ans ou deux cents ans, mais peut-être en 2013, si t'es pas Européen, t'es pas complètement Canadien aussi. C'est triste à dire. Moi, c'est comme ça que je le vois honnêtement parce que regarde, écoute, si je vais dans un shop, je vais dans un restaurant, on va me regarder et «You're not a Canadian, you're Asian», you know. »*

(“I think that the thing I that am missing we say, evidently, this is something that we cannot change. I do not know if we are talking about racism, but me, I do not want to find, when you say that you are Canadian en 2013, we can't say that in one or two hundred years, but maybe n 2013, if you are not European, you are not completely Canada as well. It is sad to say. Me, it is like this that I see honestly, because look, listen, if I go into a shop, I go into a restaurant, they are going to look at me and ‘You're not a Canadian, you're Asian’, you know.”)

Claude, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant finds that in his experience he is not considered to be Canadian because of his race, which excludes him on sight, similar to how participants felt about Québécois identity to the exclusion of non-French-Canadians. While Claude may be in the minority in this regard, others still tend to idealise their experiences with individuals in the rest of Canada, particularly in comparison to Quebec.

*« On ne m'a jamais demandé «Est-ce que t'es né au Canada?» Comme les Québécois, en général, ne m'ont jamais demandé ça. Moi, quand j'allais dans les autres provinces, que je parlais français, anglais ils m'aimaient bien. Il n'y avait pas de condition. Ils ne regardaient pas si j'étais noir, si j'étais Haïtien. »*

(“I have never been asked, ‘are you born in Canada’?. Like the Québécois, in general, [Canadians] never ask this. Me, when I go into the other provinces, that I speak French, English, they like me a lot. There is no condition. They don't see if I am black, if I am Haitian.”)

- Olivier, a 24-year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« Ce n'est pas que les gens ne vont jamais te demande d'où tu viens... je ne pense pas que les gens ne vont jamais poser... toi, tu as vécu ailleurs, tu me le diras... je ne sais pas si les gens posent autant la question là-bas [au Canada] qu'ici [au Québec], mais non, probablement pas parce qu'il y a des Noirs qui sont à Toronto depuis... avant la confédération canadienne. »*

(“It is not that people are never going to ask you where you come from. I do not think that people are never going to ask, ‘you, you have lived abroad, tell me this’. I do not know if people ask the

question as often there [in Canada] as they do here [in Quebec], but no, probably not because there are blacks who were in Toronto since...before Canadian confederation.”)

- France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

“I haven’t really heard in Ontario or other provinces where people are not allowed to wear their hijabs. It’s only really here that you hear about that.”

- Natasha, a 30 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

These visions of life in other parts of Canada, in comparison to the rest of Canada are idealised and are perhaps not reflective of reality. Research with visible minority populations in the rest of Canada, show similar discourses of belief in multiculturalism (Ali, 2008), but also experiences of exclusion and discrimination (Aujla, 2000; Malhi & Boon, 2007). The ‘othering’ of visible minorities, epitomised by the assumption of foreignness is a common experience reported in both Canada and within Quebec. Participants may have the perception that it only happens in Quebec due to their more frequent contact with Québécois, given that they live in Quebec, and most have not lived elsewhere in Canada. Furthermore, while Natasha is most likely referring to the Charter debate, there have also been reasonable accommodation debates in other parts in Canada, albeit the Charter was a much broader overarching proposal that would have gone beyond the reach of many of the case in Canada. One of the more recent debates include those in which women who wear the niqab would be forced to show their face for the purposes of identification at voting booths and for citizenship ceremonies (CBC News, 2015).

It is clear that participants have a generally positive opinion of Canada as a whole, not only because of the country’s international reputation and quality of life, but also because of the way that they believe the national discourse supports multiculturalism. Second generation immigrants believe being Canadian is a much broader category that other Canadians have also embraced. In contrast to their understandings of what it means to be Québécois, being Canadian

is an option that is available to them, no matter their race, migration status, language or accent. However, participants are still critical of multiculturalism and understand that often there are limitations when negotiating these boundaries, just as there is for Québécois identity.

When negotiating Québécois identity, a common theme was the cultural aspects that second generation immigrants attached to, as was explored above in chapter 4. While participants more easily identified cultural characteristics in Quebec, the same cannot be said for Canadian identity, which for participants lacks definition and uniqueness. This idea is developed in the last section of this chapter.

## **6.2. Canada, the Unknown and Indistinct**

The characteristics discussed in the above sections are those in which these second generation immigrants consider in their negotiation of Canadian identity, but their narrative would not be complete without recognising that at the same time as they identify with Canada, they claim an indifference, an general absence of a distinct Canadian identity, particularly as compared to the United States, and a lack of experience and knowledge about other parts of Canada that they find renders them incapable of forming an informed opinion. These sentiments about Canada are further discussed below.

Feelings of “indifference” are expressed by a number of participants. The most direct comment comes from Darlène, a 26 year-old mixed-race Haitian second generation immigrant who says

*« Je trouve ça comme platte. Le Canada, déjà le mot, je trouve ça laid. Je trouve ça bizarre, je trouve ça platte. Je connais c'est pas ça. C'est normal. Je suis née au Québec. Être au Manitoba, je pense que j'adorerais le Canada. C'est ton pays, c'est toi, c'est tes souvenirs, c'est ta géographie, mais moi, je suis née ici, donc je ne connais pas ça là-bas. Donc, je n'aime pas ça, mais parce que je n'y suis pas allée. C'est sûr que quand je vais y aller, je vais aimer ça, mais*

*pour l'instant, ce que je n'aime pas du Canada, c'est que je ne connais pas. Je suis comme indifférente. »*

(“I find it boring. Canada, already the word, I find this ugly. I find this bizarre, I find this boring. I don't know it. It is normal. I am born in Quebec. To be in Manitoba, I think that I would have loved Canada. It is your country, it is you, it is your memories, it is your geography, but me, I am born here, so I do not know it over there. So, I don't like it, but because I have never been there. For sure when I go there, I am going to like it, but for the moment, I don't like Canada, because it is that I don't know it. I am like indifferent.”)

She says that she is indifferent to Canada, and even finds the idea of Canada boring. In the same sentence however, she expresses that this sentiment is certainly a direct result of her inexperience and lack of knowledge concerning the rest of Canada, given the fact that she has never or infrequently travelled to other parts of Canada. This lack of exposure is common among this young population who have either not shown an interest or lacked the opportunities to travel or live in other parts of Canada. However, even for those who have seen some parts of the rest of Canada, the ability to reflect on their Canadian identity is lacking for them. For example, Beatrice lived in Ottawa for a time while attending school, but finds that she does not often think about Canada and its identity.

*« Moi, je suis née ici, j'ai vécu à l'extérieur du Québec aussi, mais l'identité canadienne ce n'est pas quelque chose à laquelle je réfléchis très souvent [rires] Juste quand j'étais à Ottawa, mais c'est ça. J'étais comme «Ah, je n'ai jamais réfléchi à c'est quoi l'identité canadienne ».»*

(“Me, I am born here, I have lived outside of Quebec as well, but the Canadian identity it is not something which I reflect very often [laughs], just when I was in Ottawa, but that's it. I was like “ah, I have never reflected on what is Canadian identity.”)

The sentiments of indifference and lack of familiarity with Canada can be seen in participants who have lived their entire lives in Montreal. For those who have seen other parts of Canada, like Ian, most “haven't been anywhere past Ontario”.

*« J'avais remarqué la comparaison entre Québec et Canada, je ne m'étais jamais vraiment posé la question parce que moi, je viens de Montréal et on dirait que je m'identifie beaucoup plus à Montréal qu'au Québec. C'est Montréal en premier, Québec en deuxième et Canada en troisième et je ne suis quasiment sortie du Québec pour ailleurs du Canada. Donc, pour moi, c'est difficile de me référer au Canada parce que ça ne me dit pas grand-chose. J'ai pas voyagé beaucoup dans le Canada. J'ai comme été quelques fois à Toronto, comme Niagara Falls, une fois à Vancouver*

*pour une escale et c'est tout. Je n'ai jamais vraiment visité le reste du Canada. C'est comme abstrait pour moi (rires). Mais j'ai senti que je m'identifiais plus à Montréal qu'au reste du Québec ou Canada. »*

(“I have noticed the comparison between Quebec and Canada, I have never really posed that question because, me, I'm from Montreal and we said that I identify myself much more with Montreal, than Quebec. It is Montreal first. Quebec second, and Canada third. And I have only sort of left Quebec for other places in Canada. So for me, it is difficult for me to refer to Canada because this does not tell me much. I haven't travelled a lot in Canada. I was like a couple times in Toronto, like Niagara Falls, one time in Vancouver for a stopover and that is it. I have never really visited the rest of Canada. It is like abstract for me [laughs]. But I felt that I have identified myself more with Montreal, than the rest of Quebec or Canada.”)

- Karine, a 23 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Je ne peux pas te dire que je connais assez bien l'identité canadienne non plus parce que j'ai trop vécu à Montréal. Je ne peux pas vraiment dire qu'il y a définitivement ça du reste du Canada... C'est drôle comment je parle parce qu'on parle de Québec, Montréal vs le reste qui est Canada. Le Canada est séparé en provinces. Chaque province à sa propre petite identité, je suis certaine, mais j'ai la conception que toutes les autres provinces ont leurs propres particularités. »*

(“I cannot tell you that I know well enough the Canadian identity at all because I have always lived in Montreal. I cannot really say that there is definitively this in the rest of Canada. It's funny how I speak because we speak of Quebec, Montreal, versus the rest that is Canada. Canada is separated into provinces. Each province has its own little identity, I am certain, but I have the conception that all the other provinces have their own particularities.”)

- Dominique, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Oui, je pense que c'est plus spécial à Montréal qu'au Québec. C'est pour ça que je m'identifie plus à Montréal qu'au Québec, plus qu'au Québec, qu'au Canada. Au Canada, je ne sais pas. J'ai pas vraiment voyagé beaucoup au Canada. J'ai pas été voir l'Ouest canadien. J'ai pas vu les plaines, j'ai pas vu l'Alberta ni Edmonton. »*

(“Yes, I think that it is more special in Montreal, than in Quebec. It is for this that I identify more with Montreal than Quebec, more than Quebec, than Canada. In Canada, I don't know. I have not really travelled very much in Canada. I have not been to see the Canadian West. I have not seen the prairies, I have not seen Alberta, nor Edmonton.”)

- Gérald, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

The particularities of Montreal were discussed in a chapter 4 and can contribute to participants' sense of identity to Quebec even if they see it as an anomaly within the province. This strong sense of Montrealer identity often overshadows or competes not only with a provincial Québécois identity, but also a national Canadian identity for some participants, as is the case for Karine and Gérald above. Furthermore, just as Quebec and its regions cannot be generalised as a monolith, participants are careful not make the same generalisation when thinking about Canadian identity.

Some participants attribute this lack of knowledge about Canada and Canadian identity and culture to not only a lack of exposure, but also a lack of personal interest.

*« Il faudrait que je connaisse vraiment bien la culture canadienne, en fait. C'est probablement un manque d'intérêt de ma part. Je connais très peu la culture canadienne. Je connais un peu la littérature canadienne anglaise. Thanks Quebec English literature que j'ai suivi à l'université. Mais sérieusement, pour vrai, j'ai appris qu'il y avait une littérature québécoise Anglophone. J'ai aussi appris qu'il y avait une littérature canadienne et à ce moment j'ai dû lire Alice Munro »*

("It would be necessary that I know really well the Canadian culture, in fact. It is probably a lack of interest on my part. I know very little about Canadian culture. I know a little Canadian English literature, Thanks Quebec English literature that I took in university. But seriously, for real, I learned that there was Anglophone Québécois literature. I also learnt that there is Canadian literature and at this moment, I had to read Alice Munro.")

- Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« Non, je ne connais pas beaucoup la culture canadienne. Je n'ai pas vraiment beaucoup voyagé au Canada. Je pense que le plus loin que j'ai été ça a été Toronto et ça fait peut-être 10 ans que je ne suis plus retournée à Toronto. Donc, le Canada, je ne le connais pas du tout. Peut-être que je me sens moins proche du côté canadien parce qu'il n'y a rien qui m'interpelle vraiment. »*

("No, I do not know much Canadian culture. I have never really travelled a lot in Canada. I think that the farthest I have been, has been Toronto, and it has been maybe 10 years ago and I have not returned to Toronto. So Canada, I do not know it at all. Maybe I feel not as close to the Canadian side because there is nothing that appeals to me really.")

- Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Moi, je ne dis jamais que je suis Canadienne (rires) et je t'avoue aussi que je n'ai pas vraiment voyagé au Canada non plus. J'ai voyagé au Québec ou sinon on pense tout le temps à voyager plus loin. J'ai été dans d'autres pays, j'ai été en Asie, j'ai été en Afrique, j'ai été en Amérique du Sud, mais je t'avoue que la Canada, ce n'est pas encore une place qui m'a vraiment comme intéressée à part peut-être Vancouver, mais je me dis, quant à payer le même prix, je vais aller plus loin. Ça coûte cher d'aller à Vancouver (rires). »*

("Me, I have never said that I am Canadian [laughs] and I admit as well that I have never really travelled in Canada either. I have travelled in Quebec, or otherwise, we think all the time of travelling much farther. I have been in other countries, I have been in Asia, I have been in Africa, I have been in South America, but I admit that Canada, it is still not a place that like interests me, apart from maybe Vancouver, but I tell myself, for paying the same price, I am going to go farther away. It is expensive to go to Vancouver [laughs]").

- Imelda, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

It is difficult to tell whether or not the stated lack of interest is a result of a lack of identity or whether the lack of identity is a result of the lack of interest. But what is clear with the quotes above is that there is a lack of experience, reference points, and interest in which to build

Canadian identity from for these second generation immigrants from Quebec, and that this can result in a low sense of Canadian identity, which may be overshadowed by a urban cosmopolitan Montrealer identity.

Not everyone showed such disinterest in learning about Canadian identity. Gilles, a 22 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, does not identify very strongly with Canada partly because of his lack of exposure to Canada, as with Imelda and Lise above, but he recognises and points out that this level of identification is not necessarily static and that his identification is open to change.

*« Je me sens beaucoup plus Québécois que Canadien, ça, il n'y a pas de doute parce que je me sens peu de point en commun avec le Canada. En même temps, j'ai envie de le visiter et savoir c'est quoi parce que je suis jamais allé dans le reste du Canada. Par exemple aller voir Vancouver, à quoi ça ressemble, les Prairies, les sables bitumineux. qu'est-ce j'en entends parler et la réalité, d'après moi, c'est deux choses différentes. Donc, ça va être de voir à quoi ça ressemble, mais pour l'instant, j'ai peu de sentiment d'appartenance. C'est un truc à découvrir. »*

(“I feel much more Québécois than Canadian, this there is no doubt because I feel like little in common with Canada. At the same time, I would like to visit and know what it is because I have never gone into the rest of Canada. For example, to go see Vancouver, what does it look like, the prairies, the oil sands. What I hear about and the reality, in my opinion, it's two different things. So, I am going to see what it looks like, but for the moment, I have very little sense of belonging. It is a thing to discover.”)

Beyond the lack of exposure to Canada, many participants had trouble identifying what defines Canadian identity, particularly as a distinct culture and identity from that of Americans. Many were quick to compare Canada and the United States and found that from the perspective of as Québécois, they were quite similar, but that Canadians define themselves in relation to the differences that do exist between them and Americans.

Annick says that she is “not really sure what being Canadian means” and Felicia has a similar problem where “as a Canadian, it's hard to pinpoint exactly certain values and stuff like that.



There's no particular music as a Canadian, like you grew up hearing. For example, it's not like in Trinidad, okay you like Calypso. It's not like that." Felicia is trying to identify a unifying cultural characteristic of Canadians, but has difficulty doing so. One way that Annick does this is to compare Canada to the United States.

"I feel like it's because the idea of being Canadian is not clear. We know what we are not, which is Americans. We can say Americans are like this, and Canadians are not. But without comparing, it's hard to say what it really means to be Canadian."

The comparison to the United States is an obvious go-to for participants. While they can agree that there are many similarities, some participants find that Canadian identity is defined by this contrast and not on its own merit. As an example, Jean-François demonstrates this sentiment by talking about how he believes Canadian politics are moving away from that of the United States.

*« Avant, le Canada était trop suiveux des États-Unis. Tout ce que les États-Unis font c'est oui. Je trouve que maintenant on a une meilleure identité. On peut dire qu'on est deux pays distincts. Avant, le Canada essayait de devenir comme les États-Unis, mais depuis le crash monétaire en 2008, je trouve que le Canada s'est séparé. Ça fait comme je suis Canadien, tu es Américain. [...] Je trouve qu'on fait moins follower. On fait plus nous-mêmes. On est plus distinct. C'est ça qui m'énervait avant. Comme si les États-Unis disent on va aller en guerre, ok, on va aller en guerre aussi. On va aller mettre une bombe, ok, on va aller mettre une bombe. Il y a des affaires qu'ils ont faits qu'on ne les a pas suivis. At least, je leur donne le respect pour ça. »*

("Before, Canada was much more a follower of the United States. All that the United States did, it is yes. I find that now, we have a better identity. We can say that we are two distinct countries. Before, Canada was trying to become like the United States, but since the monetary crash in 2008, I find that Canada has separated itself. It's like, 'I am Canadian, you are American'. [...] I find that we are less followers. We do more ourselves. We are more distinct. It is this that bugged me before. Like is the United States say 'we are going to drop a bomb', ok, we are going to drop a bomb as well. There are some things that they have done that we have not followed suit. At least, I give my respect to them for that.")

This 35 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant believes that in recent years, Canada has been able to distinguish itself, but his reference point is nonetheless the United States. In contrast, Leah believes that culturally it is very difficult to distinguish between Canada and the United States.

“Cause the Canadian culture is just like, we feel like we are USA’s backyard so we don’t really know how to identify ourselves as Canadian, cause that’s like pretty hard to... What’s the difference between a Canadian and an American, like, okay we’re both North American, our founding races were either Aboriginal or Caucasian. English is vastly present, like, it’s kind of hard to distinguish both”

Leah’s markers of similarities are based on ancestral ties and language, and therefore it is difficult for her to distinguish between Canada and the United States. Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant makes a similar generalisation.

*« C’est tout ce qui est peut-être lié au fait que le Canada n’a pas une culture distincte comparé aux Etats-Unis. [...] Je pense que je n’étais pas au courant... J’étais au courant que le Canada existait quand j’étais petite, mais ça n’était pas tant clair parce que avant le référendum et j’avais 9 ans... 8 ans... 10 ans... en tout cas, 9-10 ans, au référendum... pour moi, aller à Toronto ou aller à New York... on n’avait pas de besoin de passeport non plus... non pour moi, c’était vraiment similaire. On va dans un autre pays où ils parlent anglais. Ils parlent une langue que je ne parle pas... J’étais capable de dire pomme et quelques mots en anglais quand j’avais cet âge... Donc, pour moi, le Canada c’est un concept plus abstrait qui est venu quand j’avais 10-12 ans. »*

(“It is all that is possibly related to the fact that Canada does not have a distinct culture compared to the United States. [...] I think that I was not aware, I was aware that Canada existed when I was little, but this was not so clear because before the referendum and I was 9 years, 8 years, 10 years, anyways, 9 to 10 years old, at referendum, for me, to go to Toronto or to go to New York, we never had a need for a passport either, no for me, it was very similar. We go to another country where they speak English. They speak a language that I do not speak. I was capable of saying ‘apple’ and some other words in English when I was that age. So for me, Canada is more of an abstract concept that came from when I was 10 to 12 years old.)

For her, as a Francophone, the distinction between English-speaking Canada and English-speaking United States was irrelevant when she could not speak the language, and this overlap continues to permeate her understanding of Canadian culture and identity today. Furthermore, she thinks about Canadian identity as “abstract”, which is the exact same word that Karine used above and is associated with the idea that Canada’s identity is difficult to pinpoint for participants.

Just as Leah focused on the similarities between Canada and the United States, she also makes similar comparisons between Quebec and Canada. While she is in the minority of participants

who view the province of Quebec as similar to the rest of Canada, the reason for this appears to be related to the differences she and others see in herself compared to the dominant populations.

“But on a daily basis I don’t know what a true Canadian would be. I have no idea. I’ve only seen, I’ve only lived in Quebec and I haven’t really explored other places. For me it was either Québécois, or immigrants. I’ve never seen a little Canadian town, I don’t know what it is like there. [...] I feel like a Québécois and a Canadian are basically the same thing, but their mother tongue is either English or French.”

As we have seen in previous chapters, Leah feels excluded from Québécois society, and finds that as Filipinos, she and her family have had very negative experiences that have continually set them apart from Québécois. While she was born in Quebec, she does not feel a part of the society and finds that immigrant groups are always set in contrast to the dominant majority. She makes the same assumptions about Canada, although is aware that the dominant majority is English speaking rather than French speaking. Alexandre, a 32 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant, draws a similar conclusion.

*« Comme j’ai dit, je ne connais vraiment pas le reste du Canada parce que la seule place où j’ai été c’est Toronto et j’ai pas vraiment côtoyé les gens là-bas, et pour le temps que j’ai passé là-bas, donc, pour moi, j’ai l’impression que c’est la même chose. Si tu compares le Québec et le Canada, ils ont les mêmes coutumes, ils fêtent Noël, le Jour de l’An, la Saint-Valentin, Pâques, tout ça. »*

(“Like I have said, I do not know the rest of Canada because the only place where I have been it is Toronto, and I have not really interacted with people over there, and for the time that I have spent there, therefore, for me, I have the impression that it is the same thing. If you compare Quebec and Canada, they have the same customs, they celebrate Christmas, New Years, Valentine’s Day, Easter, all that.”)

While he is not so direct, he finds cultural similarities between Quebec and Canada that are based on Christian holidays, of which many immigrant families may not actually partake in. From this perspective, Québécois and Canadians are both dominant majorities in their own jurisdictions and territories.

Finally, just as it was mentioned about how different provinces and regions in Canada have their own identities, Kevin attributes the reason Canadian identity may be weak to these geographical differences.

*« Le Canada, au niveau de l'identité, n'est pas capable de déposer une identité qui va être unique pour l'ensemble des territoires. C'est pour ça que je dis que c'est une identité qui est assez faible. ».*

(“Canada at the level of identity, it is not capable of putting forth an identity that is going to be unique for all of the territories. It is for this that I say that it is a weak identity.”)

While many participants find it difficult to name aspects of Canadian identity, many of the participants believe this is directly related to their lack of exposure to other parts of Canada, which would allow them to provide a more informed opinion. This inexperience with the rest of Canada is due to a lack of opportunities, as well as an absence of interest on the part of participants.

### **6.3. Conclusion**

Despite this indifference and inexperience with parts of Canada outside of Quebec, participants still form opinions about Canada that are generally positive, whether or not it is in relation to other countries, such as the United States or the developed world, or to their experiences in Quebec. These positive aspects include pride and appreciation for the international reputation that Canada benefits from, the relative safety and security that Canada's democratic institutions offer Canadians, and multiculturalism policy that generally maintains open boundaries on who is Canadian.

However, just as political life and discourse is a concern in negotiating Québécois identity, politics also plays a strong role in Canadian identity. Second generation immigrants from Quebec are concerned and conflicted by the recent conservative governments that they believe

have been threatening some of the rights and securities which they value in Canada, such as rights for LGBT populations and a woman's right to choose. Furthermore, they consider the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada, in relation to the animosity they feel from the rest of Canada directed towards Quebec and in their opinions about Canadian unity, in contrast to Quebec sovereignty.

Participants from all four groups had both positive conceptions and critiques about Canada that they incorporate into their Canadian identity. Similarly, the inexperience and indifference expressed by participants can be seen across all four groups as well. This could be due to the age of participants; they are young and have not had ample opportunities to travel outside of the city of province. However, the indifference is also related to their home base of Montreal, which they hold in high esteem and in potential competition not only within Quebec, but also across Canada.

How second generation immigrants in Quebec negotiate between two potentially competing national identities is a multifaceted process that incorporates civic, political, and cultural understandings and interpretations of their communities. The competition between these two identities is not necessarily a zero sum game, and certainly participants' identity consists of both national identities, and quite possibly many other types of identities. Furthermore, the unique local Montrealer identity acts as another potential identity in competition with both Québécois and Canadian national identities.

These national understandings are constructed through their personal experiences and interactions with fellow citizens who may not always have the same definitions or boundaries; in both Québécois and Canadian identity, a narrative of exclusion can be present. In much of the previous literature on second generation immigrants in Quebec, discrimination and racism has been an issue, more so for some groups than others (see section 1.6). The next chapter will discuss the way that second generation immigrants from the four target groups talk about and experience discrimination.

## 7. Discrimination: An Error of Incidents

Tensions between police and the Black community in the United States in 2014 were extremely strained, to say the least. The deaths of unarmed black men and youth in 2014 at the hands of police officers in both Ferguson, Missouri<sup>86</sup> and in a New York City borough<sup>87</sup> reignited protests that garnered support from Americans from all over the United States. While similar headlines may appear to be less commonplace in Canada, this does not mean that the Black community, and other minorities do not face similar discrimination and racial profiling at the hands of police or security officials. In fact, a number of participants described personal experiences with discrimination with police or security services, particularly incidents that fall under the category of “driving while Black”.

Driving while Black refers to the practice of racial profiling of drivers, meaning that Black motorists are often considered suspicious and are then subsequently pulled over by police simply because they are black (Harris, 1999). Variations of this term exist, such as “driving while Asian” to refer to the increased scrutiny that Asians motorists may be subject to, “flying while Muslim” to describe the increased security measures that Arabs and Muslims experience as airline passengers, particularly since the 9/11 attacks in the United States, or “walking while Black” to refer to police stops of pedestrians. Below are some of the stories told to me by participants regarding their experiences with police stopping them for driving while Black.

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<sup>86</sup> Michael Brown, an unarmed 18 year-old black youth was shot and killed by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri in August 2014 after an altercation with police. There are differing accounts on whether or not Michael Brown was surrendering to police when he was shot at multiple times from the front.

<sup>87</sup> Eric Garner died in July 2014 after an altercation with police in which he lost consciousness when at least 4 police officers were attempting to restrain him. While being restrained, Garner repeatedly said “I can’t breathe” before he lost consciousness. He was pronounced dead in the hospital about an hour later.

“When I was in Cegep, me and a buddy, he was giving me a lift back to a bus, we were in school at Vanier at the time and we’re going through... we are just there, we made all our stops and everything, and then my buddy looks over, he’s driving, and he sees two cops in a car and he’s like ‘watch this, they’re gonna stop us’. I’m like ‘no way, they’re not gonna stop us’. A minute later, they come up behind us, pull us over and they just start, no reason, my friend came to a complete stop, stayed there for a couple of seconds and left. No reason to come stop us, but then they pull us over, saying ‘oh what you’re doing in the area, what do you do’, and we tell them we’re students, football players, we talked to them for 5-10 minutes, and then they just let us go. And then... it’s just... why would they pull us over? They just saw two black guys in the car, and decided to pull us over for no reason, we didn’t break any rules. We’re going in a really nice car, I guess we just look suspicious.”

- Lester, a 27 year-old mixed-race Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“Longueil is really bad, really really bad. I’ve been pulled [over] out here [in Longueil]. I’ve been pulled out a lot, and I had a car for a year, I’ve probably been pulled over 8 times. [...] I have no violations of any sort. I don’t speed, nothing. I would just get pulled over to be like... when I get pulled over, I start to laugh, because I know. A cop would be on the other side, I’m driving, I look, I see a cop, and whatever, I’m not doing anything, I’m driving. He would go all the way around, there’s cars in front of you, cars behind you, you’d come all the way to pull me over to say what? To check on me? You thought the car didn’t match up. I heard that before, they wanted to see if the car, it’s under my dad’s name. My dad has obviously a guy name. How can you make the judgment that the person driving, me, doesn’t look like a [Michael (pseudonym)], that’s why you stop?

- Garrett, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

[My ex-boyfriend] had his own business, he had a refrigerating, AC kind of company, and he came here because of me. He bought a Mercedes, he said I’ve always wanted a Mercedes, I said go for it. Two to three years old when he bought it, and we were living in Dorval right by the water, we were renting, it was a townhouse. And... the police, they were following us for quite a long time, and when we pulled into our driveway, they got out the car, walking, and they were questioning us. They didn’t even think that’s where we lived. And, trying to figure out who is driving the car, who is the owner, and it was even sad because it was even a black officer.

- Margaret, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« On était allé à Terrebonne, quatre de mes amis, on cherchait l’endroit où on devait se rendre et on a ralenti. On avait l’air suspect et la police à commencer à nous suivre tranquillement. Elle essayait de garder une distance pour éviter qu’on pense qu’elle nous suivait. Finalement, on est descendu, on est allé au Tim Horton’s pour demander les indications et la voiture a fait le tour comme si elle nous suivait pas pour aller se cacher. Lorsqu’on s’est remis en route, elle nous a suivi. Elle nous demande de nous arrêter et les deux femmes avaient déjà leurs mains sur le fusil, prétextant qu’on allait être violent. Elles voulaient savoir d’où on venait, pour quelles raisons. Elle n’avait pas de motif de nous arrêter. On a été calme, on s’est identifié, mais quand on leur a dit qu’on allait à telle activité, elles se sont senties mal à l’aise de savoir si on allait dans une activité politique. Dans la manière de faire, je trouvais que ça n’avait pas de bon sens qu’on se fasse arrêter. On n’avait brûlé aucun feu rouge et on roulait lentement. Il n’y avait pas vraiment. »*

(“We were going to Terrebonne, four of my friends, we were looking for the place where we had to go, and we slowed down. We looked suspicious and the police started to quietly follow us. She tried to keep her distance to avoid letting us know that she was following us. Finally, we got out. We went to Tim Hortons to ask for directions and the car went around as if to hide the fact that she was following us. When we were back on route, she followed us. She asked us to stop and the two women already have their hands on their guns, assuming that we were violent. They wanted



to know where we came from, for what reason. She did not have a reason to stop us. We were calm, we identified ourselves, but when we told them that we were going to our event, they felt uncomfortable knowing that we were going to a political event. In doing so, I find that it didn't make sense that we would be stopped. We didn't blow through a red light or drive slowly. There was nothing really.”)

- Kevin, a 25 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

These are not the only incidents for some of these participants, in fact, Garrett and Margaret told me of other times in which they were stopped by police, and they believed the reaction to them was heavy handed as the police had had their guns drawn and pointed towards them.

Furthermore, these are not the only incidents recounted to me during my field work. A number of Anglo-Caribbean and Haitian participants noted being singled out by police services, metro security, staff in stores in which they were shopping, as well as bank personnel asking for additional identification. Participants presume that the increased scrutiny that they face is based on the assumption that they were going to steal from stores, did not pay their fare, or were part of larger criminal activities such as identity theft, car theft, drug dealing or pimping.

While all thirteen men I interviewed from both the Anglo-Caribbean and the Haitian groups, described incidents of driving, walking, or shopping while Black<sup>88</sup>, Black women reported these incidents less frequently. In contrast, only one Filipino participant, and no Vietnamese participants, reported similar direct incidents. Driving while Asian and similar acts of racial profiling for Asians, both Filipino and Vietnamese appear to be less common than for the Anglo-Caribbean and Haitian participants in my sample, particularly the men.

As presented in section 1.6 recent literature on second generation immigrants in Quebec also report similar results, with both Haitian and Jamaican youth's identity being heavily influenced

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<sup>88</sup> Two of the thirteen men did not identify themselves as Black, as discussed in the sample description in section 2.4, however, nonetheless they still reported similar incidents of increased scrutiny while driving, walking, or shopping.

by the levels of discrimination that they face through institutions such as schools and the police (M. Labelle, et al., 2001; Potvin, 1997, 1999, 2007, 2008). The same cannot be said for the Vietnamese and Filipino populations in Quebec, who in the past have reported few experiences with discrimination and racism (L. J. Dorais & Richard, 2007; Méthot, 1995; Rousseau, et al., 2009).

The data collected for this research support these differences when it comes to some forms of discrimination, particularly experienced in relations with police and security services, however, differences across gender and racial category, point to a more interesting methodological argument to be parsed out through the remainder of this chapter regarding the reporting of discrimination. By focusing on only incidents of discrimination, the recognition by participants of the prevalence of discrimination in larger society is underestimated, which may have an effect on social inclusion and sense of identity for second generation immigrants nonetheless.

In the survey that was distributed to participants, it stated that “discrimination can occur when a person is mistreated because they are seen as different from others. You may have been a victim of discrimination or treated unjustly because of your ethnic or cultural belonging, your race or skin colour, your language or accent or your religion.” Participants were asked to report if they were a victim of discrimination in the last five years. This question was then used as a launching pad for the in-person discussion. I did not further define discrimination or clarify what types of experiences I was seeking to discuss, however participants across groups presented a much more nuanced picture of their understanding of the presence of discrimination in society, even if they do not feel that have been personally victimised.

The first section of the chapter will demonstrate that despite reporting low levels of discrimination, a narrative of minimisation and reluctance to name less overt experiences as discrimination emerges, across all groups. The minimisation comes in the form of focusing on the lack of effect or consequence that an incident may have had on the participants, or the minimisation of the event due to perceived lack of intention on the part of the perpetrator. The reluctance to name the incident as discrimination is often related to this lack of perceived intention and instead participants use euphemisms to describe the intention behind their experiences with discrimination, such as prejudice, ignorance, discomfort, lack of openness, lack of culture, curiosity, or clumsiness. This minimisation and reluctance does not mean that discrimination is not occurring, but rather participants do not always recognise it as such. These types of experiences and lack of reporting are in line with the literature in North America describing microaggressions (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000; Sue, et al., 2007).

Furthermore, low levels of reported discrimination does not preclude that participants do not believe that institutional and systemic discrimination are present in their society. In other words, discrimination can be reflected in the ways that social institutions operate by intentionally or unintentionally denying fair and equitable treatment to certain groups. Recognition of the institutional and systemic structures that produce and reproduce discrimination and inequality between whites and non-whites exist for both participants who have and have not reported a higher incidence of discrimination. Furthermore, these inequalities are seen to reproduce prejudice, ignorance, and stereotypes, which participants believe may lead the microaggressions and overt forms of discrimination with which they are confronted.

Moreover, for those who have experienced less discrimination in their lifetime, or for those who find they experience it less as they have gotten older, they recognise that their social position may have afforded them privileges that have resulted in being able to avoid more blatant acts of discrimination and racial profiling, but not necessarily microaggressions. Specific social positions may be related to perceived gender, race, class, or education and abilities to name a few.

This chapter focuses on racial and ethnic discrimination, rather than discrimination that is more directly a result of one's perceived gender, age, sexual preference or orientation, or religion. This is an intentional act, as well as is based on the prominent themes that participants chose to focus on. Certainly, as the chapter unfolds, we will see how race and ethnicity, intersect with language, gender, religion, and class, (particularly in section 7.3) but much of the discussion in this chapter is about perceptions of discrimination based on perceived race or ethnicity.

Focusing on the relationship between discrimination and identity by inquiring about personal incidents or experiences, does not always capture the recognition of systemic or institutional discrimination and its effect on minority populations in regards to their identity. Furthermore, these second generation populations recognise that their own social location can mitigate some of these effects resulting in fewer reported incidents with discrimination, but not eliminating potential feelings of social exclusion as a member of a minority group. These two arguments will be elaborated on in sections 7.2 and 7.3 of this chapter. The next section will focus on this narrative of minimisation of discrimination.

### **7.1. Microaggressions: Narrative of Minimisation and Reluctance to Name**

*« Je n'ai jamais eu à vivre quelque chose de trop traumatisant. »*

(“I have never experienced something too traumatic”)

- Dominique, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

One of the ways in which participants minimise their experiences with discrimination is through the potential consequences. Because the effects of discrimination are not always tangible or evident, many participants were likely to minimise their experiences with discrimination and racism by classifying it as “small” or “little”, and non-effectual. In addition, if such consequences felt ineffectual, participants are unlikely to report the experience as discriminatory at all. This narrative of minimisation and corresponding low levels of reporting presents a more nuanced picture of everyday experiences of the second generation immigrant population in Quebec, as these minimised experiences with discrimination still have the effect of creating feelings of exclusion or otherness in Quebec.

When asked how she would define discrimination, Beth a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant responded in the following manner.

“Being denied rights, access, service, because of you ethnic background? Yeah, that would be discrimination. That's never happened to me, in my memory. Yeah, I feel pretty fortunate, I guess. Never harassed by cops, never been refused entry somewhere, never had people said racial slurs at me. That shit is horrible. I would never want that.”

For Beth, in order for discrimination to have occurred, by her definition, the consequence would have to be the denial of something, or something obviously hurtful or taboo. She is not alone in this sentiment. Erin, a 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant reports low incidence of discrimination, but hinges this on the fact that “nothing horrible, and overtly racist” ever happened to her. However, when participants do describe their experiences with

discrimination, because of the lack of tangible consequences or dearth of intention to discriminate, they are likely to either minimise their experience or use euphemisms for discrimination that have the same effect of minimising their experiences.

“When I was at work one time, I was getting on the elevator, and there was a couple, older couple, Québécois couple, and I smiled at them, just being friendly, but the man... and I guess this is where some of my perceptions of Québécois people out of Montreal come from, the man said ‘oh, how come these Blacks always have a smile on their face’. But I guess he was referring to people in Africa and things like that, when you see them on the television, even though they’re in bad circumstances, they’re always just smiling. It was a ten second ride on the elevator, I just said goodbye and left. But yea, not saying, I mean I guess that’s also just ignorance. Nothing in terms of aggressiveness, but a certain sort of ignorance about other cultures, Black cultures. Also that Africa is different from Caribbean, and things like that. But nothing horrible, and overtly racist, or discriminatory.

- Erin, a 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

“Like I said, Québécois would make a few ignorant dumb comments, but it won’t be aggressive or like.. hostile racism... In Québécois culture, they made a few dumb comments like *ah, le chinois*, or whatever, but they don’t mean that in a bad way, like ‘fuck this guy’. They made it in a stupid ignorant kind of way, they didn’t mean the bad way. That’s pretty much all I can... what else. There’s always the small incidents, comments about small penises, it comes off every couple of months. You get used to it. and it usually means that you’re winning the argument. So there’s that.”

- Leon, a 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

For Erin and Leon, because they describe their experiences as non-hostile, they are reluctant to name their experiences as discrimination. Instead they use the euphemism of ignorance, where the other person does not have the appropriate knowledge, education or understanding, therefore they do not intend to be discriminatory. In these two cases, both a lack of consequence (i.e. harm) and lack of intention (i.e. ignorance) result in a minimisation of discrimination.

Ignorance is not the only euphemism that participants used to explain the lack of intention of the perpetrator. If the intention is not “mean”, or a situation is simply “awkward” because someone is “clumsy” or “uncomfortable” when commenting about someone’s race or background, participants are reluctant to name their experiences as discrimination or racism. The intention to

harm is often seen by participants as a requirement for discrimination, and when the intention is lacking or difficult to prove, participants are not likely to report such experiences as discrimination. However, even if they are not named as discrimination, the experiences may have a negative effect on identity and belonging.

The euphemisms can be related to a deficit that participants believe the perpetrator has, or can be related to a feeling that the participants might have had following a specific interaction. But what ties the use of euphemisms together is the perceived lack of intention to discriminate. Catherine's quote below speaks to her differentiation between ignorance and discrimination.

"To me, I find discrimination is more intentional. There's ignorance and then there's discrimination. Ignorance is not necessarily intentional. [...] And I've had people say ignorant remarks to me, but I understood because they were not necessarily in the know about things."

The 29 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant explains that ignorance is just not being "in the know", and she is not alone in this sentiment, but others choose to describe this same sentiment in different ways. For example, Imelda uses the expression "lack of culture", in place of prejudice, racism, or discrimination.

*« Donc, ce n'est pas du racisme, mais j'ai l'impression que c'est un manque de culture. Ce n'est pas qu'ils ne veulent pas s'ouvrir, mais il y a peut-être cette peur qui a été transmise par leurs grands-parents ou leurs arrière-grands-parents qui ne connaissent pas et c'est sûr que si tu n'as jamais côtoyé de Noirs ou d'asiatiques ou d'Arabes ou de femmes voilées, dans les journaux, tu vas lire... ils vont souvent dire «Un homme noir a fait telle affaire»... Tu vas associer ça à cette population, alors que ce n'est pas nécessairement la réalité. Je crois que c'est ça qui manque, le côtoiement entre les différentes cultures dans les régions. »*

("So it is not racism, but I have the impression that it is a lack of culture. It is not that they do not want to open themselves, but there is maybe this fear that was transmitted by their grandparents or their great grandparents who didn't know and it is certain that if you have never interacted with Blacks or Asians or Arabs or veiled women, in the newspaper, you are going to read, they are going to often say 'A Black man did such and such'. You are going to associate this with that population, while this is not necessarily the reality. I believe that this is what is missing, the interaction between different cultures in the regions.")

For this 28 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant, the potential belief systems that people may hold in society that may lead to discrimination is really rooted in a lack of culture and interaction with people who are different from them. In this sense, a sense of agency is removed, as it is not their fault they may have these sentiments and then act accordingly. They are ignorant, or not “in the know” because they lack culture and information usually gathered by interactions.

Similarly, Annick uses the term « *maladroit* » (clumsy) to describe situations with which she is often confronted. The intent to discrimination is not present, in fact for her, people specifically do not want to be racist, but rather their questions and curiosity can come across in a negative way.

“When people are just curious in my town about your skin colour or your cultural background, and they’re not being mean about it. Sometimes you can perceive this as being mean, but I feel like they don’t know how to ask their questions and they’re just being *maladroit* with it, not intentionally mean. Sometimes you know when they want to hurt you. I feel like usually they don’t know where to go with that question but they have a specific question to ask you. They don’t wanna be called racist so they try to tackle it the best they can but sometimes it’s not successful.”

Sometimes these “clumsy” situations cause reactions in participants, such as shock, confusion, or awkwardness, but because of the lack of intention to discriminate, participants may use different ways to explain the experience. Henri describes his awkwardness and shock, but chooses to refer to the root of the interaction as others “being uncomfortable with difference”.

“There’s always gonna be one person they’re gonna be like... let’s say, I was going to school last year, and I find that a bit awkward in a way to approach things. Some of them I believe it’s not even about being racist, it’s about being uncomfortable with difference, and you could feel it, and I can feel it now. Let’s say... with you I don’t feel it, but if I am with someone I can tell it’s awkward, uncomfortable that I have a different culture than them. And they’ll ask questions like... it’s always gonna come back. ‘It’s not that I don’t like the Blacks but you, you are very okay’. Who says that?”

- Henri, a 33 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant



The curiosity and questions that Annick and Henri often face, is not seen as intended to be “mean”, therefore they find it difficult to call it discrimination. Similarly, Gérald who in section 5.3 recounted a story about his experience at school when his Québécois classmates never approached him to work on group assignments because he believes they assumed he was a foreign student. Upon reflection, while he does believe that this experience was « *une discrimination, mais ce n’est pas une discrimination méchante. C’est une discrimination qui est arrivée un peu inconsciemment de leur côté.* » (“a discrimination, but it was not a mean discrimination. It is a discrimination that happened a bit unconsciously on their side.”). The 34 year-old, while still recognising his experience as discrimination, uses the lack of maliciousness, to minimise his experience of exclusion that created a boundary between him and other white Québécois.

*« Il y a des gens qui font du racisme, mais personne ne va se dire raciste... oui, il y a toujours des gens qui vont se dire racistes quand même, mais grosso modo, si tu parles à un citoyen dans la rue, il va toujours te dire qu’il n’est pas raciste, qu’il accepte les autres cultures et qu’il est pour l’intégration. Mais dans son comportement, il va avoir des comportements de racisme mais qu’il ne va pas forcément reconnaître. Donc, avoir le réflexe de dire «C’est un Noir, peut-être que c’est plus dangereux, au niveau de l’appartement, il pourrait me voler» mais il ne va pas dire je suis raciste. Il va dire «C’est vrai, parfois les Noirs sont des voleurs, alors pourquoi prendre des risques.» Il ne va pas se reconnaître comme raciste. »*

("There are people who produce racism, but no one is going to say they are racist. Yes, there are always people who are going to call themselves racists anyways, but usually, if you speak to a citizen on the street, they are always going to tell you that they are not racist, that they accept other cultures and that they are for integration. But in their behaviour, they are going to have racist behaviours but which they are not necessarily going to recognise. So to have the reflex to say ‘This is a Black guy, maybe he is more dangerous at the apartment, he could steal from me’, but they will never say, ‘I am racist’. They are not going to recognise themselves as racists.”)

For Gilles, most everyday citizens do not think that they are racist, and that when they do have a discriminatory thought, they certainly do not intend to discriminate, even if it has that effect, such as not renting an apartment to certain racial groups. While the 22 year-old recognises discriminatory behaviour, he emphasises that many perpetrators of racism do not think of themselves as racist, but rather it is the result of a “reflex”, removing the intent.

Furthermore, for some participants the intent is not removed, but can actually appear to be positive. Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant, mentions the actually complementary intention behind a common occurrence for her. Because the intent is to praise her, she minimises the discrimination, and instead uses the narrative of ignorance to describe the encounter.

*« Les baby boomers surtout qui me félicitaient parce qu'ils trouvaient que je parlais donc bien le français et que je n'avais pas d'accent. Pour moi, ça me faisait sourire parce que je les trouvais un peu ignorant. C'est un compliment qu'ils me faisaient, mais en quelque part, je trouvais que ça manquait un peu d'ouverture. C'est pas parce que je suis vietnamienne que tu attends à ce que j'ai un accent gros comme le bras. Je pense qu'ils sont juste des fois surpris qu'on soit aussi bien intégré. »*

(“The baby boomers that always congratulate me because they find that I speak French so well and that I do not have an accent. For me, this makes me smile because I find them a little ignorant. It is a compliment that they are giving me, but in someway, I find that this lacks a little bit of openness. It is not because I am Vietnamese that you expect that I have a huge accent. I think that they are just sometimes surprised that we are so well integrated.”)

Maude’s experience where Francophones assume she would not speak French and either automatically switch to English, or show surprise and wonder at their abilities to speak French, is particularly common among some of the Vietnamese participants. What is also common is their downplaying of their experiences as discrimination. Dominique’s quote that opened this section states that she feels she has never had a very “traumatic” experience, however in the same interview she describes the following “type” of discrimination that she experiences.

*« Un genre de discrimination que je déteste... Je m'identifie plus comme Francophone et je déteste, lorsque je m'en vais acheter quelque chose dans le dépanneur, que les gens essaient de me parler en anglais. Avant même que je ne dise quoi que ce soit, ils assument que je parle anglais. Aussi, il y a un an de là, je me suis fait arrêter par la police à l'ouest de la ville parce que je travaillais proche de là, j'ai fait un excès de vitesse et là le policier vient, et je lui dis : «Bonjour monsieur.» Il me dit : «Oh mon Dieu, tu parles le français.» Peut-être que je ne devrais pas penser que c'est de la discrimination, mais pour moi est-ce parce que j'ai l'air de ça que je ne devrais pas parler français? J'avais tellement envie de lui dire : «Regarde, c'est vous les Québécois qui avez mis sur pied la loi 101 pour exiger que tous les petits immigrants aillent faire l'école en français et là, maintenant, tu ne reconnais pas ça et tu penses que je devrais parler en anglais» Je sais pas. Pour moi, ça me frustre de voir ça. »*

(“A type of discrimination that I hate...I identify myself more as a Francophone and I hate, when I go to buy something in the *depanneur*, that the people try to speak to me in English. Even before I say anything, they assume that I speak English. As well, about one year ago, I was stopped by the police in the west side of the city, and I said to him ‘*Bonjour Monsieur*’. He said to me ‘oh my God, you speak French’. Maybe you I should not think of that as discrimination, but for me it is, because I look like I should not speak French? I really wanted to say to him ‘Look, it is you the Québécois who developed Bill 101 to require all the little immigrants to go to school in French and all that, now you don’t recognise this and you think that I should speak in English’. I don’t know. For me, this frustrates me to see.”)

Dominique is frustrated and confused by experiences like these, but downplays its significance. She certainly views them as discrimination, but clarifies that it is a “type” of discrimination that she admits not everyone would view as such. In her concluding comments about these types of experiences, she refers to these stories as her « *petites expériences de discrimination* » (“little experiences of discrimination”), but then immediately continues to minimise her own experience and frustration by saying « *mais c’est rien* » (“but it’s nothing”). While she views it as discrimination, its consequence was not “traumatic”; therefore Dominique is reluctant to report being a victim of discrimination.

In the case of Dominique and Maude, these experiences do not have a large effect on their Québécois identity; they both identify quite strongly as a Québécois. This is not necessarily the case for others, as these experiences point out their exclusion from the Québécois standard, whether or not participants label them as discrimination.

“How I saw how I get discriminated is when they see me, cause I’m Asian, immediately they’ll talk to me in English. I can speak French, and I reply to them in French. I’m from here, I can speak French and I’m somewhat insulted that you think I wouldn’t be able to speak in French. So there’s that. But I feel like it’s not discrimination, so that’s the part where I don’t wanna feel Quebecer, it’s because of like ‘hey wow, I’m still from here, I do know how to speak. And it’s nice that you’re considerate and you’ll speak to me in English, but... I can speak in French’. If people talk to me in English, but I know they’re French, I’ll always reply in French.”

- Jacques, a 20 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

In this case, Jacques is insulted when these comparable incidents occur, but he is torn whether or not to call it discrimination. At first he calls it discrimination, but because he believes people are trying to be considerate to him, he is uncertain if it classifies as discrimination. He finds that the intention to harm is lacking, therefore he is reluctant to name these types of experiences as discrimination. The effect it has on him is that his Québécois or Quebecer identity suffers. It is difficult to pin point why he and others who have the same experiences are insulted, or frustrated, but Elenor, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant eloquently explains that the practice and assumptions highlight her difference from her fellow Québécois, who she otherwise can and does identify with.

“Because it points to the difference. It reminds me that I am different, because why would they speak to me in English if they’re Francophone. You can see that they’re Francophones but they speak to you in English because they think you’re an Anglophone because you don’t look like you’re Québécois. That, I hate it. I guess it throws back into your face that you’re different.”

Despite Jacques and Elenor’s native-born status, their race or ethnic background allows members of the majority to differentiate themselves from them, and the assumption that they do not speak their language is not the only way this happens.

“I mentioned a little bit at work, when I first got there, oh there’s another Asian girl. That came from... as a side comment from somebody who is Québécois. I don’t think she meant any harm. And when I first arrived as well HR, someone said some comment about like *vous autres*, and I didn’t take it personally. I wasn’t affected by it. And again I think it comes from a certain level of ignorance and lack of exposure. That’s what I had in mind when I was talking about discrimination but not necessarily anything greater than that.”

- Florence, a 29 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Parfois, c’est des commentaires du genre «vous, les Vietnamiens, vous venez prendre toutes nos jobs». Ce n’est jamais méchant. C’est un peu humoristique, mais ils le soulignent.*

(“Sometimes, it is the type of comments like ‘you, the Vietnamese, you are coming to take all of our jobs’. It is never mean. It is a little funny, but they underline it.”)

- Karine, a 23 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

Despite this tendency for people to differentiate them as different, Florence and Karine are unlikely to call this discrimination. However, the cumulative effect of experiences like these may have result in the participants feeling excluded from a society in which they actually do identify with in many other ways.

According to Sue (2010) racial microaggressions against Asians Americans in the US context are usually centred around two themes; the first being negative stereotypes of Asians Americans as foreigners, and second, positive stereotypes of them as a successful minority group. These same experiences are reflected in the comments the Vietnamese second generation immigrants in Quebec, where they are often confronted with microaggressions that assume they are “aliens in their own land”, or their cultural values and communication styles are pathologised.

Furthermore, both Vietnamese and Filipino participants expressed an invalidation of interethnic differences, where they are often referred to as the “*chinois(e)*” (Chinese).

“Microaggressions are the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioural, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial, gender, sexual-orientation, and religious slights and insults to the target person or group” (Sue, et al., 2007). Such slights or insults hold power over the targeted groups because they often send hidden, invalidating, demeaning, or insulting messages. The acts do not need to be intentional, and psychologically they can be more damaging over time because, due to their ambiguity, they often can go unaddressed. The psychological effects on marginalised populations can lead to inequalities in quality of life and standard of living, but they also have the secondary effect of “denying equal and opportunities in education, employment, and health

care. While seemingly minimal in nature, the harm that they produce operated on a systemic and macro level” (Sue, 2010, p. 16).

Vietnamese and Filipino participants were not the only participants to express experiences with microaggressions, but those directed towards the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean participants were sometimes different in nature. In fact, racial microaggressions were first coined by Chester Pierce (Pierce, Carew, Peirce-Gonzales, & Willis, 1978) in the 1970s to refer to everyday subtle and often automatic “put-downs” and insults targeting Black Americans. Sue (2010) notes that while Asians are more likely to experience messages regarding their foreignness, Blacks are likely to receive messages regarding their potential criminality. In addition to these messages, the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean participants also reported assumptions of intellectual and status inferiority.

In the Quebec context, this automatic assumption of foreignness is not necessarily unique to the Asian community. Abby says that she “always get[s] the question ‘what are you?’” [as the] quintessential question to ask anyone who is considered a non-white.”. Other renditions of the same question are ‘where are you from?’ or as Olivier says,

*« Les Francophones, ils vont te regarder. Qu’est-ce qu’ils regardent? La couleur de ta peau. Ils vont toujours de poser la question : «Tu es né(e) au pays?» Des fois je suis comme... je suis là depuis 24 ans et je parle très bien le français et tu me demandes encore est-ce que je suis né au pays. »*

(Francophones, they are going to look at you. What are they going to look at? The colour of your skin. They are going to ask you the question ‘you were born in the country?’ Sometimes, I am like ‘I am here for 24 years and I speak French very well and you still ask me if ‘were you born in the country?’”)

The 24 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant believes that because of the colour of his skin, his nativity is often questioned, despite the fact that he speaks French quite fluently. The

differences between the American context and that of Quebec may be related to the relatively larger size and historical influence of the Black population in the US. While in Canada, the history of Blacks from the Caribbean is long, in Quebec Black citizens (in addition to other visible minorities) are still often thought to be foreign.

Below is a sample of some of the microaggressions experienced by Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean participants. They are certainly not the only ones reported, but represent the type of assumptions made about their racial or ethnic group, which include criminality, or inferior status, intellect, or abilities.

Racial profiling by the police and security services, as presented at the opening of this chapter, is an institutional response to the assumption of Black criminality. These assumptions can manifest themselves in individual interactions as well. Participants talk about being followed around by store staff due to an assumption that they are stealing, people crossing the street to avoid a possible confrontation, and as Kevin describes below, the extra mindful eye on people may have around their belongings or bags.

*« T'es à côté du sac d'une personne, tu parles avec quelqu'un, mais tu n'as même pas remarqué son sac et là, la personne vient et prend son sac et... «Ne vole pas mon sac!» C'est parce que je n'ai jamais eu l'intention de voler ton sac. Tout simplement lié à une question de couleur. »*

(“You are beside the bag of someone, you talking with someone, but you have not noticed their bag, and there, the person comes and takes their bag and “Don’t steal my bag!” It’s not because I ever had the intention to steal your bag. It’s simply related to a question of colour.”)

- Kevin, a 25 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Kevin believes that people have and do make assumptions about him because of the colour of his skin. It is not suspicious behaviour behind these assumptions, but rather his blackness is

suspicion enough. Harold and France's stories demonstrate a different assumption that they find is attributed to them simply because of their race: the assumption of inferior intellect or status.

"The other day I was at work, and somebody came in and asked me a question, and I answered back, and he said "oh you have a really good vocabulary, you must go to school". To me, I felt like, is it because I'm a different race? I was just speaking normally, the way I'm speaking to you right now, he said "you must go to school", to me it was like "why do I have to go to school? Why can't I just speak like this?" You don't have to go to school to have a different vocabulary, it's just by reading a book or watching TV. For me, I felt like it was a race thing."

- Harold, a 23 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

*« ... j'étais à un souper l'année passée pour le musée d'art contemporain... une table avec des vieux avocats dans la cinquantaine et tout... et ils étaient impressionnés par mon parcours et ils étaient comme «ah, est-ce que t'es la première de ta famille qui est allée à [nom d'une école privée]?» Est-ce que vraiment il m'a posé cette question... j'aurais été différente... on dirait que c'est très... la ligne est très mince parce que ce n'est pas comme si... la personne ne va pas me regarder de haut, au contraire... il était content de voir que j'étais là, j'allais me présenter aux élections et tout et j'étais comme «ah, j'ai un beau parcours c'est le fun», mais pour lui, c'est le parcours de comme «ah, wow, t'es la première, n'est-ce pas...?» mais... tandis que... quelqu'un d'autre ne se ferait pas poser cette question [...] mais juste de toujours les extrapoler à chacune des situations quand on rencontre quelqu'un qui vient d'une communauté qui est plus affaiblie de cette manière... c'est comme ça que la discrimination se perd... ce n'est pas public, ce n'est pas... ce n'est pas du racisme, au contraire. Ce sont des choses vraiment très minces que parfois même les gens... tu l'analyses pas... tu ne fais pas nécessairement t'en rendre compte toi-même et tu vas répondre à la question et tu ne vas pas te faire sursauter, mais... c'est des éléments comme ça. »*

"I was at a dinner last year for the contemporary art museum... a table with some old lawyers in their 50s and all... and they were impressed with my background and they were like "ah, are you the first of your family who went to [name of private school]?" Is he really asking me this question... I must have been different... we say that it's very... the line is very thin because it's not as if... the person is not going to look at me very highly, in contrast... he was content to see that I was there, I go and run in elections and all and I was like "ah, I have a great background, it's fun", but for him, it's the background of like "ah wow, you are the first, no?" but... while someone else would not ask me this question [...] but just to always extrapolate from each of these situations when we meet someone who comes from a community that is not as strong in this way... it's like this that discrimination gets lost... it's not public, it's not... it's not racism, on the contrary. It's the very little things that sometimes people, that you don't analyse it... you aren't necessarily going to realise it yourself and you are going to respond to the question and you aren't going to jump, but it's the things like this..."

Harold was assumed to have an inferior vocabulary and surprised the other person in his interaction, in which the other person responded with a racial microaggression. In both Franca and Harold's stories, these racial microaggressions may have been acting below a conscious level, but Sue (2010) says that pseudo-complimentary racial microaggressions "allow the perpetrator to acknowledge and praise a person of colour, but also allows him to express group



stereotypes” (p. 11). In France’s case, her background of having gone to a private school and to be actively engaged in her community was seen as an anomaly because of her race. Similarly, Jean-François is assumed to be less competent than his co-workers and only in his position because of an employment equity position.

*« Il y a des collègues que me l’ont déjà dit dans ma face. «Si tu as été engagé c’est parce que t’es Noir» parce qu’on a besoin de pourcentages dans la job. Ça, c’est raciste, préjugé. J’ai dit «non, oui, peut-être... j’ai passé les tests, j’ai passé mon entrevue, j’ai passé le médical, j’ai eu mon permis» so j’apply et je l’ai eu. C’est pas comme si on venait à mon porte, «demain matin, tu veux [travailler pour nous]? You start tomorrow.» J’ai appliqué, j’ai fait tout le processus. Je suis autant compétent que toi parce que j’ai fait tout ce que je devais faire pour l’emploi. C’est juste que la société m’a donné une chance d’avoir accès à ça parce que ça l’aurait été comme la Ville de Montréal avec juste des Québécois. C’est l’accès à la job que j’ai eu une opportunité. »*

(“There are colleagues that have said that to my face. ‘If you were hired, it is because you are Black, because we need the percentages in the workplace’. This is racist, prejudice. I said ‘yes, no, maybe...I passed the tests, I passed my interview, I passed the medical, I have my permit’ So I apply and I got it. It is not as if they came to my door, ‘tomorrow morning, you want to [work for us]? You start tomorrow.’ I applied, I did the whole process. I am just as competent as you because I did everything I had to do for the job. It is just that society gave me a chance to have access to this because it would have been like a City of Montreal with just Québécois. It is the access to the job that I had an opportunity”).

This 35 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant’s competency is called into question by his co-workers because he is Black, and a member of a visible minority groups. He is not shy to call the incident racist or based in prejudice, but Harold and France did not attribute this label to their experience. Harold simply refers to it as racial, but is unable to label the ambiguity that he feels. Because the incident she describes did not make her jump or react right away, France is reluctant to call it discriminatory or racist.

The apparent lack of intention, hostility, or tangible consequences in the participants’ experiences that they described, result in a narrative that downplays or minimise their experiences as something other than discrimination. Not only do participants across groups interpret their experiences as “no big deal”, but they also attempt to justify others’ actions by

using euphemisms that remove a sense of agency for the perpetrator. For example, to paraphrase, ‘they do not intend to be discriminatory, but a lack of education, interaction, or information is the real perpetrator.’

This depth is what is often lost when we, as social scientists focus on incidents of discrimination. When we ask a question such as ‘have you been a victim or have you experienced discrimination’, it immediately becomes an individual interaction – one person, or institution discriminating against another individual. The incident must also be personal; it must have happened to you. Furthermore, I argue that often it also needs to be intentional, hostile, and somehow tangible or easy to prove, otherwise people will report low levels of discrimination or not report it at all. This may help explain why incidents categorised as microaggressions go unreported as discrimination.

Furthermore, the error of incidents, because it focuses on an individual personal interaction, can fail to capture respondents’ understanding of systemic and institutional discrimination that is not always intentional, visible, nor easy to prove. A narrative that justifies and therefore minimises personal experiences with discrimination does not preclude that these participants do not recognise the presence and effect that systemic discrimination has on minority populations in Quebec and across Canada, even if they find they are not subject to the individual effects. The next section of this chapter will explore this further.

## **7.2. *Incidental vs. Systemic Discrimination***

In addition to the microaggressions discussed in the above section, other participants have experienced more blatant incidents of discrimination and racism, such as racial slurs, or being

denied entry to a club, or subject to racial profiling and increased police scrutiny, as discussed at the opening of this chapter. It is not my intention to minimise these experiences by not discussing them at length in this chapter, but rather, by focusing less on the individual incidents of discrimination, a more nuanced picture of participants' understanding of the presence of discrimination in society is able to emerge across all four groups.

Focusing on the incidental experiences of discrimination makes it difficult to capture the understanding that discrimination can be much more pervasive throughout society and affect peoples lives in a more indirect way. Furthermore, the error of incidents requires that participants have a personal experience with discrimination, and as we saw above, they believe that discrimination must often have clear consequences and intent. This results in a potential underreporting or non-reporting of the participants' understanding of the presence of discrimination in society. The following section will discuss participants' recognition of systemic and institutional discrimination that disadvantages members of visible minority groups in Quebec and Canada, particularly how the under representation of members of these visible minority in certain institutions, can perpetuate prejudice and racism towards members of these groups.

Participants firstly understand that discrimination can be subtle or hidden, in addition to upfront and direct. Even when such direct situations do occur, they are thought of as out of place, or as above, the perpetrator is thought to be out of the norm.

"I was walking down Saint-Laurent one day, and I think I was walking behind a homeless man, and he looked back. And he said... "Get out of my fucking face nigger." And I was like... are you serious? It was kind of funny, 'cause like this is so random... I mean, it was shocking 'cause I've never been called a nigger... it was 4 years ago. So he called me nigger, and I went into the store.

So it was kind of shocking... but at the same time, he's homeless. He's probably angry and drunk, or whatever. But... it was racial, it was racial and it was weird... but it was like... this is not Alabama, like why... where is this coming from? [...] I feel like most people are smart enough now to not be racist to your face, you know? In policy, or subtlety, so I think they probably wouldn't hire you for something based on some other kind of bullshit excuse, as opposed to... "I don't like you 'cause you're not like me'"

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

Brenda describes a situation in which someone used a racial slur against her. She is shocked by the event as it had never happened to her before, and she finds that is an anomaly rather than the norm. In fact, she believes that even if people are racist, most people are not so brazen to say so. Rather, discrimination may occur more subtly or under a different guise, such as in policy. Others believe that while racial discrimination, or any discrimination is "passé", it doesn't mean that individual or institutional biases do not exist. Just because racism is not "in your face", does not mean they believe that discrimination based on beliefs that groups are different does not occur.

« It's not in your face, *tu sais*. [...] *C'est pas flagrant. C'est ça. C'est pas in your face. C'est des remarques, c'est des sous-entendus* [...] *Chez certains, une xénophobie latente, c'est-à-dire qu'ils ne diront pas nécessairement en public qu'ils ont peur des étrangers ou... qui vont faire des commentaires publiques, mais en privé qui ne se gêneront pas... ça me gosse. La fameuse phrase «je ne suis pas raciste, mais...» juste ton «mais» dit déjà que tu es raciste. Juste ton «mais» dit que tu es intolérant.* »

("It's not in your face, you know [...] It is not flagrant. That's it. It's not in your face. It's the comments, it is the implied [...] Among certain people, a latent xenophobia, that is to say that they will not necessarily say in public that they are scared of foreigners or, who are going to make public statement, but in private where they don't censor themselves... This annoys me. That famous phrase 'I am not racist, but...' Just your 'but' says already that you are racist. Just your 'but' says that you are intolerant.")

- Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

« *Il y a des préjugés. On ne va jamais te dire «ostie de Chinoise. Elle va manger beaucoup de riz, ça paraît.» C'est toujours un racisme caché qu'on va appeler préjugés.* »

("There is prejudice. We are never going to hear you say 'damn the Chinese! She is going to eat so much rice, it seems.' It is always a hidden racism that we are going to call prejudice.")

- Jean-François, a 35 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Lise and Jean-François agree with Brenda, in that most people are not going to use racial slurs or say negative things about other groups or minorities. But they may still harbour those negative

sentiments and may discriminate accordingly, whether or not it is intentioned. Scholars tend to agree that old forms of racism, such as hate crimes, physical assaults, use of racial epithets, and other blatant acts of discrimination have been on the decline, but that what remains is what Martin Barker coined as *The New Racism* (Barker, 1981).

New racism is defined by expressions of racism that are in racially neutral language and appear to be more acceptable in public discourse. In the United States, Bonilla-Silva (2010) says colour-blind racism is used to reproduce racial privilege and justify the new racial order. To explain racial inequality phenomena in the United States, such as extreme residential segregation, persistent poverty, and low intermarriage rates, particularly between blacks and whites (J. Lee & Bean, 2010), Bonilla-Silva identifies 4 central frames or paths of colour-blind racism. Abstract liberalism is when racial phenomena are explained in an abstract manner using the principles of political and economic liberalism (i.e. equal opportunity). Naturalisation explains away racial matters by suggesting it a “natural” occurrence. Cultural racism uses the culturally based arguments to explain the standing of minorities. Finally, the minimisation of race is to claim that race is no longer a central factor affecting minorities life-chances.

A similar phenomenon has been identified by Henry et al. (2000) in their observations in Canada. Democratic racism is a set of justificatory arguments and mechanisms that permit two conflicting ideologies of racism and liberalism to coexist. They believe that the discourse of liberalism, such as individualism, universalism, equal opportunity and tolerance, actually undermine the egalitarian ideal of society, allowing for the persistence of racial and ethnic inequalities in number of economic and social domains. This new racism phenomenon is

expressed throughout this dissertation. These discourses were discussed in the previous chapter in section 6.1.3, as well as can be seen in the microaggressions discussed above.

While participants find that expressions of blatant racism are infrequent (although it should be noted that it was not absent from their narratives), participants still perceive systemic inequality in their society that is a result of racism and discrimination. One of the main ways that participants perceive this inequality is through a lack of representation, particularly positive representations of visible minorities in media and the arts in Quebec and in Canada. In chapter 5 on Québécois identity, we heard from participants and how they believe that the media supports an essentialist identity of a Québécois. Émile gave the example of how magazine covers in Quebec lack any representation of people of his race, hence rendering him invisible in the constructions of a Quebec citizen.

This dearth of visible minorities in the media and arts is an issue for others as well. For Imelda, despite the “spirit of openness” that she feels in Montreal, she realises that real cultural diversity in the media, in Quebec and even Montreal, is lacking. The 28 year-old says:

*« Étant donné qu’il y a même une ouverture d’esprit, il y a même encore cette incompréhension ou un manque de la présence de la diversité culturelle ou des minorités dans les médias, c’est-à-dire journalistes, radios, télé, web... des minorités visibles, si tu veux, la diversité culturelle. Donc, c’est encore un champ de bataille qu’il faut continuer constamment travailler là-dessus. »*

(“Even given that there is a spirit of openness, there is at the same time a lack of understanding or a lack of the presence of cultural diversity or minorities in the media, meaning to say journalists, radio, television, web... visible minorities, if you want, cultural diversity. Therefore, it is still a battlefield that must constantly be worked on.”)

Émile believes this lack of diversity leads to a lack of “imagination” among the Québécois population that cannot envision Québécois as anything other than white. This perpetuates a lack

of representation, as visible minorities are not imagined for some jobs or roles in the media, and then are not hired. A Haitian second generation woman who works in the arts<sup>89</sup>, explains

*« J'ai reçu beaucoup d'attention dans ma vie parce que j'étais noire. Des fois c'était positif... avec mon travail, mon casting est différent... donc, des fois, je peux avoir des rôles que d'autres personnes ne peuvent pas avoir, mais des fois, je n'ai pas les rôles que je pourrais avoir, mais vu que je ressemble à ça, eux, dans leur tête, ça ne fonctionne pas. [...] Je pourrais jouer Juliet, vraiment... mais ce n'est pas quelque chose qui est imaginé encore. »*

("I have received a lot of attention in my life because I was Black. Sometimes it was positive...with my work, my casting is different. So sometimes, I can have roles that other people cannot have, but sometimes, I cannot have the roles that I could have, but because I look like I do, they, in their heads, it doesn't work. [...] I could play Juliet [from Shakespeare's Romeo & Juliet] really, but it is not something that is imagined yet.")

According to participants, the media as an institution, when they do portray minorities, it is often according to stereotypes, *« si t'es asiatique, tu vas jouer la geek ou je sais pas trop... si t'es noir, c'est sûr que t'es un gangster »* ("if you are Asian, you are going to play the geek or I do not really know...if you are Black, it is certain that you are a gangster"). These stereotypes are then reproduced in society, and thought to be true by and for many groups.

It is not just the media arts that some participants critique, but it is also the portrayal of visible minorities in journalistic matters. Of particular importance for both Kevin and Henri is the differential journalistic treatment that different racial or ethnic groups receive in regards to the crimes they may commit.

"Bikers are organized crime. But nowadays the *phenomene des gangs de rue* are also organized now, this is why they created this tactical police group to stop some of them. But they still call it *phenomene des gangs de rue*, because that's how they associate us Black people. But there's a lot of gangs. [...] In Quebec, I find this is something, and this is only like a little problem of the province, it's not even a big problem. Nobody cares about that. The politicians, they won't everyday, it's not something they'll say look we need to get rid, they need gangs, they need Black kids. That would be something that they could actually change in terms of the perception in the media. By doing so, they're actually creating a separation to people to realize. And that's how I guess you hypnotize people."

- Henri, a 33 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

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<sup>89</sup> I felt that it was not prudent to attach her profession with her pseudonym, as she could be identified via her profession.

Henri points out the small distinction that occurs in media coverage of organised crime. While illicit activity perpetrated by bikers is referred to as organised crime, he believes similarly organised crime syndicates are referred to as “street gangs” when they are run primarily by Black or other minority groups. The use of the term “street gangs” brings the issue closer to residential communities and conjures up an image that can affect a lay citizen, and their family or neighbourhood, possibly in a more violent manner. Organised crime on the other hand is removed from the neighbourhood level and has associations with white-collar crime, which can appear as less detrimental to an individual who is not associated with that world. Henri believes that this particular language then associates the black community with violence, while avoiding this association with members of gangs from the white population.

Similarly, Kevin a 25 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant finds that there is a different narrative for different groups. He believes that white groups benefit from an individualisation of their actions, while non-white communities are subject to large generalisations based on an individual’s action.

*« Aussi, dans le message des médias, c’est-à-dire lorsqu’un individu d’une certaine communauté fait une action, c’est comme si c’est toute la communauté qui est comme ça. Donc, on rattache et si un individu de telle communauté fait une bonne action, il est rendu Québécois. Ça, c’est une des premières choses. Puis, lorsque un individu de la communauté québécoise fait un acte criminel ou un acte mauvais, très souvent, on va l’isoler comme étant un fou ou peut-être comme un homme ayant eu un passé difficile et qui fait en sorte qu’il est arrivé à cet acte. Donc, on envoie deux messages. L’homme blanc qui fait l’action, ce n’est pas normal parce que l’homme blanc est naturellement bon. Donc, étant donné qu’il est naturellement bon, le Blanc qui a fait l’erreur doit être fou. Il a eu un passé antérieur difficile, il s’est fait battre on ne sait pas par qui, on ne sait pas comment, qui fait en sorte qu’il fait ces atrocités. Quand on parle des autres communautés, c’est comme si c’était normal. Ils l’ont fait, donc, c’est normal. Dans la construction médiatique, je pense qu’il faut travailler pour éviter que les médias continuent de créer une construction des différentes identités : [arrêter de] créer de mauvaises perceptions et du racisme. »*

(“As well, in the media messages, that is to say, when an individual of a certain community does an action, it is as if it is the whole community is like this. Therefore, we link [them] and if an individual of such a community does a good action, he is made Québécois. This, it is the first thing. Then, when an individual of the Québécois community commits a criminal act or a does a



bad thing, very often, we are going to isolate him like he is crazy or maybe like a man who has had a difficult past and goes out and he happens to commit this action. Therefore, we are given two messages. The white man who does the action, it is not normal because the white man is naturally good. Therefore, since he is naturally good, the white guy who made an error must be crazy. He has a difficult past before, he was beaten, we don't know by who, we don't know why, who went out and did these atrocities. When we speak of other communities, it's like as if it is normal. They do that, so it's normal. In the media construction, I think that we must work to prevent the media from continuing to create a construction of different identities, to create misperceptions and racism.”)

Kevin follows up with an example in the news where a father killed his daughters by drowning them in a family vehicle in the Kingston locks in 2009. He remembers this case as discussed in a different manner than other cases of domestic violence and murder. Rather than calling it murder, he remembers it often referred to or questioned as to whether or not it was an honour killing. The father happened to be Muslim, and Kevin believes that referring to it as an honour killing lays the blame with the practice of Islam in general, with the result of vilifying the religion in the eyes of many<sup>90</sup>.

The recognition of the lack of diversity and positive portrayals, and potentially purposeful negative portrayals of visible minority groups in the media arts and in news coverage are not accurately captured when measuring discrimination in society is focused on the incidental, or rather personal experiences with discrimination. Participants can recognise that this type of institutional and systemic discrimination exists, whether it is intentional or unintentional. Understanding how societal institutions routinely exclude and differentiate minorities can contribute to a lack of identity with the host society, without necessarily having experienced personal discrimination.

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<sup>90</sup> Kevin's conceptualisations were correct, and the prosecution certainly did argue the case as an instance of honour killing (Dalton, 2012).

In chapter 6 on Canadian identity, Oscar a 30-something Filipino second generation immigrant talked about the “racialisation of poverty” that he recognises is present not only in Quebec, but across Canada as well. This understanding of the over-representation of racial minorities among the working poor is one of the reasons he cannot identify with either Canadian or Québécois identities, as he believes the correlations are too steep to not be purposeful. In addition to this over-representation, Oscar perceives a comparable under-representation of minorities in the middle and upper classes, as well as positions of power and authority. This inequality is recognised by participants and would not normally be captured when asking about instances of discrimination in which participants may have experienced.

*« Moi, ce n'est pas si pire dans le sens où je travail au public et le côté discriminatoire se pose moins. C'est plus si t'as la compétence, le brevet, on va t'engager. Au privé, c'est différent. Ce que je trouve dommage c'est qu'il y a des chiffres qui sortent et qui disent par exemple que le taux de chômage chez les Noirs est deux fois plus élevé que la moyenne de la population, alors qu'ils ont autant de diplômes d'études postsecondaires sinon plus, et tous ces Noirs qui n'ont pas d'emploi, ce ne sont pas tous des immigrants. »*

(“Me, it is not as bad in the sense where I work in the public [sector] and the discrimination comes up less often. It is more if you have the competence, the [certification], we are going to hire you. In the private [sector], it is different. What I find unfortunate is there are the numbers that come out and that say for example that the unemployment rate for Blacks is two times that of the average population, while they often have post-secondary degrees or more, and all these black people who do not have a job, they are not all immigrants.”)

Lise, a 29 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant points to the high unemployment rates for Black people as a sign that discrimination may play a part in hiring practices, particularly in the private sector. She recognises that there are additional barriers for some people, such as new immigrants, when entering the labour force, but because the unemployment rate is high across other Black groups, she believes discrimination may be the culprit. At the same time, because she works in the public sector, she finds that she has not been subject to this discrimination, as it is much more transparent. Camille, a 33 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant, similarly does not feel that she personally experiences racism, and reports a strong Québécois identity.

However, this does not mean that she believes institutional discrimination does not exist. She notes as an example the under-representation of people of colour or visible minorities in the top ranks of power.

*« Je trouve que c'est institutionnel. Est-ce que je suis là et je sens que je vis du racisme? Non, ça ne fait rien à mon identité, du tout. Mais je reconnais le modèle institutionnel. Ils ont pris quelqu'un, un Noir dans la trentaine qui dit « Pas de problème tout ça ». Ce n'est pas que dans chaque cas, c'est du racisme, mais des fois je le vois là, et là. Racisme institutionnel, ça veut dire quoi? Ça veut dire que plus tu montes dans les compagnies, moins il y a des gens de couleur, toutes les couleurs confondues. En haut, c'est toujours des Blancs. Ça c'est du racisme institutionnel. Et veut, veut pas, on vit ça. On est dans cette société-là, donc quand tu n'es pas blanc, tu le sais. »*

(“I find that it is institutional. Am I here and I feel that I am living racism? No, this does nothing to my identity at all. But I recognise the institutional model. They took someone, a black person in her thirties who says ‘no problem at all’. It is not racism in each case, but sometimes I see it here and there. Institutional racism, meaning what? This means that the higher you go in companies, the less people of colour, of all kinds. Up top, it is always whites. This is institutional racism. And we don’t want to see this. We are in this society here, so when you are not white, you know this.”)

Sentiments like this are not only perceived to be present in Quebec and Canada, but is a trend that participants can recognise as pervasive throughout the Western world. Annick finds that those in power in politics are mainly white and that this defines the ideologies that run and govern many Western nations. Furthermore, she recognises that this under-representation of visible minorities in politics and positions of power have an effect on what and how culture is portrayed, whether it is in policy or in the media.

“The western world is pretty white in a certain way, even though it is filled with coloured people. The people in power are not representative of the population. The ideologies are pretty much white-centric if you can say. I feel like this is a big and huge and really important limitation, because even though they give space for different minorities to express themselves, and celebrate their culture, celebrate their customs, they still don’t represent the majority. We talk about democracy, but at the same time we know that something else is going on behind the scenes. You’re casting your vote, but you know that anything can change because that white guy with a lot of money goes against the other white guy with a lot of money, so money rules the world. [...] Skin colour makes a difference in a lot of ways, and the fact that the people in power are mostly white affect the way culture is portrayed or expressed in the society we live in.”

Other institutions that participants perceived as sites of systemic discrimination and exclusion are the education system, via the lack of minority perspectives in the school curriculum, particularly in history class (Carly), or the dearth of support for students who lack the social capital to prepare for post-secondary education (Oscar), the police and justice system where there is a lack of representation of minorities resulting in racial profiling (Margaret), and even as it relates to health, where certain ailments that are more prevalent in minority communities receive less funding and attention (France). While these may not always be common examples from participants, cumulatively, they speak to the understanding of participants that more subversive, systemic discrimination is present in Québécois and Canadian societies.

“In history class, you don’t learn about anywhere else’s history but Quebec history. I don’t know in other provinces, but here you touch on the native history for a couple of weeks, then you’re stuck stuck stuck on Quebec every single year, and it’s the same information over and over, and you’re like... what about other people that immigrated here? The Chinese, the Caribbean, the Africans, the Haitians, the Europeans, what about the other people that make up Canada? But it’s just so Quebec centred, and I don’t find it’s very fair for everyone else that makes up Canada.”

- Carly, a 19 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

According to Carly, the lack of diversity in school curricula can have the effect of excluding others because it erases their history. Furthermore, with a history of the nation that does not speak or represent diverse histories, it can have the effect of defining the nation with rigid boundaries, by reinforcing the Eurocentric hegemony. At least one other participant mentions that lack of diversity in the history curriculum of his school resulted in him losing interest in the topic.

Oscar points out an inequality that he sees has ramifications for the socio-economic future of members of the Filipino community, and can certainly be an issue in other communities as well.

“The fact that I’m in university, and then when I talk to members of my [Filipino] community, who are 16-17, ‘are you going to CEGEP?’ I have to tell them basic things they didn’t know. These kids aren’t able to go to CEGEP because they missed out on certain classes in high school.

Those kinds of privileges that I had aren't there, the institutional knowledge. For some reason, it was taken for granted."

- Oscar, a 30-something Filipino second generation immigrant

The lack of institutional knowledge Oscar believes could be due to a number of potentially intersecting factors, such as immigrant or working class status of the parents, making navigating an unfamiliar education system challenging. Oscar believes that this social capital is taken for granted, resulting in schools not preparing their students to enter into college, which will limit their options for the future. This practice has the potential to negatively affect all students, but he believes that those from minority backgrounds are more adversely affected by this inaction because of their social position, which can perpetuate racialised poverty over generations.

Margaret is not the only participant to discuss their disappointment with the police forces in Montreal, particularly regarding their perceived practice of racial profiling, as was presented at the outset of this chapter. However, she attributes the persistence of this practice to the under-representation of minorities, particularly Black people, on the police force. For her, this lack of representation leads to persistence of negative stereotypes and images about the Black population, resulting in the over-policing of this community. Increasing the presence of minority officers has shown to ease and facilitate police interactions with members of minority communities (Bortolussi, 1999).

"I know for the real Caribbean people, they're discriminated against because I find that they [the police] don't have a lot of experience with them, so they just assume more times than less. Like Caribbean people, the majority of the police are white, and they see a group of black guys or darker skin people, they assume that they're associated with bad things, and in this neighbourhood [Côtes-des-neiges] you see it, because there's a difference. There's a Tim Horton's right there, Filipinos hang around there. Police are never there. If it was black, the other way around, there's swarms of police there. They just associate them with bad things, the police assume that they shouldn't be there, loitering or whatever. They do it all the time."

- Margaret, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

France volunteers for an organisation that raises awareness and money for an illness that is particularly prevalent among the Black population. In the quote below, she talks about the inequality regarding the ability of different communities to raise funds and support for a disease<sup>91</sup>.

« Il y a un documentaire là-dessus et c'est un médecin québécois qui l'a dit dans le documentaire... la raison pour laquelle ce n'est pas connu. Il n'y a personne qui connaît ça. Dans le documentaire, le médecin le dit ... «ben, c'est parce que ce n'est pas des petits Tremblay»... et c'est choquant et moi-même j'aurais été la première à dire «mais non, franchement...» mais quand tu regardes les faits, étant donné que... il n'y a personne, il n'y a pas de grands porte-paroles pour ces maladies

(“There is a documentary [on this illness] and it is a Québécois doctor who said in the documentary the reason that it is not known. There is no one who knows this. In the documentary, the doctor said, ‘well, it is because it is not the little Tremblays’. And it was shocking, and myself, I was the first to say ‘but no, honestly’. But when you look at the facts, given that there is no one, there are no big spokespersons for these illnesses.”

- France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

While France reports that she has not experienced racism often, she is well aware that more systemic discrimination occurs, and uses this example to illustrate. The lack of awareness about a disease that affects mainly Black children is unable to garner public and celebrity concern and support, including funding, while a similarly devastating disease that affects white children has fewer barriers to raising funds and drawing high profile support. While most likely not intentional, the resulting inequality in addressing these two diseases could be attributed to an institutional disinterest based on who it affects.

All of these exclusions or lack of attention to inequities may not result in personal experiences with discrimination for participants, but it does have the effect of participants understanding Québécois and Canadian society as purveyors and producers of discrimination, intentional or not. This understanding can have a negative effect on one's identity, because it communicates to the

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<sup>91</sup> France is not speaking hypothetically, but rather I am purposefully being vague in my description so as to protect her identity by not revealing the organisation she volunteers for.

public, via media, curriculum, through those who are represented in power, who is Québécois or Canadian and who are considered outsiders. Furthermore, the lack of visibility of visible minorities reproduces caricatured images of these communities, which can lead to both intended and unintended discrimination such as racial profiling or microaggressions, both discussed earlier in this chapter.

Understanding the presence of discrimination in society can be informed by incidents from people that are close to participants. Participants are able to recognise their own social position as a reason why they might not personally experience discrimination, which may help to explain some the differences across racial and gender groups in regards to experiences with racial profiling. This idea of intersectionality and social location will be explored in the next and final section of this chapter.

### ***7.3. Social Location Matters***

In the opening section of this chapter, I described incidents of “driving while Black” and other forms of increased scrutiny based on race. Among participants, reporting having experienced racial profiling is divided along race and gender lines, with Anglo-Caribbean and Haitian men in my sample the most likely to report such incidents, followed by Black women, with only one of the Filipino participants, and no Vietnamese participants, describing a similar experience.

The previous two sections described a more nuanced picture of second generation immigrants understanding discrimination in both Quebec and Canada; namely that microaggressions often go unreported as discrimination, and that participants can recognise the signs of systemic and institutional discrimination present in their society without necessarily reporting a personal

experience of discrimination. Both experiencing microaggressions and understanding the structural barriers for visible minorities present in society, can contribute to feelings of exclusion from society that may result in lower rates of identification with larger society, but not necessarily. In other words, these more nuanced understandings of discrimination present in their society are still considerations when second generation immigrants negotiate both Québécois and Canadian identity boundaries.

This final section will further this argument by demonstrating that even when participants do not report discrimination, they recognise that their own social location may actually mitigate their personal experiences with discrimination. Individual characteristics, such as gender, race, class, language abilities and accent, friend network, and style of dress, are variants that participants recognise as providing points of privilege that diminish their likelihood of experiencing certain more overt forms of discrimination. This recognition of intersectional experiences of discrimination means that even if participants do not experience or report personal experiences with discrimination, they understand the systemic exclusion of members of their communities and other visible minority communities who may hold disadvantageous positions in society.

### **7.3.1. Race and Ethnicity**

As discussed in the previous section, as a result of the lack of varied and positive representations of minority groups available in society, participants believed that the representations that do exist reproduce stereotypes. The stereotypes discussed are often based on their racial or ethnic category, with stark differences attributed to the Asian and Black Québécois. In general, participants note that the stereotypes associated with Asians tend to be positive, or at the very



least are meant to be complimentary. On the other hand, those associated with Black communities are usually negative, such as being associated with crime and a lack of education.

“But I’ve never been discriminated against. Maybe because of my ethnic origin I find, except positively, like... oh, ‘let’s take her, she must be good in math.’”

Elenor, a 34 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant describes a “positive” discrimination experience because of the fact that the stereotypes that people attribute to Asians are viewed as assets and advantageous. She however more generally does not consider this discrimination. Similarly as above, if the consequence does not appear to be negative, the microaggression will not be reported as discrimination. Both Karine and Bernadette demonstrate the same sentiments; not only are the stereotypes positive, but the discrimination that results are considered minimally consequential for them.

*« En général, je trouve que les Vietnamiens c’est un peuple bien intégré. C’est des gens discrets, qui ne causent pas de troubles, qui ne sont pas trop différents. Habituellement, leurs enfants sont super efficaces. On a quand même une bonne réputation d’immigrant. On ne cause pas de trouble, on n’est pas dans la drogue, on ne rentre pas dans la violence, la plupart des gens sont très travaillants. Mes parents sont super dévoués. En général, les gens n’ont pas une perception négative des Vietnamiens, mais des fois c’est «tous les Vietnamiens, tous les Nguyen sont des médecins». Ce sont de petits commentaires. Ce n’est rien de méchant. »*

(“In general, I find that the Vietnamese are well integrated people. They are discreet people, who don’t cause trouble, who are not very different. Normally, the kids are super effective. We have anyway a good reputation as immigrants. We do not cause trouble, we aren’t into drugs, we don’t get into violence, the majority of people are very hard working. My parents are dedicated. In general people do not have a negative perception of the Vietnamese, but have ‘all the Vietnamese, all the Nguyens are doctors’. These are the little comments. It is not anything mean.”)

- Karine, a 23 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

*« Mais je crois que le fait que je suis Asiatique, il y a moins de discrimination que d’autres communautés ethniques. Oui, parce que moi, moi, je dis que les Asiatiques, encore maintenant, peut-être que plus tard ce sera différent, c’est une discrimination positive à notre endroit. Donc, quand j’étais jeune, bien sûr, comme au primaire, il y a eu du racisme, etc. Mais c’est des jeunes. Et moins maintenant, peut-être parce que justement je m’en vais moins en région et avoir moins de relations avec les gens de régions qui peut-être j’ai déjà entendu dire qu’ils sont plus racistes. Mais ça fait longtemps que je n’ai pas eu comme le sentiment d’être discriminée ou quoi que ce soit. »*

(“But I believe that the fact that I am Asian, there is less discrimination than other ethnic communities. Yes, because, me, me, I say that Asians, still now, maybe later it will be different, it is positive discrimination against us. So when I was young, for sure, like in primary school, there

was racism ect. But it was kids. And less now, maybe just because I go less into the regions and have less interactions with people from the regions who maybe I had heard that they are more racist. But it has been a long time that I have had the feeling of being discriminated against or what that would be.”)

- Bernadette, a 31 year-old Vietnamese second generation immigrant

“I feel like people, Vietnamese are less targeted by police forces than Jamaicans, for example. But it also goes with the ideology with the general stereotypes that Asian people in general are more rule-followers, and good at school. They’re little nerds, but it’s not... it’s not my point of view but it’s the general stereotype which is not accurate, but when you look at television and movies, it’s usually presented this way. The black guy is usually more into rap, more into not having good grades, ditching school to go with his drug dealer deal drugs and get a girl pregnant. You know it’s really, it’s prejudice, it’s not even stereotypes.”

- Annick, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

These positive perceptions of Asians, as hard-working, well educated, and upstanding citizens are set in contrast to that of their Black counterparts, who are often attributed negative stereotypes, as Annick points out above. Maude, a 33 year-old Vietnamese second generation woman agrees about the “clichés” or “stereotypes” often attributed to the Black community that set them at a disadvantage for discrimination as compared to Asians. She has « *l’impression que les minorités comme les Haïtiens ou les Jamaïcains sont plus pris pour des paresseux et un petit peu nonchalants, moins travaillants* » (“the impression that the minorities like Haitians and Jamaicans are made out to be lazy, and a little bit nonchalant, less hard working.”).

As a result of these “clichés” that are reproduced in the media, including the news, there is a belief among participants that there are more tangible negative consequences for Black citizens versus Asians. Nancy, a 20 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant describes the change in attitude she notices when she is with her Haitian boyfriend.

“I guess because of the colour of the skin. Cause me, when I was out with my boyfriend who is Haitian, I don’t know, I feel like they look at us as, that’s an odd couple. They would serve us differently, I feel like they’re more aggressive towards him. I guess it’s cause the colour of the skin, they’re more... people are... not afraid but in a way disrespect them.”

The consequence in this case is differential service and a lack of respect for members of the Black community. For others, like Annick mentioned above, the outcome is racial profiling that leads to the increased scrutiny by police forces and store clerks as discussed above. This is compared directly to the belief among participants in a lack of wide spread scrutiny for Asians in Quebec. Immanuel describes a situation where he believes he was spared police scrutiny because of his race.

“One time I was at my friend’s, and we were at... in the metro, and I was the only Asian guy, and the rest was just Black people. And the police stopped us, and I didn’t get searched but the rest of my friends did get searched, and I didn’t get. And I realized it’s like oh, they were all Black and I was the only Asian guy. Yea. I’ve seen a lot but I don’t remember. That’s just the one that really stuck out. [...] Obviously they didn’t find anything, but they just searched us for no reason, and I don’t know. They were mad, I felt really bad afterwards.”

The 19 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant remembers this experience as one that emphasises the difference in stereotypes attributed to his Black friends versus himself as an Asian man. In this case, his race was a privilege above that of his Black friends. Similarly, Nicolas, a Haitian 27 year-old second generation immigrant believes that in some cases, Asians can use their race to their advantage, while because of the image of them present in society, Black men will be subject to discrimination in schools and by police.

“One of my friends he’s Vietnamese, he was selling drugs and everything. He got the best grade, and the teacher didn’t know that. If he was a black dude, he’d be in jail right now. He’d be having 20%. Those people could take advantage. The police is coming, they could do whatever they want. That’s the way I see it. [If there were a group of Asians and a group of Black people], they’re gonna go straight to the black people. You can’t put everybody in the same boat, cause I don’t like to do that. Some police, they’re gonna go 50-50. But 90% of the police, they’re gonna go straight to the black one. And 10% they’re gonna go see both.”

This is not to say that Asian participants did not report or experience negative discrimination, nor are their experiences any less empirically important, but rather, I am drawing attention to the idea that these participants recognise that the stereotypes and images pervasive in society result in differential treatment across racial and ethnic lines. Participants recognise this, even if

individually, participants do not believe that they experience discrimination or choose not report the discrimination that they face as discrimination because of lack of tangible consequences or intention on the part of the perpetrator. Therefore, some participants see a “privilege” to being subject to Asian stereotypes in contrast to stereotypes attributed to Black people because of the general nature of the stereotypes. This does not make it any less discriminatory, but rather participants were likely to compare their experiences relative to their perception of others’ experiences.

There are also different stereotypes attributed to groups within a race, but many participants explained that in general, members of the majority tended not to be able to differentiate between groups. A common narrative is to lump all Asian groups together, under a monolithic often misidentified Chinese identity. This is in contrast to research on Filipino groups in the rest of Canada where it is reported that they are often excluded from the model minority Asian stereotype (Mendoza, 2012). When distinctions were made, the differences pointed out were often related to domains of work. For example, Vietnamese as medical, business, or IT professionals, versus Filipinos in paid domestic or cleaning work. As for differences between Anglo-Caribbeans and Haitians, the same negative images persisted across both groups, related to criminality and lack of education.

### **7.3.2. Gender**

Some Black female participants also saw that their gender as female, provided certain “privileges”, in relation to their Black male counterparts. As women, the stereotypes attributed to men in the Black community were perceived not to be attributed to women as often, if at all in their individual cases. France and Beatrice demonstrate this sentiment in the following quotes:

*« Moi, je n'ai jamais vécu de difficultés. J'ai toujours été première de classe avant même les vrais petits Québécois et je n'ai jamais eu à être confrontée à aucune situation de discrimination. J'ai mis dans le questionnaire, j'en ai peut-être mis, un petit peu juste pour dire parce que je vois des situations plus systémique, mais moi, ma personne... en plus, je suis une fille. Souvent, quand c'est une personne noire, c'est souvent les garçons qui seront plus victimes. Les filles, pas vraiment. Je parle comme une Québécoise et je m'habille mainstream, donc c'est sûr que je ne vais pas nécessairement être moi-même victime de discrimination. »*

(“Me, I have never experienced difficulties. I have always been top of the class before even the true little Québécois and I have never had to be confronted by any situation of discrimination. I put in the questionnaire, I may have put a little bit just to say because I see the situations more systemic, but me, my person...and plus, I am a girl. Often, when it is a black person, it is often the boys who are will be victims more. The girls, not really. And I talk like a Québécois, and I dress mainstream, so it is certain that I am not going to necessarily be myself a victim of discrimination.”)

- France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« [... E]n tant que femme qui s'habille comme il le faut... si je suis avec mon frère ou avec les amis de mon frère qui sont des hommes noirs, là, je vais voir une certaine discrimination, mais pas nécessairement quand je suis toute seule ou quand je suis avec d'autres amis qui sont Blancs ou peu importe. »*

(“ [... A]s a woman who dresses as one should, if I am with my brother or with his friends who are Black men, I am going to see a certain discrimination, but not necessarily when I am alone or when I am with my other friends who are white or whatever.”)

- Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Both women believe that their gender has functioned as a privilege that helps them mitigate the type of discrimination that particularly their male counterparts experience. At least two other Haitian participants described situations where their brothers or male cousins were subject to police scrutiny, and we have seen above that participants have witnessed discrimination towards their Black boyfriends. While some Black women did report being racially profiled in stores and by police and security forces, they recognised that their male counterparts were subject to this type of discrimination much more often than themselves, and they point to gender, as one of the reasons why they might escape this increased scrutiny.

This analysis is not intended to discount the prevalence of gendered discrimination present in society, particularly when it intersects with race, as highlighted Black feminist scholars<sup>92</sup>.

However, very few participants discussed their position as women of colour as disadvantageous and how it may have affected their experiences. I am not arguing that this is not relevant in the Quebec context, but rather participants perhaps chose to focus on only certain types of discrimination, given the stated topic of my research.

As we can see from the quotes above, the two women are aware of their own social position, as characteristics that may provide privilege to them in being able to avoid discrimination.

Furthermore, these privileges are not one dimensional, but rather they intersect with each other.

In addition to gender, the way that they dress, the way that they speak, and who their friends may be, are factors that these women believe may have prevented them from facing discrimination head-on, despite their recognition that discrimination is ever-present in society and affects others.

All of these factors together can be related to a perceived class or socio-economic status that others may recognise in them, which may mitigate the negative stereotypes that are often associated with members of their racial category.

### **7.3.3. Class**

“I never really experienced the racism questions, or prejudice questions. I never experienced that I think partly just because I grew up in what you would consider a good neighbourhood. Not particularly diverse, but just... I think it had to do with class. Just a good neighbourhood, so I was just never exposed to that. So I think that made a difference. But I know people who have had that, but just lived in other neighbourhoods. [...] I think a lot of it has to do with location. That's all I wanted to mention. I think... I think it depends on where you are. From my experience in the south shore, I rarely had any.”

- Abby, a 34 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

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<sup>92</sup> See Collins (1991) and Crenshaw (1991) as examples.

Where one lives or grew up in Montreal can be an indication of one's socio-economic status, and for many participants, the neighbourhoods where they have lived have served as a point of privilege in terms of confronting racism and discrimination. Abby for example, grew up in the suburbs, which are often thought of as the beacon of middle-class living (Mieszkowski & Mills, 1993). She found that despite the lack of diversity in her neighbourhood, she did not experience discrimination, but is aware that family and friends have experienced it in other parts of Montreal. The main indicator for her is neighbourhood, which to her denotes a specific class or socio-economic status. She is not alone in this sentiment; Oscar and France note that in certain neighbourhoods that are known to be more working class, the experience of their cohort is much different.

“I’m part of the Filipino community but my circumstances are different. [...] I’m part of the Filipino community but not really because of certain privileges, and I don’t really speak Tagalog when a lot of people do. I don’t live in Cote-des-Neiges, when a lot of people do. That kind of thing... and my parents were able to climb to the middle-class respectability, which is almost impossible now for a lot of Filipino youth because of the LCP, things like that, certain policies.”

- Oscar, a 30-something Filipino second generation immigrant

*« [C]’est quand t’es en bas que c’est plus difficile pour, c’est plus difficile pour quelqu’un qui, c’est plus ça que la discrimination va s’effectuer, c’est plus ça. On va le voir, les histoires de, à Montréal-Nord de comme on a vu il y a 5 ans, de profilage, les policiers vont être plus craintifs, tandis que tu vas avoir le même nombre de jeunes habillés de la même manière, mais qui vont avoir une autre couleur de peau dans une autre quartier, mais là, ça va être correct, mais là, ils vont être plus méfiants*

(“[I]t is when you are at the bottom that it is more difficult for, it is more difficult for someone who, it is more that discrimination is going to effect you. It is more this. We are going to see, the stories of, in Montreal-Nord that like we saw 5 years ago, the profiling, the police are going to be more scared, while you are going to have the same number of youth dressed in the same way, but who are going to have another skin colour in another neighbourhood, but there, this will be ok, but there, they are going to be more threatened.”)

- France, a 23 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

Oscar goes on to speak about the specific privileges that he believes he benefits from; the fact that he was able to go to university, the fact that he was born here, that he is heterosexual, as well as the neighbourhood he lives in, affords him privileges that alleviate the degree of

discrimination he sees happening in the Filipino community today. Cote-des-Neiges is a Montreal neighbourhood that has the highest concentration of Filipinos, and comparably, Montreal-Nord is a highly populated Haitian neighbourhood. France notes that in this more working class neighbourhood, there is more policing and racial profiling, than in the suburban neighbourhood that she grew up in, where she was able to avoid that increased police scrutiny.

Both Oscar and France believe that their cohorts living in more working class neighbourhoods, which are heavily populated with visible minorities, are more likely to face discrimination than they are. However, as we saw above, the way people are dressed can indicate a certain class status that allows some people to mitigate the discrimination they might be faced with. Erin recounts her experience in high school where she attended a private school that was next door to a public school.

“The [public] school was made up mostly of Blacks and Latinos, and there [were] police officers at the metro patrolling all the time. And because I was wearing a uniform, and I guess because I was a girl also, but because I was wearing a private school uniform, they didn’t see me as a threat, right? Whereas a girl who looked exactly like me would be told to get out of the metro, I wouldn’t be approached at all to get out of the metro. The police never approached me at all.”

The 26 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant is able to isolate her school uniform, a strong indicator of her class background, as a privilege that allowed her to avoid the racial profiling of police. Not only does she recognise that the public school teenagers were more policed because they were minorities (“Blacks and Latinos”), but she also notes that as a Black teenager, if she were not in that uniform, she feels she certainly would have been approached by police officers. For Erin, the uniform signals a certain socio-economic status and education that contradicts the stereotypes that are often associated with Black youth.



Another indicator that participants mentioned served as a privilege was having a white friend network. This can be related to the neighbourhood in which people lived or grew up in, as different neighbourhood provide different pools from which to select friends. While having a white social circle may not necessarily be an indicator of class, it functions as a signal that again may fly in the face of the common stereotypes associated with minoritised citizens, particularly when it comes to dealing with police and security services.

“I feel like I’m not... maybe because I was raised in a white suburban area of Montreal, I feel like I haven’t been exposed to that many discrimination, compared to anybody else, I don’t know. Like, I’ve been in really uneasy situations where the discrimination was subtle, and you’re just like... but what do you mean by what you just said? Like why are you saying this, where are you going with this? Police and security services, I haven’t really been confronted with any discrimination whatsoever.”

-Annick, a 19 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

*« C’est vrai que dans les places que je sortais quand j’étais plus jeune, ils en laissaient pas rentrer. C’est des choses comme ça, mais ça ne m’affecte pas tant personnellement. Moi, je le vois parce que mon cercle d’amis est plus blanc... je pense que c’est plus facile de passer entre les trous. Quand t’es dans un magasin toute seule, non... Tu te fais suivre et je suis comme «ok, c’est correct...Je ne rien voler dans mon sac à main.» C’est pour ça que j’ai mis moyennement. Personnellement, ce que j’ai vécu, ce n’est pas tant, comme directement... à part dans les magasins... »*

(“It is true that in the places that I went to when I was younger, they didn’t let them [Latino and Black people] go in [the club]. It is things like this, but it does not affect me personally. Me, I see this because my circle of friends is more white. I think that it is easier to pass under the radar. When you are in a store alone - no. You will be followed and I am like ‘ok, that’s fine, I didn’t steal anything in my purse’. It is because of this that I put moderately. Personally, this is what I have experiences, this is not so, like directly, besides from in stores.”)

- Beatrice, a 27 year-old Haitian second generation immigrant

What is apparent in these experiences of Annick and Beatrice is that they know they are not immune to discrimination, but when they are in a more predominantly white neighbourhood or when they are with their white friends, they find they experience less discrimination or a different type. In the case of Annick, she still experienced microaggressions, but has been spared the effects of racial profiling because of where she lives, her way of dress, and who her friends may be. Similarly, when alone, Beatrice is subject to racial profiling in stores, but if she is with

her friends, who she describes as predominantly white, she is not subject to the same discrimination as some of her cohorts.

Participants often see racial profiling as a clear indication that discrimination is taking place, and tend to position their own experience in comparison to this. This often leads to the minimisation and reluctance to name microaggressions as discrimination, as has been demonstrated throughout this chapter. While having a white friend network can aid in alleviating the potential of being stopped or followed, it is not the only domain in which one can benefit.

*« Comme à Montréal, c'est comme ça que j'ai trouvé un appartement. C'est mes amis Blancs qui ont trouvé un appartement et ensuite on est allé... mais j'ai pas visité l'appartement comme tout seul parce que je sais que ça ne donnerait pas grand chose. Mais il y a un risque que ça ne donnerait rien, tandis que si c'est quelqu'un d'autre qui y va, le risque est amoindri à quasiment zéro. Donc, c'est moins de trouble et pendant qu'ils font ça, moi, je peux faire d'autres choses (rires). Il faut voir le côté positif. »*

(“Like in Montreal, it is like this that I found an apartment. It is my white friends who found an apartment and then we went, but I did not visit the apartment alone because I know that this will do much. But there is a risk that it will do nothing, while if it is someone else who goes there, the risk is lessened to basically zero. So it is less trouble and while they do that, me I can do other things (laughs). You must see the positive side.”)

Gilles keeps a sense of humour about the situation he often is presented with, in which he finds it much easier to secure an apartment when he sends his white friends to scope out an apartment for him. He explains that in the past, on his own he was always unable to secure an apartment for himself. With this tactic, he is able to get in the door, rather than being told that the apartment is no longer available once he arrives and the landlord sees that he is Black, despite being told on the telephone earlier that it was available. For Gilles, presenting that he has white friends also is a way to signal to the landlord that he is perhaps not what he may think, and prevent any potential discrimination on the part of the landlord.

*« Ma cousine n'a pas été capable de se trouver un appartement pendant longtemps. Personne ne voulait lui louer, comme moi, j'avais un appart avec deux colloques qui étaient blanches, comme*

*on ne travaillait pas, on était toutes étudiantes. C'était compliqué parce qu'on voulait habiter au Plateau, mais elle ne se faisait pas habiter... on la faisait rejeter et elle était infirmière, son chum était informaticien, ils travaillaient les deux. Moi, j'avais comme 24 et elle avait comme 33 et elle n'arrivait pas à se trouver un appartement. »*

(“My cousin was not capable of finding herself an apartment for a long time. No one wanted to rent to her, like me, I had an apartment with two roommates who were white, like we didn’t work, we were students. It was complicated because we wanted to live on the Plateau, but she did not find a place to live. She was rejected and she was a nurse, her boyfriend was a in IT, they both worked. I was 24 years old and she was like 33 and she never did find an apartment.”)

This quote from Darlène similarly demonstrates the privilege that can be extended by landlords when renting to white people without discrimination. What is notable in this story is that neither her professional career nor gender worked to the favour of Darlène’s cousin. Rather Darlène believes her cousin’s race prevented her from finding an apartment, while Darlène was able to avoid this discrimination by seeking an apartment with two white friends.

#### **7.3.4. Language Abilities**

“I am afraid they might discriminate [laughs] against me so speak French as much as I can. [...] So, maybe also that's what's kind of kept me from being discriminated against. I've always been careful.”

- Faye, a 35 year old Filipino second generation immigrant

I do not think that anyone can argue that language is not a contentious and prominent issue in Quebec politics, and at one time or another, each participant spoke about the issue of language in Quebec to some degree. In regards to discrimination, knowledge and use of the French language was often spoken about as an advantage in which participants believed helped them avoid discrimination. This opinion is informed by their own experiences, experiences in which they have witnessed or have happened to close friends or family, or by incidents in which they read in the news. All participants had some knowledge of the both English and French, and only one Anglophone participant described their French as basic. Others who went to French primary and secondary schools expressed that they were not confident in their French language skills, but knew enough to “get by”. In contrast, all Francophone participants also spoke some English,

with a few participants saying that they could only speak the language in casual conversation, but were much more confident in French.

Faye's quote above demonstrates a sentiment and defence mechanism employed by some Anglophone participants. By having the ability to speak French, Anglophone participants can strategically use their French in situations when they think they may be discriminated against. The potential risky situations are evaluated based on their own past experience, experiences of those close to them, as well as those that they read in the news. Conversely, I did not have any Francophone participants describe feelings of animosity within Quebec in which they felt they were required to speak English in order to avoid discrimination. However, this animosity was felt when participants were in other parts of Canada, which was reported in the section 6.1.2.2. There are certainly cases in which Francophones feel compelled to speak English while in Quebec, such as a personal interaction with a unilingual Anglophone or tourist, or for dealing with people outside of Quebec for work, or simply working in a more Anglophone environment, but the second generation participants of this study did not describe such experiences.

"I noticed that there's still a little racism, but it's not, I find that it's not, there isn't as much outrage over someone's ethnicity, as opposed to someone who speaks a language that they don't want spoken. I mean, you could still be Caucasian, and if you're English, they will not like that."

Catherine, a 29 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant, thinks that most of the discrimination in Quebec is often linguistically based, and believes that White Anglophones in Quebec are just as likely to be treated poorly as Anglophones from visible minority groups. This calls back to a quote from Leon in chapter 5, who states that Québécois are "not xenophobic, they're just anti-English." While Abby agrees that speaking French has certainly benefited her,

the fact that she is a racial minority in Quebec, she believes acts as an audible indicator that may invite discrimination.

“I think it is partly because I spoke French from the get go. I think that made people at ease. I think it makes a difference. When you go to a store, and speak to the sales person in French... My husband always gets a different reaction than me. I think it has to do with the language. I can *parler* in the language that they are comfortable in, and so people are at ease. [...] People are put at ease when they feel "Oh she's one of us," You know what I mean? Even though I am not racially one of us, but I am speaking French. I think the language is a big thing.”

Participants believes that being a racial minority can invite discrimination because of the assumption of immigrant status and therefore a non-fluency in the language, or even a preference for the English language over French. One way that this is demonstrated was presented earlier in this chapter where many participants describe often surprising other Francophones with their fluency in French. They are often assumed to either be foreign, or to speak better English than French.

Like the participants above, once Abby presents herself as French speaking, she finds that she has more pleasant interactions, compared to her husband who is not as fluent. She finds that speaking French with a native French speaker will “put [people] at ease”, by demonstrating that there are fewer differences between themselves and the majority Québécois population. Evelyn, Brenda, and Hector feel the same way and find they get similar reactions.

“So this is something that I consciously do for example. If I go to an establishment, or if I have to talk to somebody, I make a conscious effort to speak to them in their language, because my things is like [...] “I’m like you, I can speak your language” so that is not like “this Anglophone person something something,” It minimizes the amount of them seeing you like different, and then therefore... there being just misunderstanding in general. As much as they feel like you’re like them, then it’s cool.”

- Evelyn, a 32 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

“They probably think that immigrants are taking their jobs, the usual rhetoric that racist disgruntled people feel. Yea, I feel like they kind of push that on people who don’t speak French

fluently, also. I mean, I haven't encountered it that much, because I can speak French. If someone won't speak to me in English, I can just switch on them, and I get a great response. I think they just like to see that you try."

- Brenda, a 32 year-old Anglo-Caribbean second generation immigrant

"[...W]henver you are out in public, you're sort of shy to speak English. And if you do speak English, they respond to you in French. So that's, I don't think, it's not discrimination, it's just you don't; feel 100% comfortable. I don't think I call it discrimination. I call it lack of comfort. You can't completely be yourself, cause I'm Anglophone, but when I'm out in public, even to my own family, if I'm out in the same store with my own family, if I wanna talk to them across the aisle, I wouldn't yell out and start talking to them in English, I don't know why I wouldn't do that, but I don't do it."

- Hector, a 19 year-old Filipino second generation immigrant

Both Evelyn and Brenda make a conscious effort to use French to avoid discrimination, and have found that it has worked in their case. Hector, while he does speak French, he describes himself as far more comfortable in English. His strategy is to generally avoid detection as an Anglophone to avoid discrimination. His actions are informed by events he hears about in the news and social media.

"There's YouTube videos of people in the metro, stories in the news about people, not just people in the metro but ticketeers [sic] in the ticket booths in the metro who don't wanna serve people. [...] I hear about it, and it's not like it doesn't exist so that's the reason why I don't really need to get into that."<sup>93</sup>

Hector believes that linguistic discrimination occurs in Quebec society and like the others, employs tactics that will help him avoid potential discrimination. For participants above, they have the appropriate human capita in the form of French language abilities that may mitigate some potential discrimination. Because of their conscious efforts, they are aware that the discrimination is possible and aware that certain groups, like new immigrants, may be at risk more often, even if they report low levels of personal discrimination.

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<sup>93</sup> Within a one month period in October 2012, there were two incidents in which Montreal public transit workers were investigated for alleged poor treatment or refusal of service to English speaking clients. The first incident involved an STM worker who posted a sign in his ticket booth that roughly translated into "In Quebec, we operate in French", and the second incident involved a physical altercation between a transit worker and a woman who was seeking services in English (CBC News, 2012b).

As with Abby above, Nancy's opinion about the extent of linguistic discrimination in society is informed by the experiences of members of her family, in this case, her parents. So while she might not report many personal experiences with discrimination, she has seen her parents struggle with learning French and the consequences of that.

"My mom's like oh can I have a ticket, and the guy would be like you don't speak French, I'm not gonna serve you. [...] she didn't do anything about it. She's like okay, forget it. Kind of unfair. I know my mom's thinking okay, when you're done school, I think I'm gonna go back to the Philippines. I guess they're here because of me. They want me to have a better life. [...] They've struggled a lot, I've seen them struggle. They get treated like shit, I guess because of that. They're trying to learn French, not working but they're trying."

Race, gender, class, and language skills are just some of the demographic characteristics that these second generation immigrant perceive as providing advantages or disadvantages in terms of being the target of potential discrimination. This does not necessarily hold for discrimination categorised as microaggressions, but rather is often associated with discrimination related to aggressive behaviour, differential treatment or lack of service, or racial profiling. The recognition of their own social location as a potential privilege, shows a recognition of the presence of discrimination in society and that different groups experience it in different ways, whether or not it is intended or unintended, explicit versus subtle, or through an individual interaction or systemic and institutional.

There were certainly other demographic characteristics of intersection that participants mentioned, such as, age, being heterosexual, having a Québécois sounding name, domain of work, and the exceptionalism of living in Montreal versus the regions of Quebec. However, I chose to present some of the more prominent themes in this chapter. The unique characteristics of Montreal, as perceived by participants, are discussed at length in chapter 4. Finally, these conclusions are not intended to imply that certain demographic characteristics always function as

an advantage or a disadvantage in all domains of life, but rather in relation to certain types of discrimination present in Quebec society, participants point to these as potential privileges.

#### **7.4. Conclusion**

This chapter uncovers a larger more nuanced understanding among second generation immigrants of the presence of discrimination in Québécois society. By focusing on personal incidents of self-defined discrimination, I find that participants often underreported or did not report their experiences with discrimination that they deemed inconsequential, unintentional, or not easily identifiable as discriminatory. These microaggressions are often described with euphemisms that remove intention of the perpetrator to harm, but may result in some participants sense of exclusion from mainstream Québécois society.

As presented at the beginning of the chapters, there is certainly a divide in terms of who experiences racial profiling and other more overt forms of discrimination, with both the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean male participants all reporting experiences of being racially profiled. A number of the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean women also described incidents of racial profiling by police and security services, as well as in stores, but not to as often as their male counterparts. Furthermore, only one Filipino man mentioned incidents of racial profiling, and no Vietnamese participants reported similar experiences. This finding supports the previous literature on these populations in Quebec (see section 1.6).

However, being confronted with microaggressions is common across all four groups, but there is some variation on the types of microaggressions that are experienced by Filipino and Vietnamese participants versus Haitian and the Anglo-Caribbean participants. Participants across the four



groups experience microaggressions concerning the assumption of immigrant status, as well as the universalisation of experiences across racial category, meaning that the differentiation of ethnic differences are not recognised within a category (eg. All Asians are Chinese). However, other stereotypes and assumptions underlying these negative interactions can be seen as contrastingly positive and negative, depending on a participant's real or perceived racial category. For example, Vietnamese and Filipinos were often expected to excel in their studies, while Haitian and Anglo-Caribbeans were not. This is reflected in the quotes above in section 7.1.

Furthermore, the underreporting or non-reporting of personal incidents of discrimination does not necessarily imply that participants do not think that discrimination is occurring in more systemic, institutional, and hidden ways, whether it is intended or not. While I was able to uncover these sentiments in participants across the four target groups given the format of my research, it was certainly not a majority who discussed discrimination in this way, with specific examples of how systemic inequalities are produced and reproduced in society. However, participants across groups were able to recognise that the potential for discrimination exists and that personal experiences with discrimination may depend on one's social location on a number of demographic characteristics, such as race, gender, class, and language abilities, or potentially other indicators of these characteristics.

The research finds that many participants report low incidence or no incidence of discrimination, but still recognise the presence of discrimination that does and can have an effect on members of their community or other visible minority communities in their society. Despite not reporting it

as discrimination, microaggressions can have the cumulative effect of producing feelings of exclusion and otherness. Furthermore, a personal experience with discrimination is not necessary to recognise that discrimination and racism are relevant issues in your society, and these may factor into the negotiation that second generation immigrants have in regards to their Québécois and Canadian identity. By looking at this more nuanced picture of discrimination and racism, there appears to be more similarities across racial and ethnic, as well as linguistic groups, than when focusing on reported incidents of discrimination and racism. Furthermore, these “non-incidents” can have the similar effect of creating feelings of exclusion in society.

Finally, while much of the quotes and analysis centred on life in Quebec and referred directly to Québécois society and institutions, I am not making the argument that these experiences of racial profiling, microaggressions, or systemic discrimination is unique to the Quebec context. In fact, much of the theory drawn on for analysis is based on evidence from other jurisdictions, and has been applied to other parts of Canada as well. The focus on the Quebec context is due to the fact that all participants have grown up and lived in Quebec for most, if not all of their lives and are drawing from their own lived experiences, rather than that of the abstract knowledge that they have with similar jurisdictions, such other parts of Canada and the United States.

The previous five chapters have presented the various considerations that second generation immigrants have when negotiating their Québécois and Canadian identities, and between these identities. Chapters 3 and 4 discuss the civic, political, and cultural aspects of Quebec society that are considered by second generation immigrants in Quebec on where the boundaries are drawn around Québécois identity. Chapter 5 explores the negotiation between essentialist ideas

about Québécois identity that second generation immigrants see as being promoted by the majority through politics, media, and everyday interactions, and their own feelings of belonging to Québécois society. The disidentification that occurs is the use of strategies employed by second generation immigrants in Quebec in order to cope with these often conflicting views. Chapter 6 explores the largely civic criteria that second generation immigrants from Quebec activate when negotiating their Canadian identity, but that much of their understandings about Canadian identity are rooted in an indifference or lack of experience with Canada, outside of Quebec. Finally, this current chapter explores the understandings of the presence of discrimination and racism in society and how those are factored into second generation immigrants' negotiation of their mainly Québécois, but also Canadian identity. The final concluding chapter summarises the major findings of this research, but also reviews the major contributions of this dissertation, and limitations and implications for future research.

## 8. Conclusion

This dissertation explores how second generation immigrants negotiate the various and potentially competing host identities with which they are presented, particularly in a minority nationalism situation. Using Quebec, Canada as a case study, qualitative interviews were conducted with four different groups of second generation immigrants based on predominant racial category and official language.

There are three research questions that guided this research project:

- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Québécois identity?**
- **How do second generation immigrants from visible minority groups negotiate their Canadian identity?**
- **How do second generation immigrants perceive and experience discrimination and racism, and what effect do these perceptions and experiences have on their national Québécois and Canadian identities?**

The empirical results of this dissertation are presented in five chapters, three of which concern how second generation immigrants negotiate Québécois identity (chapters 3 to 5), one in regards to how Canadian identity is negotiated (chapter 6), and the last chapter explores how discrimination is experienced and understood by second generation immigrants in their various communities (chapter 7).

In this concluding chapter, I present the summary of findings of these empirical chapters.

I address the issue of competing host national identities between the sub-nationalism of Quebec, and the larger nation-state of Canada, as well as the potentially competing visions of national

identity within each nation. In addition, due to the comparative nature of the research design, I will also summarise the interactive role that language and race play in the process of negotiation of these competing host national identities, particularly within Québécois identity. Throughout this summary, I explore some of the limitations of the findings, and suggest implications or opportunities for future research. The last section explores the generalisability of the findings of this case study beyond Quebec.

### **8.1. *Québécois Identity: Paradoxically Civic & Ethnic***

Top-down state nationalism in Quebec is expressed as one that is civic in nature. This is expressed in official interculturalism and in government documentation concerning immigrant integration. Despite this state-defined civic designation for the Québécois nation, second generation immigrants understand Québécois identity as consisting of both civic characteristics that permit them to identify as Québécois, and ethnically French-Canadian characteristics that have the potential to result in feelings of exclusion. These contradictory understandings are not only across individuals and groups, but also present within individuals and groups.

While civic and ethnic nationalism have often been situated as ideal types, this dissertation further confirms that Québécois and Canadian national boundaries have both inclusive (civic) and exclusive (ethnic) boundaries that second generation immigrants interpret to different degrees (Bloemraad, Korteweg, & Yurdakul, 2008; Zubrzycki, 2002). They can interpret conflicting or contradictory messages from external sources, and they themselves have internally paradoxical understandings about what characteristics are or should be salient for membership in the nation.

Civic definitions of Québécois identity presented by participants include living in Quebec, working and paying taxes in Quebec, and voting in local and provincial elections. Speaking French can also be considered a civic criterion when participants do not require full fluency nor having it as one's maternal language. These "purely" civic definitions allow these second generation immigrants to identify themselves as Québécois, however some participants add the caveat of birthright. This "ethnic" criterion of a Quebec birthplace would then exclude immigrants, including many participants' parents.

There are other civic-political markers of Québécois society with which participants identify and appreciate. For example, participants generally identify with the socialist and leftist values and institutions they associate with Quebec relative to the rest of Canada or other parts of the world. There is also an appreciation of the French language and their own abilities to speak French, as well as a respect for the motivations behind wanting to protect and promote the French language and Québécois culture through policy and potentially an independent and sovereign Quebec.

However, within the understanding and appreciative narratives of these second generation immigrants, they also recognise that there are often contradictions within political discourses and policies that favour ethnic French-Canadians in lieu of their own preferred values of multilingualism and diversity. Therefore, while second generation immigrants can choose to identify with certain civic values or characteristics, they are critical about the implicit boundaries that certain civic values create and promote concerning the Québécois nation. Participants are particularly critical of the limitations that language policies and the pursuit of sovereignty place on their desire for multilingualism and respect of diversity. For example, Bill 101, which is

intended to encourage French language acquisition and the use of French in the public sphere, is viewed as at times extreme and at the expense of bilingualism.

At the same time, participants are equally concerned that a focus on the more cultural issues may be at the expense of other more pressing economic issues. This is particularly true in regards to second generation immigrants' wariness with the economic and logistical outcomes of successful sovereignty. Second generation immigrants continue to perceive boundaries between ethnic French-Canadians and non-French-Canadians, embedded within the civic values that they themselves and the state have identified as Québécois.

This contradiction is also extended to the cultural aspects of Québécois identity that second generation immigrants use to negotiate their identity. The food culture, arts and entertainment, and the societal values that participants define as Québécois, operate as facilitators of Québécois identity for some participants, but also have the potential to act as a barrier because of the strong ethnic French-Canadian background that these cultural markers are rooted in. The division of access, interest, and knowledge of the Francophone arts and entertainment industry in Quebec particularly demonstrate this dual function. Those who swayed towards more English language media found themselves more likely excluded from Québécois identification, while those who followed French language media were able to use arts and entertainment as a passageway to identification.

Contradictory roles are a pattern that appears numerous times in relation to Québécois identity among the second generation. The civic and inclusive understandings of Québécois identity are

set in contrast to the ethnic limitations and boundaries that participants perceive in regards to Québécois identity. This is also true for the role that the local urban identification with Montreal plays in these second generation immigrants' negotiation of their host national identities, particularly their Québécois identity.

The Montrealer identity emerged in the research as a strong identity that functions both as a facilitator and a competitor to potential host national identities. For participants, Montreal represents the multicultural exception within Quebec; Montrealer identity is understood as more inclusive, while the regions are seen as ethnically French-Canadian. Participants would either prefer to identify as Montrealers rather than Québécois, or would use their identification with Montreal as a way to identify with the Québécois identity.

This finding could certainly be a consequence of the sample being made up of people who were currently living in Montreal, while responses from comparable populations in the regions may differ. Methodological limitations prevented me from sampling in the regions of Quebec; I did make attempts to sample participants in other locations in Quebec, but was unable to procure interviews. The small population in which to draw from in the regions and the difficulty in finding participants through both immigrant and general service organisations, certainly contributed to these limitations.

Nonetheless, the sample of participants is drawn from all over the Montreal CMA, offering diversity in terms of neighbourhood demographics and amenities, which differs greatly from the island of Montreal to the suburbs. Furthermore, a few participants had spent significant periods



of their childhood in rural areas of Quebec, as well as a number of participants describe time spent in the regions, either working, going to school, visiting, or vacationing. This variety of experiences and perspectives tended to exacerbate their positive perceptions of and appreciation for Montreal relative to the regions.

Previous studies have illustrated the strength of regional identities (Mimeault, LeGall, & Simard, 2001) and the appreciation for life in Montreal (L. J. Dorais & Richard, 2007), but have not described the Montrealer identity as a prominent alternative or pathway to other host national identities. Future comparable research could investigate whether or not the process of negotiation of Québécois and Canadian identity differs for second generation immigrants in the regions of Quebec, or in non-urban areas. Furthermore, future research could also further explore the role of regional or metropolitan identities in the process of negotiation of national identities, not only in the Quebec context, but also in relation to any national identity. Of particular comparative interest would be to sample second generation immigrants in Toronto in regards to negotiating their Canadian identity, or comparable populations in major metropolitan cities in minority national situations, such as Belfast in Scotland, or Barcelona in Catalonia.

These paradoxical understandings of Québécois identity described above, do not only exist within individuals based on their personal sense of agency and preferences, but rather are also communicated to second generation immigrants through different state and non-state actors. Therefore, while identity has an element of self-definition, the choices in which these second generation immigrants have access to, are constrained by how the boundaries around Québécois identity are communicated by various actors.

While the official policy regarding Québécois citizenship is civic in nature, based on a common set of civic values, participants interpret exclusionary messages from multiple sources in society, through their own interactions with members of the dominant majority, through the media, as well as through policy or political discourse of politicians and political parties. For this sample of second generation immigrants, exclusionary messages are centred around three major criteria – language, accent, and race. However, despite these feelings of exclusion, a non-identification or counter identification with Québécois identity is not always observed; instead they disidentify.

Disidentifications (Muñoz, 1999) are the strategies that minorities employ in order to identify with a seemingly fixed essentialist identity, in this case, French Canadian. Even if second generation immigrants feel as if they may be excluded from being Québécois because of their accent, language preference, or race, this does not necessarily mean that they do not identify as Québécois, but rather they often disidentify by redrawing the boundaries of what it means to be Québécois in order to include themselves. Therefore, feelings of exclusion and awareness that a version of the nation is rooted in a French-Canadian essentialist identity, does not necessarily result in non-identification, but rather can result in a (dis)identification with Québécois identity in spite of this belief.

This is not to say that language, accent, and race are the only characteristics that exclude, but for these specific four groups, they were the most frequently mentioned. In the western world, particularly in the post-9/11 war on terror, right-wing republican sentiments regarding immigration issues have been on the rise. In Quebec, the reasonable accommodation debates in

2007 and the more recent debate on the Charter of Values in 2013 are examples of this. In both of these cases, the centre of the debates were minority religious groups, but in particular, issues targeting Muslim men and women were the most sensationalised in the media. Future research could certainly benefit by adding in additional comparison groups to look at other axes of exclusion such as religion.

Furthermore, the participants in this study are participants who have actively chosen to remain in Quebec. It may very well be the case that those second generation immigrants who felt the most excluded may have left the province for other places in Canada. Future research could include finding comparable second generation immigrant populations who were raised in Quebec, but now live in other parts of Canada, and exploring their process of negotiation and understanding of both Québécois and Canadian identity.

This research was conducted at a time of potential volatility regarding identity issues in Quebec, particularly for minority religious groups. During my field work from Spring 2013 to Spring 2014, the Charter of Values was presented, debated, campaigned on in both Montreal municipal and Quebec provincial elections, and eventually was shelved once the *Parti Québécois* was defeated in Spring 2014, partly due to this precise election issue.

The Charter of Values aimed to further enforce the secularity of the state by restricting the wearing of overt religious symbols for all provincial public service employees, which in Quebec includes hospitals, public day cares, and universities. The introduction of such a polarising policy has the potential to produce extreme results in this research as it expressed certain

limitations of difference in Québécois society. The boundaries that were highlighted with the Charter were mainly in regards to religion and the wearing of religious symbols, and although none of the research participants in this research mentioned that they felt as if it would change their daily practices, they did however express awareness that the Charter of Values presented a challenge to the civic-defined boundaries of the Québécois nation.

Rather than viewing the Charter of Values debate as an event that may limit the generalisability of the results of this research, I argue that the Charter of Values is part and parcel of everyday politics in Quebec. As a result of the minority nationalism context in Quebec, the state is constantly involved in nation-building processes that construct and reaffirm the boundaries of the nation. The Charter of Values is just one example of these practices. This controversy and other issues before it (eg. 2007's Reasonable Accommodation debates) as well those that came after it (eg. 2015's federal election issue regarding the wearing of the niqab during citizenship swearing in ceremonies) garnered much attention in Quebec and in effect reaffirmed the civic based and so-called neutral values of state secularism that help define the Québécois nation, while at the same time, setting limitations on acceptable practices for membership. This paradox is reflected in the narratives of the second generation immigrants in this study not just in relation to the Charter of Values, but also in regards to policies and laws meant to protect and promote the French language and Québécois culture (eg. Bill 101), as well as in discourse concerning Quebec sovereignty. The Charter of Values, while seen as extreme to outsiders, is part of the everyday discourse in Quebec that contributes to the process of negotiation of Québécois (and Canadian) identity for not just second generation immigrants, but also all citizens of Quebec.

## **8.2. Canadian Identity: Civic, but Abstract**

In contrast to the paradoxical civic versus ethnic understandings which second generation immigrants use to negotiate their Québécois identity, for their Canadian identity, the process of negotiation uses primarily civic criteria, and is perceived quite positively. Even the aspects that are viewed negatively are still civic in nature, but are viewed as such because of lack of congruence with participants' personal values and beliefs.

The civic characteristics of Canadian identity in which participants perceive positively are the role of Canada on the international stage, the relatively high quality of life compared to the developing world, the social welfare state, and the promotion of diversity via demographic and official Multiculturalism. While critiques of Canadian Multiculturalism regarding its ethnic limitations were present among the sample, they did not represent a dominant discourse.

The negatively perceived characteristics are also those of a civic-political nature, but their narratives lacked the recognition of ethnic limitations that are observed in regards to Québécois identity. Participants opposed many of the policy positions of the Canadian government under a Conservative Stephen Harper, including but not limited to cuts to the arts, access to abortions, gay marriage, the environment, and increased militarization. Furthermore, support for Canadian unity in relation to Quebec sovereignty is a reason for some second generation immigrants to identify with Canada. While for others, the animosity between English and French Canada both in terms of political and interpersonal relations is an issue that second generation immigrants feel pulls them away from Canadian identity.

Opposition to particular political issues, as well as the strained relations between Quebec and the rest of Canada may have a historically ethnic legacy rooted in the social, economic, and political disadvantages that ethnic French Canadians experienced in relation to ethnic English Canadians across Canada in the early half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (see chapter 1). However, the discourse reveals that Canadian identity for these second generation immigrants in Quebec is being negotiated and contested on personal and territorialized civic-political criteria.

The attachment or lack of attachment to Canadian identity for second generation immigrants in Quebec appears to be based on mainly civic-political criteria. However, the caveat to this argument is that much of their opinions are based on a stated lack of interest, experience, and knowledge of Canada. Most participants had not travelled to other parts of Canada, let alone lived outside of the province of Quebec, meaning that their perspectives and experiences with Canada and Canadian identities are more abstract than their perspectives of Quebec and Québécois identity. Their daily interactions are localised within Quebec and hence their understanding of Québécois identity is much richer and complex than their understanding of Canadian identity. This indifference to and lack of experience with Canada may explain why there is more mixed messaging around Québécois identity, but not with Canadian identity.

While this research explores perceptions of second generation immigrants in Quebec, across Canada, theoretical and empirical critiques on the effect of Multiculturalism point out a discourse of conformity to the dominant majority and the continued marginalisation of non-conforming individuals and groups as evidenced by socio-economic inequities and experiences of discrimination and racism (see chapter 1). Future research could include an expansion of the

comparative model across Canada to explore if the process of negotiation of Canadian identity among second generation immigrants is similar or more critical because of their different localised interactions and lack of a competitive minority nationalism. In other words, in the presence of real and perceived exclusion, but without the more familiar secondary localised national identity, Canadian second generation immigrants in the rest of Canada may attribute more complex and contradictory civic-ethnic conceptions to their default national Canadian identity.

### ***8.3. Competing Host Identities: A False Dichotomy***

The previous two sections summarised the process of negotiation of both Québécois and Canadian identity among second generation immigrants in Quebec. Québécois identity has both civic and ethnic characteristics that are present within individuals, as well as within and across groups. From the perspective of second generation immigrants in Quebec, Canadian identity is negotiated using primarily civic criteria and is dependant on how civic-political characteristics match up with their personal values and beliefs. However, these perceptions of Canadian identity are constructed in an abstract fashion rather than through daily interactions with individuals, media, and political discourse.

In the context of a minority nationalism, such as Quebec, the minority nationalism and the nationalism of the larger nation-state may compete for the loyalties of citizens. This idea of competition may not accurately represent the whole picture. While some participants who feel excluded in Quebec based on their language, accent, or race may reject Québécois identity in favour of Canadian, second generation participants more often identify with both identities, but perhaps for different reasons or in different circumstances (see chapters 3, 4, and 5). For those

who have little experience, knowledge or are indifferent to the rest of Canada, it is not so much that Quebec has won their loyalty, but rather it may be a default choice.

Some may identify for reasons of cultural immersion, while others may feel excluded and (dis)identify with the Québécois identity nonetheless. Participants may equally identify as Québécois, but the narrative of the process of the negotiation reveals a more complex picture that a number tally or descriptive statistics ever can. The qualitative focus of this dissertation is more effective at evaluating the potential success of the civic top-down policies in both Quebec and Canada, as well as provides insight on where potential barriers to inclusion remain, including but not limited to experiences of discrimination and racism.

#### **8.4. *From a Micro to a Macro view of Discrimination***

There is a division in regards to which second generation immigrants in the sample reported being a victim of certain types of discrimination, with the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean participants, particularly the men, describing incidents of racial profiling and racial slurs. These incidents of racial profiling were not experienced to the same degree by their female counterparts, nor by their Filipino or Vietnamese counterparts. These results are generally in line with previous literature concerning second generation immigrants in Quebec (see chapter 1). However, by going beyond what participants might *label* discrimination, a more nuanced understanding of second generation immigrants' experiences with discrimination emerges.

The narrative of minimisation occurs occasionally with even more overt acts of discrimination, but is used more prevalently to describe participants' confrontation with microaggressions. Without a clear motivation, consequence, or intent, participants are likely to minimise their



experiences as something other than discrimination. By looking at microaggressions, the groups appear to have more similarities in terms of prevalence, but still differ in the types of microaggressions that they experience. All groups experienced the “alien in your own land” type of microaggression, but the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean groups also experienced those related to presumed criminality or lack of status, intelligence, or abilities. These results support previous research regarding microaggressions (Sue, 2010). Furthermore, the focus on incidents of discrimination also ignores second generation immigrants’ perceptions of systemic and institutionalised forms of discrimination and racism that they feel may affect their lives, or the lives of other marginalised people in their communities.

Much of the research thus far on microaggressions, focuses on the harmful individual psychological consequences. However, Sue (2010) also notes that microaggressions “affect the quality of life and standard of living for marginalised groups” because they “have the secondary but devastating effect of denying equal access and opportunity to education, employment, and health care. While seemingly minimal in nature, the harm they produce operated in a systematic and macro level” (p. 16).

We can see from the examples of racial microaggressions in chapter 7, participants recognise that microaggressions reveal the potential for discriminatory actions that may adversely affect their ability to secure an apartment, their access to certain job opportunities, and may result in increased police and security service harassment. Because of the innocuous nature of microaggressions and the unlikelihood of people to report such incidences as discrimination, the relationship between social, economic, and political inequities and microaggressions remain

relatively unexplored at the macro-quantitative level. Qualitative work has been essential in shedding light on this relationship, but future research should aim to capture experiences with microaggressions and the understanding of the presence of systemic and institutional discrimination in survey data. By focusing on more than the reported and named incidents of discrimination, this would allow for a more thorough macro-analysis of the relationship between discrimination and inequalities, including any gaps in host national identification.

### **8.5. *The Role Language and Race***

The methodological design of this research was originally meant to explore the function and interaction of both race and language in the process of negotiation of host national identities among second generation immigrants in Quebec. The results presented above do not often point to group differences based on either of these criteria, with a couple of exceptions to be discussed below.

Language appears in numerous places in this dissertation in a number of different ways. More broadly, language is considered in different ways as a dimension of Québécois identity that has the ability to be inclusive and exclusive. It can function as a civic characteristic that binds society together, but it can also be viewed as an ethnic criterion that has the potential to exclude certain populations. Language can also function as an explanatory variable, and particularly comes into play in this dissertation when discussing access and knowledge to certain cultural characteristics of Québécois society. Finally, language can act as a tool in which second generation immigrants use to avoid or diffuse discriminatory interactions.

There are participants who see language as a functional civic value, in that it acts as a type of social glue that allows citizens to participate in civil society. In Quebec, the state-defined linguistic civic language is French. French not only provides access to services and the political process, but also facilitates access to a wide variety of interactions and exchanges with people across the province and beyond. From this perspective, there are no requirements on fluency, accent, or having it as one's maternal language.

However, this does not mean that there is not affection for the French language among the second generation in Quebec, but quite the contrary. Participants express love and appreciation for their abilities in French, and would like to see the French language in Quebec continue to thrive. However, they do not condone the protection and promotion of the French language at the expense of other languages. In this sense, all languages are seen as functional and a way to increase civic participation for more members of society. Participants do not want to see English or other languages to take precedence over French, but rather want to promote English-French bilingualism or even multilingualism.

Language also has the potential to be an exclusionary dimension of identity in Quebec. Language as an identifying characteristic of Quebec society has the potential for some participants to feel excluded because of the additional requirements that are attached to language. Ethnic-based criteria such as having French as one's maternal language, a mastery of the French language, having a Québécois accent, and a firm understanding of Québécois slang or « *joual* », are possible linguistic prerequisites for a version of Québécois identity that is based on an essentialist ethnic French-Canadian background. However, as mentioned above, having this

understanding language as a dimension of exclusion from Québécois identity, does not necessarily result in non-identification or counter identification, but can result in disidentifications with Québécois identity.

Preferred official language did not emerge as a strong explanatory characteristic in regards to Québécois or Canadian identity in this research, with a few exceptions. In Chapter 4, francophone arts and entertainment is often recognised as a characteristic of Québécois identity by both Anglophone and Francophone participants, but those second generation immigrants who are more inclined to partaking in French media are more likely to activate this characteristic as part of their reasoning for identifying as Québécois. Those who were more inclined to English media, often felt as if a lack of knowledge about the French media is a barrier to Québécois identity.

Furthermore, in discussing Québécois cultural values, it is only Francophone participants who discussed the values of extreme humility (*être né pour un petit pain*) and fierce individuality (Section 4.1.3), with the exception of one Anglophone Vietnamese participant. This may be explained by the observations of these cultural values through interactions in institutions of higher learning or a workplace setting, in which case, many of the Anglophone participants may not be privy to these values due to lack of exposure. The exceptional Anglophone participant recently began working in a predominantly French-speaking workplace and observed the presence of this among his colleagues. Despite this observed linguistic divide, the participants who did mention these values, more often rejected them and viewed them as in conflict with their personal, family, or cultural values.

This rejection of Québécois values is one of the rare places in this dissertation where participants' "home" ethnic identities are set in contrast or competition to those of the host national identities. This is not to say that there is not more potential for competition between ethnic identities of second generation immigrants and how they perceive host national identities, but this dissertation does not focus on that potential. From a theoretical stand point, whether group identities are viewed as essentialist or not, this certainly does not prevent research participants from perceiving them as such. In fact, in previous research on the second generation in Quebec, findings indicate that second generation immigrants perceive their ethnic identities as an intrinsic part of them (Méthot, 1995; Potvin, 2008). This research contributes to the current immigrant integration literature by exploring the competition between host national identities, rather than relationship between ethnic and host identities.

The lack of differences across linguistic groups may be due to the uniformity of participants in terms of their competencies in both official languages. Most participants are fluent in both English and French, and given that the sample population is comprised of the children of Bill 101, most participants were compelled to attend French schools, ensuring a working knowledge of French, which is defined by the state and by participants as an important aspect of Québécois identity. The Francophone participants equally reported having strong competencies in English. Perhaps competency and preferred official language are not the most salient linguistic characteristics in the negotiation of host national identities. Future research might explore the function of linguistic networks and educational or workplace socialisation in order to observe

more linguistic groups differences on the process of negotiation of Québécois identity and Canadian identity.

A final role of language is as a tool in which participants use to gain access to the Québécois identity in situations that they might otherwise have been excluded or discriminated against because of assumptions about them due to their racial category. Participants described incidents in which their competencies in French and use of the Québécois accent are used to signal to members of the dominant majority a common Québécois insider status relative to perhaps new immigrants, Anglophone or non-French speaking members of their racial or ethnic group, or perhaps other Canadians. As a result, participants believe they are able to avoid potentially negative and discriminatory treatment relative to if they did not speak French.

However, while language can be a tool that can facilitate recognition or affirmation of Québécois identity for second generation immigrants, participants recognise that there are limitations to this acknowledgment. Due to their membership in a non-white racial category, participants are subject to discrimination, including racial microaggressions, which remind them of their otherness from the dominant majority. While speaking French, particularly with a Québécois accent may result in more positive treatment, the continued presence of racial microaggressions in their daily lives demonstrates that while language is capable of acting as a salient characteristic for inclusion, it is not enough; despite any linguistic criteria being met, race continues to be a salient visible variable in the process of negotiation of Québécois identity among the second generation.

The main difference across racial groups is mentioned in the previous section in regards to experiences with incidents of racial profiling and racial slurs, which were often experienced by the Haitian and Anglo-Caribbean groups rather than the Vietnamese and Filipino groups. Furthermore, there are observed differences in terms of the types of microaggressions targeted towards the Asian and predominantly Black groups, but all groups in this sample reported nonetheless reported incidents of racial microaggressions.

Race remains a salient characteristic for all of the participant groups in their process of negotiation of Québécois identity. However, are the macro-consequences different for Black participants than for their Asian counterparts? The further research suggested above, that explores the macro relationship between microaggressions and inequality would need to consider the potential for differing consequences between racial minority groups.

### ***8.6. Beyond the Quebec Case Study***

This research uses Quebec as a case study in evaluating the effectiveness of state messaging and state-sponsored nation building on a particular population: second generation immigrants. This population is of particular interest in this context because they are traditional outsiders to an ethnic nation of Quebec (and Canada), but have been socialised into a more contemporary Quebec (and Canadian) society primarily through the school system.

However, many of the findings of this study could potentially be relevant for other populations in Quebec. The personal sense of agency that participants use in picking-and-choosing which characteristics they attach to and identify with, could also be present in comparable youth populations in Quebec. As mentioned above, the potential for sampling religious minority

groups in Quebec could prove to be a beneficial comparative case. Future research may also want to include control groups of ethnic French-Canadian Québécois and traditional Anglophone Québécois populations, or perhaps comparable white second generation immigrants, in order to evaluate whether these sentiments are unique to the second generation, second generation visible minorities, Montrealers, or to a specific generation of Québécois.

Previous research with the dominant majority also signals that there are mixed civic and ethnic understandings of Québécois identity (Bourhis, Barrette, & Moriconi, 2008), but that the ethnic conceptualisations are directed more often towards immigrant visible minorities than white immigrant groups. This, coupled with higher Canadian and Québécois identification among white second generation immigrant populations than their visible minority counterparts (Banting & Soroka, 2012; Reitz & Banerjee, 2007) implies that there are likely different narratives of negotiation for visible minority groups in Quebec versus their white counterparts, particularly as it relates to exclusion based on race and its interaction with language. Issues of language may remain particularly salient for historical Anglophone groups and white immigration groups, but are likely to be diluted because of their perceived common white racial category with ethnic French Canadians.

Attachments to civic-political characteristics of Québécois and Canadian identity, such as leftist or socialist values and institutions, are probably not unique to the second generation population. Furthermore, the negative perceptions of specific policies and discourses of both governments, such as the protection of the French language at the expense of bilingualism in Quebec, or the direction of the Canadian government under Conservative Stephen Harper, could be



generalisable to comparable youth populations or a specific generation in Quebec. Alternatively, these sentiments may also represent the general urban population of Montreal. By looking at comparable control groups, future research would help shed light on what the particularities of the second generation immigrant visible minority young population are in regards to these host national identities.

While this research investigates the potential competing host identities in the Quebec context, this dissertation can be considered a case study of minority nationalism situations where a sub-nationalism may be in competition for the loyalties of its citizens with the larger nation-state, or other sub-nationalisms. In evaluating the effectiveness of nation building between minority nationalisms, the introduction of this thesis compared the relative success in Scotland of selling the national project to immigrant communities. Forty-three percent of the immigrant population voted for independence in Scotland's 2014 referendum (Clegg, 2015). This is compared to the estimated 95% of non-Francophone Québécois who voted against sovereignty in Quebec's 1995 referendum (McRoberts, 1997). These stark differences, beg the question of what makes Scotland independence more desirable to their immigrant population, in comparison to Québécois nationalism to their comparable immigrant population?

In looking at the results of this Quebec case study, the Scottish Nationalist Party's (SNP) independence campaign attempted to address the two most pertinent issues identified by second generation immigrants in Quebec: feelings of exclusion from the movement, and economic and logistical concerns (Chapter 3). The decidedly civic form of nationalism in Scotland (Crowther, 2015), is demonstrated by the SNP's attempts to eliminate any ethnic or cultural arguments that

could exclude non-Scottish ethnics, and instead focus on their democratic and economic arguments to try and convince the entire voting population to vote for independence.

Quebec is always watching closely at such historical votes, and such movements, including Scotland have adapted their strategies based on the results of the previous two Quebec referenda. It would seem that in the aftermath of the Scottish No vote for independence, under new leadership, one of the central sovereigntist parties in Quebec, may be taking a page out of Scotland's book in their continued pursuit for independence. In November 2015, the leader of the *Parti Québécois*, Pierre Karl Péladeau or PKP, declared that in order for an independent Quebec to be realised, bridges must be built with non-francophones (Caron, 2015). While a specific strategy was not revealed at the time, PKP took the unprecedented step of charging three of his deputies with the responsibility of selling the national project to Quebec's "cultural communities".

If the *Parti Québécois* is hoping to bring non-francophone Québécois on board for independence, the results of this research suggests that the potentially long road ahead will have to focus on symbolic and real inclusion in the party and the movement, coupled with a movement away from the nostalgic cultural arguments that can exclude. The party will have to formulate a clear and precise economic and social plan that addresses issues that will not only concern second generation immigrants, but all Quebec citizens; such as economic sustainability and growth, trade, national defence, currency, and borders and passports. Future comparative research could explore the extent of the successful permeation of civic ideals to the populations in other minority nationalism contexts, such as Scotland and Wales. However, these two case studies

lack the linguistic differentiation that the Quebec case has. A more apt comparison might be the nation of Catalonia, where Catalan is distinct from the dominant language of Spanish.

Furthermore, this research represents a case study relevant for any immigrant receiving country that is engaged in nation-building activities. The findings reveal that not only are there potentially competing host identities across nations, but also within each nation or nation-state, there is the potential for competing and paradoxical understandings of who is part of that nation. This was particularly true for the results regarding Québécois identity, but as mentioned above, could also be true for comparable populations in the rest of Canada, whose default national identity may be Canadian.

Most nations have historical essentialist boundaries in which some, particularly Western immigrant-receiving countries, are now trying to get out from under in order to build a more cohesive nation amidst diversity. This case study demonstrates that even if the second generation is convinced that they are included in the national boundaries based on official policy and political discourse, this is not the only source of messaging with which they are presented. The media and the dominant majority also need to be convinced, as these are two major purveyors of everyday nationalism which second generation immigrants come into contact with daily. The challenge, in addition to convincing immigrants and their children that they are part of the nation, is convincing the majority population that the nation must change as well. Therefore, when negotiating “nous”, it is not just the political discourse and official policy that needs to be convincing, but also the everyday representations of the nation.

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## Appendix AA – Interview Participant Demographics

	<b>Pseudonym</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Born in Quebec/Age of Arrival</b>	<b>Dominant Official Language</b>
<b>Filipino</b> (15)	Anna	Female	19	Born in Quebec	English
	Beth	Female	32	Born in Quebec	English
	Catherine	Female	29	Born in Quebec	English
	Dorothy	Female	32	Born in Quebec	English
	Evelyn	Female	32	Born in Quebec	English
	Faye	Female	35	Born in Quebec	English
	Gabriel	Male	20	Born in Quebec	English
	Hector	Male	19	Born in Quebec	English
	Immanuel	Male	19	Born in Quebec	English
	Joshua	Male	20	Born in Quebec	English
	Kenneth	Male	23	Born in Quebec	English
	Leah	Female	18	Born in Quebec	English
	Mary	Female	22	Born in Quebec	English
	Nancy	Female	20	Born in Quebec	English
	Oscar	Male	In 30s <sup>94</sup>	Born in Quebec	English
<b>Anglo-Caribbean</b> (13)	Abby	Female	34	Born in Quebec	English
	Brenda	Female	32	Born in Quebec	English
	Carly	Female	19	Born in Quebec	English
	Erin	Female	26	Born in Quebec	English
	Felicia	Female	28	Born in Quebec	English
	Garrett	Male	23	Born in Quebec	English
	Harold	Male	23	Born in Quebec	English
	Ian	Male	27	Born in Quebec	English
	Jeffrey	Male	24	Born in Quebec	English
	Kurt	Male	23	Born in Quebec	English
	Lester	Male	27	Born in Quebec	English
	Margaret	Female	32	Born in Quebec	English
	Natasha	Female	30	6 years old	English
<b>Haitian</b> (15)	Annick	Female	19	Born in Quebec	French**
	Beatrice	Female	27	Born in Quebec	French
	Camille	Female	33	Born in Quebec	French
	Darlène	Female	26	Born in Quebec	French
	Émile	Male	29	Born in Quebec	French
	France	Female	23	Born in Quebec	French
	Gilles	Male	22	0 years old	French

<sup>94</sup> Oscar declined to provide his precise age.

<b>Vietnamese</b> (13)	Henri	Male	33	Born in Quebec	French**
	Iven	Male	24	Born in Quebec	French
	Jean-François	Male	35	Born in Quebec	French
	Kevin	Male	25	Born in Quebec	French
	Lise	Female	29	Born in Quebec	French
	Michel	Male	19	Born in Quebec	French
	Nicolas	Male	27	Born in Quebec	French**
	Olivier	Male	24	Born in Quebec	French
	Alexandre	Male	32	Born in Quebec	French
	Bernadette	Female	31	5 years old	French
	Claude	Male	34	3 years old	French
	Dominique	Female	34	Born in Quebec	French
	Elenor	Female	34	Born in Quebec	French**
	Florence	Female	29	Born in Quebec	English
	Gérald	Male	32	Born in Quebec	French
	Hélène	Female	25	Born in Quebec	French**
	Imelda	Female	28	Born in Quebec	French
	Jacques	Male	21	Born in Quebec	French**
	Karine	Female	23	Born in Quebec	French
	Leon	Male	28	Born in Quebec	English
	Maude	Female	33	Born in Quebec	French

Total Participants: 56

- Female: 30
- Male: 26

Total Mean Age: 26.8 years

- Filipino: 24.8 years
- Anglo-Caribbean: 27.1 years
- Haitian: 26.3 years
- Vietnamese: 29.5 years

Dominant Official Language Totals:

- Anglophone participants: 30
- Francophone participants: 26

\**Dominant official language* means the language, either English or French, which is the answer to the highest number of the following criteria:

- Maternal language
- First official language learned
- Language in which most of their education took place
- Language they report using more often.

\*\*Denotes that participant chose to be interviewed in English rather than their dominant official language of French.

## Appendix BB – Interview Consent Form (English)

### Consent Form

**Title of Research:** Is Language Enough?: Social Integration and Competing Host Identities in Quebec among Second-generation Immigrants of Colour.

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**Supervisor:** Morton Weinfeld, Ph.D., Professor, Sociology, McGill University  
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**Purpose of the Research:** The purpose of this research is to understand how second generation immigrants living in Quebec negotiate competing host identities both internal and external to Quebec. The results from the study will be used primarily to fulfill the requirements for the doctoral degree in Sociology, but may also be used for publication purposes. This includes publication of a doctoral dissertation, related articles, book chapters, and conference presentations.

**What is involved in participation:** Participation in this study will involve an oral interview lasting approximately 1 to 1.5 hours. While unlikely, you may be contacted at a later date for a follow-up interview.

Participation is voluntary, and at any point in the interview, you can choose not to respond to a question. You can also withdraw from the study at any time by contacting the researcher through the provided contact information. Results will be presented in a manner that will not allow you to be identified.

All interview material will be kept confidential, and no one other than the primary researcher will be able to identify which material you provide. A coding system will be used to identify participants in lieu of using their full names. This coding system will consist of pseudonyms and numbers, and only the primary investigator will have access to the key linking codes to names. This key will be kept on a password-protected computer and in hardcopy in a locked and secure location.

Interviews will be audio-recorded. All audio files and transcription files will be kept on a password-protected computer and will be encrypted. Audio files will be used for transcription and archival purposes only.

Interviews may be transcribed by a person other than the primary researcher, however the utmost care will be taken so that they will not be able to identify you. Audio files will only be identified by the pseudonym assigned, and all materials that are transferred to transcribers will be password protected and transcribers will be instructed to password protect their private computers as well. The transcribers will have to sign a confidentiality form that prohibits them from discussing the content of the files with anyone other than the primary researcher. In addition, they will be instructed in how to ensure their secure storage and transport of any audio or transcribed files, as well as to erase any trace of the files off of their computers following the primary researcher's receipt of the work.

There is minimal risk in participating in this research project. However, some questions may trigger an emotional or psychological response as they are related to personal experiences and identity. If at any point you find yourself experiencing a strong emotional or psychological reaction to a question, you are encouraged to either pause for a break, or to withdraw participation completely. All efforts will be made by the investigator to ensure that risks of participation are minimal.

**Consent:**

I agree to be audio-recorded:                      Consent ☐                      Do Not Consent ☐  
Please sign below if you consent to participate in this study.

Participant's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Participant's Name (Printed): \_\_\_\_\_

Researcher's Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\*If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study please contact the McGill Research Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or [lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca](mailto:lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca).

## Appendix CC – Interview Guide (English)

Preamble: “The interview is really concerned about your own opinions and experiences, in which case, I am not looking for specific responses but rather am interested in your perspective and what informs that.”

(If interview is going to be in French) “Secondly, I would just like to say that French is not my first language and while I can speak and understand quite well, I often make many mistakes. I may ask you to clarify terms or expressions, and if I am not clear, please be sure to ask me questions for clarification.”

1. Do you have any questions before we begin?
2. Thank you for completing the questionnaire. Can you please tell me what you thought about the questionnaire?
  - a. Was there anything that you found particularly confusing, interesting or difficult to understand? (If the participant takes the conversation in a certain direction, I will go ‘off-script’ and follow that line of questioning if interesting and related.)
3. I would like to begin with some demographic questions, and then we will move into some of the other topics. I noticed in your survey that you went to (English/French/French Immersion/Other) school for Primary and Secondary school (*école primaire et secondaire*).
  - a. Do you happen to know why your parents might have sent you to (English/French/French Immersion/Other) school?
4. Can you talk about your level of competency or comfort in French/English (non-primary official language)?
5. Can you please talk about why your parents decided to come to Quebec?
6. What language do you speak with your parents? Siblings?
7. What do your parents do for work?

Questions 8 through 11 are asked in regards to both Quebec and Canada, but at separate times.

8. I want to now switch the conversation to some of the questions addressed in the survey around identity. I noticed that you noted a (low/moderate/high) level of (Quebec/Canadian) identity.

- a. Can you please talk about the things about (Quebec/Canadian) identity that you find appealing?
9. Conversely, are there things about (Quebec/Canadian) identity that you don't like or do not find appealing?
10. Is there anything that is missing or that you would need in order to identify fully with (Quebec/Canada)?
11. There were questions in the survey about what conditions are necessary to be a true (Quebecois/Canadian).
  - a. Can you please tell me how you went about completing this question?
  - b. Do you think the majority of the (Quebec/Canadian) population would agree with you?
  - c. How big is the proportion of the population that (agrees/disagrees) with you?
12. We have talked about identity thus far, but there were also questions in the survey about belonging. For you, if there is one, what is the difference between identity and belonging?
13. There were a number of questions in the survey about discrimination and you marked off that you experienced discrimination (not at all/rarely/often) in a number of arenas.
  - a. Could you please tell me about some of the incidents which you had in mind when completing this questions?
  - b. (if 'not at all') You marked off that X group experiences discrimination often in Quebec. What do you think makes X group more likely to experience discrimination?
14. There were a couple questions about sovereignty in the survey and you said you would vote (yes/no) for sovereignty.
  - a. What is it about the sovereignty movement that you (like/dislike)?
15. Do you have any plans to leave Quebec to live elsewhere?
16. Do you know of any friends or family who left Quebec for other provinces? What made them want to leave?
17. Can you please talk about any types of community activities, sports teams, leisure activities, or volunteer work that participate in?



18. Do you participate in any activities you would define as political? For example, signing a petition, going to a protest, working on a political campaign.
19. Can you please talk about your different groups of friends, and their different ethnic, cultural or linguistic backgrounds?
20. Do you live with someone at this moment?
21. Do you have a partner? If so, what is their ethnic and linguistic background? If not, in the past when you date, what have been the ethnic and linguistic backgrounds of your partners?

## **Appendix DD – Questionnaire, with Consent Form (English)**

### **Survey**

**Project Title:** Is Language Enough?: Social Integration and Competing Host Identities  
in Quebec among Second-generation Immigrants of Colour.

**Version:** English

**Interviewer:** Leslie Cheung (Principle Investigator)

**Date:** \_\_\_\_\_

For questions and comments concerning this survey, please contact:

**Leslie Cheung**  
PhD Candidate  
Department of Sociology  
McGill University  
[leslie.cheung@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:leslie.cheung@mail.mcgill.ca)

**or**

**Supervisor: Prof. Morton Weinfeld**  
Department of Sociology  
McGill University  
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This research has been funded by the *Fonds de recherche du Québec - Société et culture*

## Consent Form

**Title of Research:** Is Language Enough?: Social Integration and Competing Host Identities in Quebec among Second-generation Immigrants of Colour.

**Researcher:** Leslie Cheung, Ph.D. Candidate, Sociology, McGill University

**Contact Information:** McGill University, Department of Sociology, Room 713, Leacock Building, 855 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal QC H3A 2T7, Email: [leslie.cheung@mail.mcgill.ca](mailto:leslie.cheung@mail.mcgill.ca)

**Supervisor:** Morton Weinfeld, Ph.D., Professor, Sociology, McGill University  
Contact Information: McGill University, Department of Sociology, Room 713, Leacock Building, 855 Sherbrooke Street West, Montreal QC H3A 2T7, Email: [morton.weinfeld@mcgill.ca](mailto:morton.weinfeld@mcgill.ca)

**Purpose of the Research:** The purpose of this research is to understand how second generation immigrants living in Quebec negotiate competing host identities both internal and external to Quebec. The results from the study will be used primarily to fulfill the requirements for the doctoral degree in Sociology, but may also be used for publication purposes. This includes publication of a doctoral dissertation, related articles, book chapters, and conference presentations.

**What is involved in participation:** Participation in this study will involve a short 15 to 20 minutes survey. Upon completion of the survey, you will be invited to participate in a face-to-face interview.

Participation is voluntary, and at any point in the interview, you can choose not to respond to a question. You can also withdraw from the study at any time by contacting the researcher through the provided contact information. Results will be presented in a manner that will not allow you to be identified.

All survey material will be kept confidential, and no one other than the primary researcher will be able to identify which material you provide. All electronic records will be kept on a password-protected computer, and hardcopies will be kept in a locked and secure location. A coding system will be used to identify participants in lieu of using their full names. This coding system will consist of pseudonyms and numbers, and only the primary investigator will have access to the key linking codes to names. This key will be kept on a password-protected computer and in hardcopy in a locked and secure location.

There is minimal risk in participating in this research project. However, some questions may trigger an emotional or psychological response as they are related to personal experiences and identity. If at any point you find yourself experiencing a strong emotional or psychological reaction to a question, you are encouraged to either pause for a break, or to withdraw participation completely. All efforts will be made by the investigator to ensure that risks of participation are minimal.

**Consent:**

By proceeding and returning this survey to the researcher, I consent to participating in this study as outlined above. If so, please sign and date below.

Participant's Full Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

\*If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study please contact the McGill Research Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or [lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca](mailto:lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca).

*1) General Information*

a- Year of birth and current age			
b- Sex:	Male: <input type="checkbox"/>	Female: <input type="checkbox"/>	Other: <input type="checkbox"/>
c- What is your place of birth (city, province, country)?			
d- How long have you been living in Quebec? (write "Birth" if it has been since birth)			
e- In what neighbourhood or area of the city do you currently live in?  What are the first 3 characters of your postal code?  How long have you been living there?			
f- In what other cities, provinces or countries have you lived previously, and for how long in each?			
g- What is your highest level of education attained?	Less than high school: <input type="checkbox"/> High school certificate or equivalent: <input type="checkbox"/> Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma: <input type="checkbox"/> College, CEGEP, or other non-university certificate or diploma: <input type="checkbox"/> University certificate or diploma below a bachelor's degree: <input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's Degree: <input type="checkbox"/> Graduate Degree: <input type="checkbox"/>		
h- What is your first language?			
i- List other languages you speak.			
j- In what language did you mostly study in elementary and high school?	English: <input type="checkbox"/> French Immersion: <input type="checkbox"/> French: <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____: <input type="checkbox"/>		
k- In what language did you mostly study in college and/or university?	English: <input type="checkbox"/> French: <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____: <input type="checkbox"/> Not applicable: <input type="checkbox"/>		
l- What is the your <b>father's</b> country of birth? If within Canada, what is province of birth?			
m- What year did your <b>father</b> immigrate to Canada?			
n- What is the first language of your <b>father</b> ?			
o- What other languages does your <b>father</b> speak?			
p- What is the your <b>mother's</b> country of birth? If within Canada, what is <b>mother's</b> province of birth?			

q- What year did your <b>mother</b> immigrate to Canada?	
r- What is the first language of your <b>mother</b> ?	
s- What other languages does your <b>mother</b> speak?	
t- What is your occupation?	
u- Annual Income (please select one):	<div>\$0-\$20,000: <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div>\$20,001-\$40,000: <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div>\$40,001 - \$60,000: <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div>\$60,001- \$80,000: <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div>\$80,001 - \$100,000: <input type="checkbox"/></div> <div>\$100,001+: <input type="checkbox"/></div>

2) Rate your skills in the following languages:

Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very well 4	Fluently 5
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*“Other” will be your other most dominant language used if applicable.*

	English	French	Specify other
I understand	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
I speak	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Ability to speak at work	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
Ability to write at work	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

3) Answer each of the following questions by circling the number which best represents your language use on the scales provided below:

Never 1	Rarely 2	Moderately 3	Often 4	Always 5
------------	-------------	-----------------	------------	-------------

*Think about your **use of languages** in your everyday life. “Other” will be your other most dominant language used if applicable.*

	English	French	Specify other
I speak when at home	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
I speak when I am with friends	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
I speak when I am at work	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
I speak when I am in stores, banks and restaurants	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

*4) Answer each of the following questions by circling the number which best represents your feelings on the scales provided below:*

Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very Much 4	Totally 5
-----------------	-------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------

**To what extent do you identify yourself as a(n):**

- |   |           |
|---|-----------|
| a- Canadian?  | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| b- Quebecois?   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| c- Quebecer?  | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| d- Montrealer?  | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| e- Anglophone?  | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| f- Francophone?   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| g- Allophone?   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| h- French/English bilingual?                              | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| i- person of immigrant background?                        | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| j- person from another origin<br>(Specify origin: _____)? | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| k- federalist?  | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| l- sovereigntist?   | 1 2 3 4 5 |

*5) Answer each of the following questions by circling the number which best represents your feelings on the scales provided below:*

Not Strong at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderate 3	Strong 4	Very Strong 5
------------------------	-------------------	---------------	-------------	------------------

**How strong is your sense of belonging to:**

- |                                      |           |
|--------------------------------------|-----------|
| a- Canada?                           | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| b- Quebec?                           | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| c- Montreal?                         | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| d- the Anglophone Quebec community?  | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| e- the Francophone Quebec community? | 1 2 3 4 5 |



f- (specify ethnic or cultural group)\_\_\_\_\_?

1 2 3 4 5

**6) In your opinion, what *conditions* are *necessary* for a person to be a *true Quebecois*? Please answer *each option* by using the following scale.**

	Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very Much 4	Totally 5
a- To live and work in Quebec					1 2 3 4 5
b- To have ancestors who are Quebecois					1 2 3 4 5
c- To speak French with a Quebecois accent					1 2 3 4 5
d- To be born and raised in Quebec					1 2 3 4 5
e- To have a family name that is Quebecois					1 2 3 4 5
f- To respect and obey Quebec laws					1 2 3 4 5
g- To be a regular voter in provincial and municipal elections					1 2 3 4 5
h- To be supportive of cultural and ethnic diversity across Quebec					1 2 3 4 5
i- To know and speak the French language					1 2 3 4 5
j- To be a supporter of Quebec sovereignty					1 2 3 4 5
k- To endorse the values of democracy in Quebec					1 2 3 4 5
l- To know and defend Québécois culture					1 2 3 4 5
m- To speak Quebecois French as mother tongue					1 2 3 4 5
n- To be born and raised as a Christian					1 2 3 4 5
o- To be White					1 2 3 4 5
p- To support French schooling across Quebec					1 2 3 4 5
q- To be a supporter of Canadian unity					1 2 3 4 5
r- To speak both English and French					1 2 3 4 5

7) In your opinion, what **conditions** are **necessary** for a person to be a **true Canadian**?  
Please answer **each option** by using the following scale.

	Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very Much 4	Totally 5
a- To live and work in Canada					1 2 3 4 5
b- To have ancestors who are Canadian					1 2 3 4 5
c- To speak English with a Canadian accent					1 2 3 4 5
d- To be born and raised in Canada					1 2 3 4 5
e- To have a family name that is European					1 2 3 4 5
f- To respect and obey Canadian laws					1 2 3 4 5
g- To be a regular voter in national, provincial and municipal elections					1 2 3 4 5
h- To be supportive of cultural and ethnic diversity across Canada					1 2 3 4 5
i- To know and speak the English language					1 2 3 4 5
j- To be a supporter of Canadian unity					1 2 3 4 5
k- To endorse the values of democracy in Canada					1 2 3 4 5
l- To know and defend Canadian culture					1 2 3 4 5
m- To speak English as mother tongue					1 2 3 4 5
n- To be born and raised as a Christian					1 2 3 4 5
o- To be White					1 2 3 4 5
p- To support a strong public health regime for all Canadians					1 2 3 4 5
q- To speak both English and French					1 2 3 4 5
r- To know and speak the French language					1 2 3 4 5

**8) Discrimination** can occur when a person is mistreated because they are seen as different from others. You may have been a victim of discrimination or treated unjustly because of your ethnic or cultural belonging, your race or skin colour, your language or accent or your religion. In the **last five years**, in what settings have you been victim of discrimination? Please answer each item using the following scale.

Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very Much 4	Totally 5
-----------------	-------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------

- a- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination in your **work** setting? 1 2 3 4 5
- b- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination in **stores, banks, or restaurants**? 1 2 3 4 5
- c- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination at **school** and/or **university** (or your children)? 1 2 3 4 5
- d- To what extent have you been personally a victim of discrimination in encounters with the **police** or security services? 1 2 3 4 5

**9) In the last five years, for what reason(s) do you think you were a victim of discrimination or treated unjustly? Was it because of:**

Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very Much 4	Totally 5
-----------------	-------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------

- a- Your ethnic or cultural group? 1 2 3 4 5
- b- Your race or skin colour? 1 2 3 4 5
- c- Your mother tongue or accent? 1 2 3 4 5
- d- Your size or physical/aesthetic characteristics? 1 2 3 4 5
- e- Your age? 1 2 3 4 5
- f- Your religion? 1 2 3 4 5
- g- Another reason? Specify: \_\_\_\_\_ 1 2 3 4 5

10) Please answer the following questions using the scale provided below:

Not at all 1	A Little Bit 2	Moderately 3	Very Much 4	Totally 5
-----------------	-------------------	-----------------	----------------	--------------

a- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination in their **work setting**?

Filipinos Quebecers	Québécois French	Jamaican Quebecers	Vietnamese Quebecers	Haitian Quebecers
1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

b- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination in **stores, banks, or restaurants**?

Filipinos Quebecers	Québécois French	Jamaican Quebecers	Vietnamese Quebecers	Haitian Quebecers
1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

c- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination at **school** and/or **university**?

Filipinos Quebecers	Québécois French	Jamaican Quebecers	Vietnamese Quebecers	Haitian Quebecers
1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

d- To what extent do you think members of the following groups experience discrimination in encounters with the **police** and **security services**?

Filipinos Quebecers	Québécois French	Jamaican Quebecers	Vietnamese Quebecers	Haitian Quebecers
1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

11) Please answer the following set of questions by checking the appropriate boxes.

a.	Did you vote in the last federal election (May 2011)?	Yes: <input type="checkbox"/>	No: <input type="checkbox"/>
b.	Which federal political party do you most identify with?	Conservative: <input type="checkbox"/> Liberal: <input type="checkbox"/> NDP (New Democratic Party): <input type="checkbox"/> BQ (Bloc Québécois): <input type="checkbox"/> Green: <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____: <input type="checkbox"/>	
c.	Did you vote in the last provincial election (Sept. 2012)?	Yes: <input type="checkbox"/>	No: <input type="checkbox"/>
d.	Which provincial party do you most identify with?	PQ (Parti Québécois): <input type="checkbox"/> Liberal: <input type="checkbox"/> CAQ (Coalition Avenir Québec) : <input type="checkbox"/> Quebec Solidaire: <input type="checkbox"/> Option Nationale: <input type="checkbox"/> Other (specify) _____: <input type="checkbox"/>	
e.	If a referendum were held today on the same question that was asked in 1995, that is, sovereignty with an offer of partnership with the rest of Canada, would you vote YES or would you vote NO?	Yes: <input type="checkbox"/>	No: <input type="checkbox"/>

12) Please answer the following questions using the scale below.

	1 Totally Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree Somewhat	5 Totally Agree
a- A sovereign Quebec would be able to deal effectively with globalization	1	2	3	4	5
b- "In the last few years, we have gone too far to accommodate cultural minorities in Quebec"	1	2	3	4	5
c- A sovereign Quebec would be more effective in protecting the environment than it can under the present federal system.	1	2	3	4	5
d- If a referendum were held today asking 'Do you want Quebec to assume the status of a country?', would you vote YES or would you vote NO?					Yes: <input type="checkbox"/> No: <input type="checkbox"/>

13) For the purpose of these questions, *please specify your most predominant ethnic identity* (\_\_\_\_\_). We use the term **Québécois French** culture to refer to the culture of the French majority with historical and ancestral roots in Quebec. For each statement, please provide your **opinion** by using the following scale:

1 Totally Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree Somewhat	5 Totally Agree
--------------------------	---------------	------------------------------------	---------------------	-----------------------

Regarding my **culture** ...

- |    |   |           |
|----|---|-----------|
| a- | I wish to maintain my cultural heritage rather than adopt Québécois French culture.   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| b- | I wish to maintain my cultural heritage and also adopt key features of Québécois French culture.                              | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| c- | I wish to give-up my culture for the sake of adopting Québécois French culture.   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| d- | I do not wish to maintain my culture or adopt Québécois French culture as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures.            | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| e- | I care little about my culture or Québécois French culture as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Regarding my **values** ...

- |    |   |           |
|----|---|-----------|
| g- | I do not wish to maintain my values or adopt Québécois French values as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures.            | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| h- | I care little about my values or Québécois French values as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| i- | I wish to maintain my values rather than adopt Québécois French values.   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| j- | I wish to give-up my values for the sake of adopting Québécois French values.   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| k- | I wish to maintain my values and also adopt key features of Québécois French values.  | 1 2 3 4 5 |

Regarding my **customs** ...

- |    |   |           |
|----|---|-----------|
| m- | I wish to maintain my customs and also adopt key features of Québécois French customs.                            | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| n- | I wish to maintain my customs rather than adopt Québécois French customs.   | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| o- | I do not wish to maintain my customs or adopt Québécois French customs as I feel uncomfortable with both customs. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| p- | I care little about my customs or Québécois French customs as it is my personal needs                             | 1 2 3 4 5 |

and aspirations which count most to me.

- q- I wish to give-up my customs for the sake of adopting Québécois French customs. 1 2 3 4 5

**14) For the purpose of these questions, please specify your most predominant ethnic identity (\_\_\_\_\_). We use the term *Canadian* culture to refer to the culture of the Canadian majority with historical and ancestral roots in Canada. For each statement, please provide your *opinion* by using the following scale:**

1 Totally Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Neither Agree nor Disagree	4 Agree Somewhat	5 Totally Agree
--------------------------	---------------	------------------------------------	---------------------	-----------------------

Regarding my **culture** ...

- a- I wish to maintain my cultural heritage rather than adopt Canadian culture. 1 2 3 4 5
- b- I wish to maintain my cultural heritage and also adopt key features of Canadian culture. 1 2 3 4 5
- c- I wish to give-up my culture for the sake of adopting Canadian culture. 1 2 3 4 5
- d- I do not wish to maintain my culture or adopt Canadian culture as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures. 1 2 3 4 5
- e- I care little about my culture or Canadian culture as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. 1 2 3 4 5

Regarding my **values** ...

- g- I do not wish to maintain my values or adopt Canadian values as I feel uncomfortable with both cultures. 1 2 3 4 5
- h- I care little about my values or Canadian values as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. 1 2 3 4 5
- i- I wish to maintain my values rather than adopt Canadian values. 1 2 3 4 5
- j- I wish to give-up my values for the sake of adopting Canadian values. 1 2 3 4 5
- k- I wish to maintain my values and also adopt key features of Canadian values. 1 2 3 4 5

Regarding my **customs** ...

- m- I wish to maintain my customs and also adopt key features of Canadian customs. 1 2 3 4 5
- n- I wish to maintain my customs rather than adopt Canadian customs. 1 2 3 4 5

- |    |   |           |
|----|---|-----------|
| o- | I do not wish to maintain my customs or adopt Canadian customs as I feel uncomfortable with both customs.             | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| p- | I care little about my customs or Canadian customs as it is my personal needs and aspirations which count most to me. | 1 2 3 4 5 |
| q- | I wish to give-up my customs for the sake of adopting Canadian customs.   | 1 2 3 4 5 |

***15) Please provide comments or your thoughts on this questionnaire***

Thank you for you time.