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**The Delicate State of the Nation-State:
A Discourse Analysis of the Parti Québécois
From 1960-2000**

By

Kristina Perkins

Accepted in Partial Completion
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Moheb A. Ghali, Dean of the Graduate School

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chair, Dr. Don Alper

Dr. Amir Abedi

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Kristina Perkins
May 13, 2011

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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

By
Kristina Perkins
June, 2011

Abstract

This paper explores the changes that Québécois nationalism has experienced between 1960 and 2000 as reflected in the discourse of the Parti Québécois (PQ). The hypothesis of this study holds that the provincial and federal political environment has affected the issues that are emphasized in nationalism discourse in Québec. The leaders of the PQ are likely to emphasize the economic or state-building potential of the province when Québec is on the brink of a sovereignty referendum or a constitutional reform initiative. Cultural references, such as language or history, are assumed to be emphasized when the PQ is not in power, following a campaign for sovereignty, or following constitutional reform. The methodology of this study will be a discourse analysis of three major leaders of the PQ; René Levesque, Jacques Parizeau, and Lucien Bouchard. Texts published by the leaders, and interviews with selected leaders comprise the data of this study. The discourse is analyzed according to a list of code words which will indicate the intended use of language. It is found that the internal and external political environment surrounding the PQ influences the goal of nationalism which each leader emphasizes in his speech.

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Presenting a Master's thesis is something that I have wanted to accomplish, and, at times, thought would never be achieved. I would like to acknowledge my thesis committee for aiding me in reaching the finish line. I also need to acknowledge my team in Québec. Their words of encouragement, help, and advice made the past two years as productive and as enjoyable as possible.

The two people who deserve the most credit for this piece of research, listed in no particular order, are my mom and dad. You both have made everything I have done, inside and outside of this program, possible. Without your love, support, and guidance, I would literally have no idea where I would be right now. A big shout out to the rest of my family- awesome.

A close support system is more than necessary in order to be able to finish a piece of research such as this. I would like to express my gratitude towards my support system. This includes my closest friends, my graduate cohort, and my friendly baristas who asked to read what they watched me chip away at every day, as well as provided me with obscene amounts of caffeine. I am not able to fully express how much I appreciate all of the support I have received from each of these wonderful actors.

This piece of work is written in order to encourage people to investigate the contextual use of language and how that language impacts the fate of a nation, and a nation-state. Canadian politics and Canadian history are wrought with stories that emphasize the need to look at the goals behind each event. Many assumptions have been made about Québécois nationalism. It is necessary to look beyond the assumptions and recognize the impact that one of the many parts of a campaign for sovereignty-association can have, such as discourse. Sticks and stones may break some bones, but words can change the fate of a nation.

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Introduction

Nationalism, as a strong belief system, has the potential to create deep divisions and even violently tear a state apart. This ideology, which emphasizes autonomy or separation, is often instigated by the occurrence of conflict with a parent state to gain political sovereignty or the allowance of basic rights (Wirth; 1936, Nielson; 1993, Moore; 2001). These conflicts can be impossible for a state to overcome. Nationalism is often regarded with a negative connotation, given the disagreement that arises when a parent state is confronted with these conflicts. These disagreements and conflicts suggest that it would be in the best interest of the parent state to implement the policies necessary to stifle the development of a nationalism ideology and movement. Controlling and muting nationalist beliefs in a multicultural state is difficult and probably not desirable. In a multicultural state, or in a state containing at least two populous identity groups, it is common for one group to develop feelings that their needs are not being met by the group that holds the reins of power. In situations where two divergent nationalities form within one state, the possibility for dissolution of the state is drastically heightened resulting from high levels of tension caused by geographical and ethnic differences (Lowrie; 1930, Hayes; 1933, Nielson; 1998). The dichotomy between the French Canadian and English Canadian nationalities is a phenomenon that has existed in Canada for as long as Canada has existed as a territory.

Québécois nationalism has been studied in numerous ways. In order to design a study that would result in an accurate examination of the movement, the number of components that affect the nationalist movement need to be whittled down. This project differentiates the explanatory factors of why nationalism emerged in Québec from the goals which that movement is hoping to achieve. The sovereignty movement in Québec will be analyzed

through a theoretical lens that distinguishes civic nationalism from ethnic nationalism. Civic nationalism is briefly defined as being evident when the group is exhibiting the desire of establishing their political or institutional rights from the parent state (Breton; 1988). A movement of nationalism is considered ethnic when the membership of the group is formed based on characteristics such as race or linguistic properties (Shulman; 2002). One form of nationalism develops because of the belief and feeling that political and institutional rights of one group of people are being stifled, while another type of nationalism movement forms in an effort to protect the culture and history of an ethnic group. Identifying the structure that the nationalism movement takes throughout the period of this study is pertinent to identifying how, or even if, the goals of nationalism change.

Nationalism in Québec appears in many forms; as an ideology centered on sovereignty and as an ideology based on autonomy. This project analyzes the nationalism ideology in Québec that has had the goal of creating a separate Québec state from the federation of Canada. This ideology, as will be seen, has been a consistent part of Canadian politics since the French and British population began to coexist within the same territory. It is necessary to continue to study and understand this ideology of nationalism within Canada because of the implications that separation would have on Canada, and the rest of the world. The dynamics of Québécois nationalism in this study will be analyzed in relation to key political events affecting how the nationalism movement progressed. The conclusion of this study will offer insight on the direction of future nationalist activity in Québec.

This study will examine the changes that Québécois nationalism has experienced through the periods which can be considered as being the most active periods of the nationalism movement- the years between 1960 and 2000. Support for a formal

independence movement has been evident as a significant presence in Québec since approximately 1962, thus defining the starting point for this study (Pinard; 2002). Québec experienced profound changes during this period including; the founding of a provincial and federal separatist political party, two provincial referendums regarding the future of the province within Canada, and the federal legal and legislative response to the attempts and threats of a unilateral secession. These events that were instigated by the province directly, or were a federal response to provincial actions, were accompanied by the federal Constitution Act which affected Québec's status within the nation, as well as several attempts to reform the constitution. This project attempts to address research questions which include how, or if, the goals of Québécois nationalism have changed throughout this forty year period, as well as identifying what would help explain these changes. It is hypothesized that the goals of nationalism in Québec will show signs of changing from cultural goals to institutional and political goals when the provincial or federal political environments are changed and altered by significant events, such as those listed above. Evidence for changes in nationalism will be generated by analyzing the discourse of several prominent leaders of the separatist movement.

The methodology employed is discourse analysis. Discourse analysis is the study of written or spoken language and deciphering the meaning behind language that has been used (Biber, *et al*; 1998). The type of discourse analysis that will be utilized in this study is a language-in-use discourse analysis. Gee (2005) describes language-in-use discourse analysis as the study of discourse as a concept that is everywhere and is a political issue. It involves studying the manner in which the speaker has manipulated his language in order to emphasize his personal construction of the political environment surrounding both him and the audience

(Locke; 2004). The discourse that will be gathered as the data set for this study is composed of a set of memoirs, books, and speeches that have been published by three prominent leaders of the Parti Québécois (PQ). These three leaders are; René Levesque, Lucien Bouchard, and Jacques Parizeau. These three politicians have each served as leaders of the PQ, with Bouchard serving as the leader of the Bloc Québécois (the federal separatist party), as well. There are several avenues which can be utilized to gain a view inside nationalism in Québec, including analyzing the Parti Liberal du Québec (PLQ) or studying the response that political parties at the federal level have to the separatism efforts of the PQ. This study will be assuming the discourse of the leaders of the PQ as the voice and ambassadors of nationalism within Québec.

The discourse of the PQ will cover the forty year period and be analyzed in light of the contextual background pertinent to the discourse. The context surrounding the discourse of leader is crucial to analyzing that discourse because many speakers refer to several social events that impact the meaning of their speech (Hacker; 1996). Many of these pieces will be a translation from their original language of French. These translations run the risk of being influenced by a contextualization that the reader may not already be aware of (Rista-Dema; 2008). It is expected that the language will change, based on a code explained in the following section, and related to these contextual histories. When there is a political event that may result in the PQ feeling confident that separatism would be well received by the majority of Québécois voters, they would emphasize a state-building reasoning in posing the option of sovereignty to the public. State-building nationalism would be evident through the emphasis on the political and material ability of Québec to survive (Calhoun; 1993). If the historical events would imply that the movement would be in a period when separatism may

not necessarily be well received, the PQ would emphasize a nation-building discourse. This would imply that the efforts made by the PQ would be for the purpose of building and protecting the Québécois culture.

This thesis will proceed by providing a clear description of the theoretical framework for analyzing civic and ethnic nationalism that will guide this study. This description will include background information about nationalism that is used in this study. The discussion of the theoretical framework will conclude with an explanation of the discourse analysis methodology that will be employed throughout the study. The context of the history of Québec and Québécois nationalism is necessary in order to complete a reliable discourse analysis. A select number of historical events of Québécois history will be considered in conjunction with a discussion of what Québécois nationalism has experienced in the past which would have an impact on the analysis of the hypothesis. The section will be followed by a discussion of the several pieces of data from Levesque, Bouchard, and Parizeau. The analysis of these pieces of data will serve as the evidence which will affirm or falsify the hypothesis of the study. This project will then conclude with a short discussion of the study's implications for Québec, as well as an assessment of contemporary nationalism in Québec.

Chapter One: Theoretical Framework and Methodology

The basis of this study revolves around the specific manner in which data and discourse pertaining to Québécois nationalism is gathered and studied. Understanding nationalism begins with understanding how nationalism develops, including the reasons behind why nationalist sentiment emerges. Some scholars' conceptions of nationalism require territory be a matter of contention between the parent state and the nationalist group (Hobsbawm; 1990, Guibernau i Berdun; 1996, Moore; 2001). Others place importance on the historical experiences that a nation has in relation to its parent state (Wirth; 1936, Nielson; 1998, Stevenson; 2004). Nationalism is not the same as patriotism (Hayes; 1933). Scholars of nationalism note that the attachment and love for the land of one's birth must emerge as a group of people who identify together, based on certain characteristics, and make a conscious decision to commit acts against an oppressive state for cultural or political gain (Lowrie; 1930, Wirth; 1936). Nationalism occurs as an "emotional and intellectual justification for a people's power over the place they claim is theirs," which can manifest in cultural, political, or economic control (Cook; 1995, 10).

Nations emerge when a group of people identify together and recognize a similar culture, language, and history between each of the members (Hobsbawm; 1990, Calhoun; 1993, Anderson; 2006). Disagreement in how a nation is defined is evident in identifying where the priorities lie in the goals of the nation- whether importance is placed on the group gaining political, institutional, or militaristic power or whether the goal of the nation is strictly to protect the culture of the nation. The strength of a nation and of the nationalism in a group lies in how cohesive the group is while working towards a common goal (King; 1934). The cohesiveness of the nation is dependent on the willingness of the members of the

nation to recognize that other members exist (King; 1934, Gellner; 1983, Anderson; 2006). Anderson (2006) develops this argument in his “imagined community” model. This model states that a nation does not exist only in territories which are small enough for members of the nation to be in constant contact with each other. A nation is based on the idea that members throughout a large territory are able to identify with each other as a community in which the members are committed to working towards a similar goal. This idea of an imagined community is important to the concept of a Québécois nation because of the vast territory that the province of Québec covers. It is necessary for Québécois who reside in a thinly populated area in rural Québec, who are campaigning for sovereignty, to remember that there are other members of the nation who are working towards the same goals elsewhere in the province. Technological advances have affected how citizens who are working towards a common goal are able to communicate more effectively in accomplishing that goal (Skogstad; 2003). These advances would surely affect the idea of an imagined community in that members are no longer required to think of others as just an imagined community, but rather as tangible individuals that are able to be easily communicated with.

For the purposes of this study, the Québécois nation will be defined as a collectivity of people who identify with a similar history and recognize the existence of a distinct culture. Central to this definition is that members of the collectivity share a common language (francophone speakers) and acknowledge the territory of Québec as being the central locality of their nation. These members, however, may or may not have a common desire of establishing a state. A state is defined as a central political body that is responsible for creating and regulating the laws in a society, as well as controlling and maintaining any sources of conflict (Lowrie; 1930, Gellner; 1983). The state, as utilized in this study, will

refer to either the provincial ‘state’ of the provincial Québec government or the federal Canadian government. The provincial Québécois government, when under the leadership of the PQ, has on occasion brought forward sovereignty-association referendums. The provincial government, under the leadership of the PLQ, has also been responsible for attempting to quell the desires of the separatist movement. The federal Canadian state has made several attempts to reform the Canadian Constitution to incorporate Québec into the document, as well as attempts to thwart sovereignty campaigns in Québec. The state can have a significant impact on the direction of the sovereignty movement; whether the provincial state campaigns to further or stifle the efforts of sovereignty proponents, or how much effort the federal state puts towards maintaining a unified Canada.

The purpose of this study is to ascertain changes in Québec nationalism over time. More specifically, we use two nationalism categories—ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism—to examine shifts in the way nationalism is articulated by key Québec political leaders. Discourse analysis of selected leaders’ speeches and writings will provide key data for identifying and analyzing changes. Ethnic and civic nationalism differ in the ways in which membership in the nation is defined. Membership in an ethnic nation is based on racial or cultural characteristics as requisites to be included in the group (Shulman; 2002). Membership in a civic nation requires that members of the nation have similar political and institutional goals for the nation (Breton; 1988). The type of nationalism which forms within a group implies significant things about the goals which the group is attempting to achieve. Ethnic nationalism emphasizes goals concerning the survival of a culture, while civic nationalism would imply that the nation is hoping to gain political and institutional power. The type of nationalism identified in Québec is pertinent to the purpose of this study. The

intricacies surrounding what constitutes each form of nationalism individually and how nationalism in Québec has developed affects how the discourse of nationalism can be analyzed and interpreted.

Some scholars have drawn heavily on ethnic nationalism as a primary explanation for the development of nationalism in states (Hobsbawm; 1990). Racial explanations as to why a nation may, or may not, exist were accepted, largely without question. Multiculturalism counterarguments to ethnic nationalism argue that every nationality has mixed blood so it is logical to assume that nationalism necessarily has to cross racial boundaries (Hayes; 1933). Some claim that rapid growth of multiculturalism in many western states has affected the relevance of studying ethnic nationalism however, has since established the importance in distinguishing a nation from the convergence of an identity group (Nielson; 1998). Nielson argues that this difference occurs between the nation agreeing on the desire of establishing independent statehood or the guarantee of civil rights and freedoms, and members of an identity group merely recognizing each other as members of the same identity group. The desire of establishing a certain level of political sovereignty and statehood is a common characteristic of a nation, regardless of ethnic or civically based membership (Wirth; 1936, Nielson; 1998, Moore; 2001).

Arguments claiming the existence and preservation of an ethnic nationalism ideology in Québec have become particularly controversial. This is due to the increasingly high number of immigrants in the metropolitan areas of Québec. Hayes (1933) argues that a growing multicultural population would undermine the idea of exclusivity on the part of a single ethnic identity. In contrast to the argument that multiculturalism should result in the lowering of ethnically based identity groups, arguments have been made that even a low

level of nationalism can often be found in each individual identity group (Calhoun; 1993). Given the high number of minority groups in Québec and the level of attachment those minority groups may have to their ethnic identity, voters in Québec may be weary of the outcome of a sovereign state. If the Québécois state is able to achieve sovereignty from Canada, what is the likelihood of a minority group within the new state of Québec forming a campaign to separate from Québec?

Civic nationalism ideology is based on the idea that members have “chosen” to identify with characteristics which would allow them to become members of that nation and thus have chosen to take an active part in the nationalism movement (Kuzio; 2002). The characteristics required for membership in this nation are not inherent qualities. There are five components that have been argued to be the framework surrounding a civic identity; a common territory, common citizenship, similar political beliefs, a common respect of political institutions, and a similar enjoyment of political rights (Shulman; 2002). The Québécois nation has experienced the emergence of civic nationalism throughout its development as an industrialized society. This is evident in the emphasis placed on developing a nationalized power company and strengthening government support and encouragement for higher education. It is expected that there will be evidence of the existence of both forms of nationalism in Québec, as exemplified in the discourse, because most western states experienced a shift from ethnic to civic nationalism with industrialization (Kuzio; 2002).

The intricacies involved in recognizing membership in a nation are also acknowledged in a model developed by Breton (1988). Breton argues that there are four basic elements that are pertinent when analyzing how a nation is formed and developed; 1)

the members of a nation must readily recognize the existence and division of an “us” and a “them”, 2) there must be a consensus of what the nation believes would be most beneficial for the national interest, 3) there must be a comparison of different nations in regards to the values that each nation collectively regards as being essential to the existence of their nation, and 4) the nation must collectively recognize the “social environment” that the parent state employs as one that either encourages or hinders the ability of the nation to accomplish their goals. This model may be used in emphasizing the differences in how nationalism develops. The national interest defined by a nation may be focused on the development of a sustainable economy or the maintenance of a culture that the nation believes is in danger of threats of assimilation. These goals, however, are not limited to being one or the other. The leaders of the movement may be arguing the importance of the development of a sustainable economy while simultaneously arguing that a state would not be successful without a distinct culture to match the establishment of a new economy. Once the justification of the development of the nation has been defined, based on cultural or political goals, it is then possible to identify if what is being observed can be classified as either ethnic or civic nationalism. These guidelines will be used in order to identify ethnic or civic nationalism within Québec.

When nationalism develops within a state, there are several situations which the parent state may be forced to face, including changes in the racial, political, and psychological relationships between the parent state and nationalist groups (Wirth; 1936). The parent state and nationalist group have two options in approaching negotiations to achieve their goals- peacefully or violently. Québec does not have a history of experiencing violent nationalism (Gagnon; 1994). Whether the nationalist movement is ethnically driven movement or not, Gagnon (1994) argues that once violence erupts in order to accomplish the

goals of the movement, the ethnic identity of nationalism becomes the central focus. There are four types of policies which a state is able to adopt when that state is host to a plethora of identities; assimilation, multiculturalism, or universalism (Scholten and Holzacker; 2009). A key explanatory factor for understanding why a state might adopt one of these policies is whether a state would prefer to bond or bridge a minority population with the remainder of the population. Encouraging the minority group to bridge with the majority group would require the minority group to interact and become involved with the cultural activities of the majority population. A bridging policy would be akin to a culturally justified assimilationist policy of a state. Universalism would also correspond with bridging however universalism is justified by the economic and political benefits that the minority group would receive by becoming a part of the majority population. Bonding occurs when the state encourages the minority population to remain isolated in their smaller communities. Multiculturalism requires the group to bridge with the rest of the society only following a significant amount of time of the members of the minority group bonding with each other in isolation.

The different ways in which parent states are able to shape the relationship between a minority group and the majority of the population reflects the complexities in analyzing the existence of nationalism in a state. Kohli (1997) argues that when a state contains within it a plethora of identities and nations, the development of nationalism is imminent. The intricate details of Québécois nationalism will be discussed further on however, it can be argued that Québec was bound to experience the development of nationalism because of the strong presence of both English and French identities. The outcome of the negotiations that commence after the emergence of a movement of nationalism depends highly on the relationship that the minority group has with the state prior to the formal or informal

recognition of a nation (Wirth; 1936). The Québécois have had experience in being faced with assimilationist policies by the federal Canadian state and have also encouraged multiculturalism within their province while remaining relatively isolated within the remainder of Canada. The following discussion of discourse analysis will outline how this study will proceed in its analysis of Québec nationalism and the changes that have occurred.

Methodology

The methodology that this study will be utilizing is a discourse analysis. The samples of the language used by three former leaders of the Parti Québécois will be collected and analyzed in order to identify how each leader approaches and defines nationalism in Québec. The three PQ leaders include René Levesque, Jacques Parizeau, and Lucien Bouchard. Each of these leaders have produced memoirs, statements, or documents which shed light on how each perceive Québec nationalism. In some cases, the leaders have participated in interviews, of which the discourse will also be taken into account and analyzed. Discourse is defined simply as the written or oral expression of language (Johnstone; 2002, Georgakopoulou and Goutsos; 2004). Discourse analysis is the study of the implications and reactions caused by discourse (Sinclair; 1992). A discourse analysis can occur in many ways. For the purposes of this research, the methodology will be a language-in-use discourse analysis. Language-in-use analysis focuses the analysis only on the language that the speaker has used without taking into account words that have not been included (Biber, *et al*; 1998, Locke; 2004, Gee; 2005). The language that these three leaders use reflects the complexities of Québec nationalism and the way in which nationalism is affected by factors inside and outside of Québec.

There are specific assumptions that must be made in order to make discourse a reliable source of data from which one can derive any conclusions concerning nationalism as

manifested by ideas or movements. Georgakopoulou and Goutsos (2004) identify these assumptions as being; the basic unit of the analysis must be the text, the focus of the study is the language that is being used, the text must be structured and the meaning of the text will be influenced by the environment of where and how it is used, and the general assumption that all text must be capable of analysis. These assumptions are relevant to the data that will be analyzed during this study. It is necessary to treat the use of language in each of these pieces of data as both influencing the audience that is being subject to the discourse, as well as being influenced by the environment surrounding the speaker. This environment could be the demographics of the audience or the current events surrounding the period in which the discourse is taking place. The data that will be provided in the text of this study will only be samples of the discourse. The entirety of the text will be included in making a conclusion about how the leader is emphasizing his goals of nationalism. It is important to take into consideration that a complete analysis of the discourse requires an analysis of the text as a whole (Sinclair; 1992). Analysis of the text as a whole is important because speech acts and texts that occur in sequence with each other are often completed in a specific order as a means for the speaker to convey a specific message to the audience (Mbisike; 2004). The discourse of each leader will be studied for the usage of key terms and words and will also be analyzed as piece of data as a whole. Individual words will imply a certain meaning of the discourse while larger passages have the likelihood of altering the interpretation of an individual word. This larger interpretation will result in a deeper understanding of each leader's perception of Québécois nationalism.

Language-in-use discourse analysis requires the consideration of factors outside of the direct language that is spoken. A discourse analysis must also consider the environment

of where the speaker is engaging in a speech act, the context surrounding the language, and both the identities of the speaker committing the speech act and the collective identity of the audience witnessing the speech act (Johnstone; 2002, Gee; 2005). Each of these elements can be referred to as being the context of the discourse. Discourse is influenced and shaped by characteristics of the speaker and of the individuals in the audience (Fairclough; 1995). The context that surrounds the discourse of a speaker is critical to the identity that the speaker is aiming to portray. The language that a political leader uses rationalizes and legitimizes the power which he desires to portray (Hacker; 1996). The specific use of his language has the potential to impair-or strengthen- his ability to establish or gain any power as a leader. Discourse analysis does not only allow the researcher to identify what the particularities of a sentence may mean, it also allows a researcher to identify the emergence of a political ideology and study how that ideology gained power (Hacker; 1996).

It is necessary, for the purposes of this study, to develop a linguistic code for analyzing each text. The hypothesis for this study assumes that the language of PQ leaders included in this study will change depending on internal and external political factors influenced by both the provincial and federal states. The code of indicator words has been developed in order to identify when a leader has adopted a nation-building agenda or a state-building agenda. This code however, does not assume that only one agenda will be present at one time,. A state-building agenda may be more prevalent in a set of discourse that also utilizes some words that pertain to the protection of a national culture.

The context of the data that is provided, according to the qualities required of a complete discourse analysis, is crucial to the analysis of Québécois nationalism. For the sake of historical continuity, the discourse will be provided in two sections. The first pieces of

discourse will be analyzed in the context of historical events pertinent to Québécois nationalism between 1960 and 1985. The second half of the discourse will be discussed in light of historical events occurring during the years between 1986 and 2000. The data will not be separated by each leader, but rather will be provided chronologically. Each piece of discourse will be analyzed for the use of any of the indicator words. As has been previously stated, the form of nationalism that is identified by the discourse of each leader will not necessarily be one of either nation-building *or* state-building. The possibility remains that both goals may be identified in one single piece of discourse. This study operates under the assumption that a shift will occur in response to internal and external events affecting Québec's political situation. If a shift is identified between one set of discourse and another, the political events surrounding the discourse will be analyzed as an explanatory factor. The shift in discourse may be identified to occur in tandem with federal constitutional reforms, such as that of the Meech Lake Accord in 1990 and the Charlottetown Accord in 1992, or the patriation of the federal constitution during the Constitutional Act of 1982. A shift may also occur in conjunction with the provincial election of a Parti Québécois government and a strengthened campaign for referendum for sovereignty association. State-building nationalism reflecting a more materialistic or political agenda (Calhoun; 1993), is expected to occur when the level of confidence the PQ has in the sovereignty movement is high, which may be triggered by key political shifts such as winning a provincial election. A nation-building agenda is expected to be apparent when the PQ loses a provincial election, a sovereignty referendum, or when a constitutional reform fails.

The 'indicator words' that will be used to identify nationalism discourse that relates to nation-building includes the following; Québécois culture, the French or Francophone

language, Québécois history, Our people, and “being taken advantage of” or “being humiliated”. Uses of these words will be an indicator of ethnic nationalism and that the speaker has the goal of furthering and protecting language, culture, and history. These terms, as previously illustrated, define the meaning of being a nation. The terms “our people”, “taken advantage of” and “humiliated” will be interpreted in the context in which they are used, i.e. if they are used in a context which implies the importance of the Québécois culture and the survival of the people as a nation. The indicator words that will identify the emphasis of a Québécois nationalism that has a goal of state-building includes the following; military, independent governmental institutions, economic advances- either in financial advances or advances in environmental resources, GDP, or being “taken advantage of”. These terms will indicate that the political leader is speaking in order to emphasize the importance of the Québécois nation to building the ability of Québec to survive as an independent financial and economic state. The term being “taken advantage of” will be assumed to be for the purpose of emphasizing state-building if the context of being taken advantage implies being taken advantage of economically or politically.

A discourse analysis of three political leaders of the Parti Québécois who have had a substantial impact on the development of Québécois nationalism will be a useful method of identifying some of the intricacies involved in Québécois nationalism. Discourse and the use of language is a reliable indication of interactions that occur within a society, and how those interactions are being portrayed to the general public (Phillips and Jorgensen; 2002). We expect to identify nationalism discourse during the particular period between 1960 and 2000. The following section will provide a discussion of key historical events in Québec history that have influenced the development of nationalism. Coding utilized to categorize and

analyze the data will allow identification of when and why shifts in the definition of Québécois nationalism occur, if at all.

Chapter 2: Historical Context and Québec Nationalism

Historical events have a direct impact on how, if, or when nationalism develops (Stevenson; 2004). How each historical event is interpreted by citizens, politicians, and scholars determines how pertinent each event is to the development and strength of a nation. The interpretation of a historical event, or a territory's collective history, shapes the development of the identity of the people in that area (Turgeon; 2004). Four historical events in Québec have been identified as having a significant impact on how nationalism and Québécois identity have developed and give context for this study. These four events are; the British conquest at the Plains of Abraham in 1759, the Québécois Patriot Rebellion in 1837, the publishing of the Durham Report in 1839, and a period known as "The Great Darkness" from 1936-1959. These four historical events have each been interpreted as having a significant effect on Québec society, both at the time of the event as well as in contemporary Québec.

Turgeon (2004) claims that Québec constantly experiences "historical revisionism," meaning that the consequences of Québec history are frequently re-interpreted. The different interpretations of a single event will affect the perception of the nation of both themselves and the parent state, as well as how that nation acts in order to achieve the individual goals of the movement. This section will proceed by providing a brief description of each of the significant historical events of Québec history, followed by a discussion of how these historical events have influenced the development of nationalism.

The Conquest- 1759

The British conquest of the French Canadians on the Plains of Abraham in September of 1759 marked the beginning of the end to the Seven Year's War that ranged from 1754-

1760. This particular battle, which lasted fifteen minutes from start to finish, marked the end of French rule in North America. This does not mean however, that up until this battle French rule of North America was stable. Mann (2003) argues that the short amount of time that the battle at the Plains of Abraham took was largely a result of a delinquent French commander who gambled and drank away the allotted budget for the French troops.

The French Canadians became a conquered people following the Conquest (Dickinson and Young; 2003). Battles continued throughout the countryside of Québec, finally coming to a close in Montréal in 1763 with the signing of the Treaty of Paris (Mann; 2003). This document ended French rule in North America and provided the British with the opportunity of being able to propose and implement several policies including the restriction of the use of the French language as well as the use of the civil code of law.

This episode of Québécois history was the beginning of several episodes which many Québécois would argue as having a significantly damaging effect on their history and culture. Scholars and citizens do not often agree on the final effect that the Conquest would have on the Québécois (Fyson; 2011). Many francophones prefer to refer to the event as being the moment when the French lost its control of North America, while English scholars regularly refer to this event as the British Conquest of North America. The Battle at the Plains of Abraham was over in a matter of fifteen minutes (Mann; 2003). Some Québécois regard this fact as meaning that the people of Québec lost their people, culture, and history in a mere matter of fifteen minutes (Balthazar; 1996). The Conquest is acknowledged as being the inaugural event marking the beginning of the feud between French Canadians and English Canadians over language and culture rights (Fenwick; 1981, Howard; 1991). This interpretation of the Conquest applies a destructive connotation to the event. Other scholars

and people throughout Québec and Canada have interpreted the Conquest as having a positive impact on Québec and North America, by emphasizing the benefits Québec received by the introduction of the parliamentary system to Québec (Mann; 2003). The goal of the Treaty of Paris was to establish British rule over the French Canadians. What resulted after British rule was initiated was not as fool proof as was intended. Loyalists in America began to flee towards Canada when the American Revolution erupted in the 1770's. The Legislative Assembly of the Dominion began to fear that the Québécois would fight with and for the Americans in the South. The Québec Act of 1774 was signed in an effort to persuade the Québécois to remain loyal to the British (Dickinson and Young; 2003). The Québec Act of 1774 reinstated the rights of francophones to; use the French language, a civil code-based judicial system, and practice Catholicism as they wished. Following the Québec Act of 1774, conflict between the French Canadians and anglophones remained mostly quiet until the mid 1800's (Howard; 1991).

The Patriot Rebellion- 1837

Canada was divided into Lower and Upper Canada by 1837, areas which are now known as Québec and Ontario respectively. Anglophones had established a significant presence in the Montréal metropolis, as well as in the Lower Canadian Assembly. Francophone Québécois were not warm or receptive to the notion that anglophones would be creating policy in a territory mostly populated by francophones. The Patriots were a group of francophones who formed under the leadership of Louis-Joseph Papineau as the English began to exhibit more power over the French (Greer; 1993). The Lower Canada Assembly had become unevenly represented as the English had achieved the majority of representation regardless of the fact that the French Canadians held a significantly higher number in

population. A breaking point was reached following the Riot Act of 1832, in which the anglophone legislators created a law which prohibited the Patriots from being able to publicly form a group (Dickinson and Young; 2003). This breaking point resulted in the Patriot Rebellion of 1837. The Rebellion in 1837 had the goal of establishing independence for the francophone Québécois (Balthazar; 1996).

British troops were sent to Lower Canada as tension rose and as support for the rebellion began to gain momentum in November of 1837 (Dickinson and Young; 2003, Greer; 1993). Several confrontations occurred over a two day period, eventually leading to the defeat of the Patriots by the British despite the provision of a significant number of militia prepared to defend the Québécois people. The Patriot leader, Papineau and other Patriot leaders were exiled to the United States which left the movement without a leader, thus ending the rebellions of 1837. The defeat of Patriot forces in the rebellion in 1837, and another slightly smaller rebellion which took place in Upper Canada in 1838, proclaimed the superiority of the English over the French Canadians (Perin; 1992). This event in Québécois history, according to many Québécois, has been interpreted as being another example of the constant defeat of the Québécois by the British, and essentially the defeat of the francophones by the anglophones. The same event as interpreted by federalists, anglophone or francophone, is another reason why Québec is rightly called a territory of the British, and therefore subject to British, and eventually Canadian, rule.

The Durham Report- 1840

The British Parliament reacted to the rebellions in 1837 and 1838 in Lower and Upper Canada as signs of failure in the development of an expectedly successful and vibrant colony (Rich; 1971). In order to diagnose the problems that were occurring in the British colony,

Parliament sent a man named Lord Jack Durham to assess the situation and suggest feasible options for the territory (Rich; 1971, Martin; 1972, Dickinson and Young; 2003). The British Parliament had originally concluded that the problems occurring in Lower Canada were virtually unsolvable. However, after some consideration Parliament decided to exert some effort to identify the problems. Durham was an aristocrat, imperious, and partial to the pomp and circumstance of his lordship. Despite these characteristics however, Durham was the authority trusted with the responsibility to procure suggestions as to how to solve this problem as the Governor of both Upper and Lower Canada (Martin; 1972). Durham resided in British North America for only a total of five months and spent a mere eleven days in Upper Canada. Despite this, Durham wrote an extensive report offering his recommendations for the territory (Lucas; 1912). The Durham Report was published in January of 1839, three months after leaving Upper Canada.

The Report offers many suggestions and clauses as to his observations throughout his five month residency in Upper and Lower Canada. The two main recommendations on how to solve the problems in the two colonies were centered on the ideas of unification of the separate territories and granting responsible federal government to that unified state. These two recommendations were made in response to what he believed to be the source of the problems facing Lower Canada:

“I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races; and I perceived that it would be idle to attempt any amelioration of laws or institutions until we could first succeed in terminating the deadly animosity that now separates the inhabitants of Lower Canada into the hostile divisions of French and English (Durham; 1982, 23).”

Durham also accused the French of lacking any form of culture and viewed these recommendations as an effort to end the French Canadians' "vain hopes for nationality" (Rich; 1972). The unification of the two territories suggested by Durham came to fruition as the British Parliament implemented the Act of Union in 1840 (Lucas; 1912, Martin; 1972). The Act renamed Lower and Upper Canada as Canada East and Canada West respectively, and instituted a responsible government that theoretically should have been able to provide equal representation of anglophones and francophones (Dickinson and Young; 2003). Equal representation however, did not occur. English speakers in Canada West remained to account for a smaller portion of the population than French speakers in Canada East, yet were allocated the same number of representatives as Canada East. The effect that the Durham Report had on the psyche of the Québécois is simple to interpret. The publishing and implementation of the Report can be viewed as another point when the British were ignoring the existence or needs of the Québécois culture. The nationalist motto, "la survivance", developed during this period and became the mantra in response to the increasing minority status of the French Canadians (Balthazar; 1996). The Catholic Church became more important as politics became less reliable. The Church began to encourage cultural development within the home, while discouraging political and economic involvement.

"The Great Darkness"- 1936-1960

The period called "The Great Darkness" or *la grande noirceur* is often characterized as being the autonomous administration of Maurice Duplessis-leader of the Union Nationale. The Union Nationale was a political party that stood on an autonomist platform (Quinn; 1963). Duplessis was elected to his first term as premier in 1936 with the Catholic Church as a primary source of support. French Canadians, during this time, distrusted the federal state

and the Parti Liberal du Québec (PLQ) administration which had previously formed the government (Perin; 1992). In order to remain cohesive as a people and a government, the people placed all of their trust in the only source that they believed to be reliable- the Church. The government and the Church began to be treated as being a partnership, while Duplessis often commented on having the Church under his control (Laporte; 1960). The Duplessis administration avoided a socialist development of Québec by limiting the involvement of the state in the social and economic spheres of Québécois life (Cuccioletta and Lubin; 2004). The administration of Duplessis is often viewed as an authoritarian form of government, centered on the concepts of individualism, fear of state intervention, support of unregulated capitalism, values akin to a nuclear family, and loyalty to the Catholic Church and God.

It is generally argued that the entirety of the Duplessis administration between 1936 and 1959 was a period of “social and political repression and increased foreign control over Québec’s economy” (Behiels; 1985). Francophone Québécois were encouraged by the Duplessis administration to focus on the agrarian endeavors, while English Canadians were left to dominate in business and commerce in Montréal (Howard; 1991). Québec was experiencing “backwards development” while the remainder of North America was experiencing an industrial revolution (Cuccioletta and Lubin; 2004). The effect that this historical period had on the development of Québec and Québec nationalism is evident. Québec did not experience anything resembling an industrial revolution until the PLQ regained power in 1960. The introduction of the Quiet Revolution answered *la grande noirceur* by implementing educational, social, and economic policies which enabled Québec to develop a vibrant and modern economy. Some scholars argue that the Quiet Revolution was merely a natural progression after a period of regression created by the Duplessis’

administration (Cuccioletta and Lubin; 2004), while other scholars argue that an identity of nationalism grew and exploded, one that was centered on the reaction to the repression of the Québécois. The majority of English Canadians remember the Duplessis era as one marked by intolerance of political dissent (Ajzenstat; 1995).

Each of these four historical events had an impact on the development of Québécois nationalism. Each event can be interpreted as important in the development of a conquered people mentality and thus each is significant to the development of nationalism in Québec. The events of the Patriot Rebellion and the Durham Report offered a turning point in the development of Québec nationalism. After these two events, the Québécois transformed from a nation trying to achieve greater independence into a nation that began identifying as an ethnic group in order to preserve their culture (Turgeon; 2004). Young (2011) argues that the rebellion of 1837 marks a period in which nationalism erupted in Québec, while the Act of Union in 1840 and the efforts of assimilation following the Durham Report are acts of repression of the French Canadiens by the English. Separatists view commiseration as the most appropriate way to respond to the destructive history that Québec has experienced. Commiseration is defined as the remembrance of an event that caused a nation to suffer and the belief that the nation must be compensated for their suffering (Stevenson; 2004). Interpretation of history, in any nation or state, carries with it significant ramifications. The “la survivance” mantra that developed following the writing of the Durham Report has been interpreted in multiple ways. Breton (1988) interprets this catchphrase as representing an effort to develop a militaristic and economic sphere. Loh (1975) has interpreted “la survivance” as being a form of collective memory to help preserve the Québécois culture. The historical events and the way in which they affected the development of a Québécois

identity are pertinent to being able to understand the survival qualities of the nationalist identity that formed.

Québec Nationalism

The historical impact of the previously discussed four events on the development of nationalism in Québec is recognized and acknowledged by Québec scholars and political leaders. There are disagreements and debates between francophone and anglophone scholars as to what the direct impact on any of these events might be on the country as a whole, or on the Québécois nation individually. The moments of Québec history that have been discussed are intended to provide context for how the Québécois nation would develop an identity based on perceptions of a repeatedly destructive history. As Laforest (1989) argues, this Québec history, which encourages the development of the instinct of survival is dynamic. Change occurs as new political, social and economic challenges are confronted. The survival instinct that developed during the history of Québec has changed just as nationalism in Québec has changed. An instinct of surviving as a people during the Conquest changed into the instinct to establish a state which would be able to economically survive towards the end of the Duplessis administration.

From an ethnically driven nationalism to one that has argued the importance of establishing a politically and economically sovereign territory, Québec has consistently argued that the only body that is capable of making decisions for Québec is a legislature that is composed of Québécois (Handler, *et al*; 1984, Fournier; 2008, LeClair; 2008). The purpose of the remainder of this section is to provide evidence to exemplify the path of development that Québec nationalism has experienced. This complicated development includes the tug-of-war the Québécois have been playing with Canadian federalism and the changing dynamics

within the province itself. It is important to discuss the experience of nationalism in Québec in order to understand and interpret the nationalism discourse provided further on in this study.

A distinct nation began to develop in the territory of Québec beginning in the 17th century (Gougen; 1993). The nation developed as a group of French settlers who came to New France, were essentially abandoned by their empire, and were left to survive on their own. The Québécois nation developed on its own in the course of battles with the British and then with their own federal government. Each moment of change in the Québécois nation and identity is acknowledged once the nation recognizes itself and how history has affected its existence and development (Maclure; 2004). The most basic changes that the nation within Québec has experienced occur, in the simplest sense, is in how the nation identifies as a people (Gougen; 1993). The French settlers that arrived in New France identified as French Canadiens in an effort to separate themselves from English Canadians. The French Canadian identity has since evolved into an identity named the Québécois identity. This identity revolved around the idea that there are many French Canadiens around the country of Canada however, it is not necessarily true that these French Canadiens completely understand the trials and tribulations that the Québécois have had to face within their own territory. The dominant ideology within Québec has transformed into one with the goal of promoting Québec's uniqueness within the federation in order to justify and voice their dissatisfaction with many federal policies (Rocher; 2002). This dissatisfaction is felt in order to establish themselves as body of people who have the right to survive as a nation.

The changes that the Québec identity has experienced is not generalized as only occurring in the nation as a whole, but also within individual identities inside of the nation.

The people who belong to these identities agree that there is a distinct culture that can be identified within Québec, but they disagree within the movement as to what the most appropriate method of pursuing the goals of the movement might be. The struggle of Québécois identities occurs between the identities of melancholic nationalists and cosmopolitan anti-nationalists (Maclure; 2004). Melancholic nationalism relates to the previously discussed idea of commiseration- of the perception that a nation is subject to compensation after an event which caused their nation to suffer (Stevenson; 2004). Melancholic nationalists view their history as a tragic one, occurring from the Conquest onwards (Maclure; 2004). These nationalists identify in a manner which encourages dependence on the formal recognition from the federation and attach to the survival instinct of the nation. Cosmopolitan anti-nationalists however, identify in a more independent manner. These nationalists believe that the stagnation of their nation is a result of their own actions. History has already happened and it is up to the members of the nation to create a situation in which they are able to survive and thrive as a community. Cosmopolitan anti-nationalism argues that while the nation will always exist, it does not assume that a nation must be political sovereign (Trudeau; 1968). These two identities that can be seen within Québécois nationalism are indications of several other differences that can be seen within the movement, most pertinent to this study, the occurrence of ethnic nationalism and civic nationalism in the territory.

Civic and ethnic nationalism in Québec have had significant influences on the direction of Québécois nationalism, as well as on the issues which the Québécois placed their focus. Language and the focus placed on the importance of a Québécois culture are strong indicators that a ethnically based movement are present, however the economic expansion

during industrial revolutions introduced a new factor which had the ability to influence the development of Québécois nationalism (Duchesne, *et al*; 2003). Québécois identity is argued as being comprised of concepts that define both ethnic and civic nationalism. Pelletier (2008) describes Québec identity as being the French language, the Québec culture, the use of civil law, as well as the province's distinct institutions and way of life. The form of nationalism that began in the 17th century has been identified as being a movement defined by ethnic qualities. However, this inaugural movement may also be described as being a movement of civic nationalism because the French Canadiens were left to create their own institutions and economic way of life.

There is a distinct difference that can be seen in the identification of an ethnic nationalist identity in Québec and the recognition of civic nationalism in Québec. Ethnic nationalism in Québec is identified as developing when a nationalist organization, which identifies with more cultural characteristics, is more or less radical than the general population (Meadwell; 1993). This argument of development means that when the Québécois became a dominated group or experienced an organized uprising, as seen in the rebellion in 1837, that ethnic nationalism able to be identified. Ethnic nationalism in Québec is largely about a group of Québécois who have a shared memory about what their nation has experienced (Beauchemin; 2004). These shared experiences do not only include the destructive nature of the historical events that have already been discussed, but also the tribulations that have been experienced in being the “guardians of the French culture in North America (Quinn; 1963, vii)” and even the contemporary issues surrounding constitutional reforms. The emergence of Québécois nationalism can be argued to be one to have emerged from an ethnic basis. It was necessary for the Québécois to establish themselves as a people

with a distinct culture and language before they were able to create the argument that they would be able to establish a sovereign political or economic territory. The identity of the Québécois “depends on their survival as a cohesive group with a binding culture, language, and religious heritage with which all Québécois can identify (Howard; 1991, 415).” The necessity of establishing and promoting the Québécois nation is essential to the ability of the nation to effectively argue that a separate economy would be successful. If the most basic ethnic identity within the nation is not perceived as being stable, it is unlikely for the general population will be persuaded that an independent economy would be stable. The strength of the argument that civic nationalists make may only be as strong as the cohesiveness of the ethnic identity within the Québécois nationalist identity.

The civic nationalism ideology in the Québécois movement is one that is primarily focused on the political, institutional, and economic spheres of Québécois life, as civic nationalism was previously defined. The ethnic sphere of Québec nationalism is focused on the establishment of a distinct, and even separate, culture and nation. The civic nationalism ideology pertains to the advancement of a formal equality between the Québécois and the remainder of Canada (Beauchemin; 2004). This distinction creates a difference meaning that ethnic Québécois nationalism does not necessarily demand sovereignty or recognition by the Canadian federal state that they are equal. Civic nationalism demands the parent state to establish formal political equality for the nation perhaps by means of territorial sovereignty.

Economic changes began to occur in Québec following the end of the Duplessis administration. These changes began to level the economic status between the francophones and anglophones in Québec (Meadwell; 1993). After these changes began to take place, it is evident that popular support for the establishment of an economically equal Québécois nation

began to rise. The characteristics which define a civic identity are not ones that a person is born possessing. The beliefs that one holds in regards to the economic or political state of a nation is found to be more easily swayed than those pertaining to the ethnic state of the nation (Howe; 1998). After the Québécois identity was established ethnically, as a people with a tragic history who needed to protect their culture and language, Québec experienced an industrial revolution which introduced several political and economic possibilities to the people. How civic nationalism and ethnic nationalism in Québec is further impacted by the changing demographics of the province is apparent in contemporary Québec.

The many different ways in which the Québécois are able to identify as a nation have been discussed. Ethnic and civic nationalism have both made a prominent presence throughout the history of nationalism and into contemporary Québec nationalism. The way in which the Québécois have reacted to their history has been discussed, as well as the methods of how they believe the federal government should recognize their destructive history. This study is concerned with each of these issues. These issues remain a matter of concern to the thesis in order to discern how the goals of nationalism vary and change depending on internal and external circumstances. There are members of the movement who vehemently regard themselves as Québécois, but who are happy with the state of the nation as it is (Carens; 1995). There are also members of the Québécois nation who are fighting for more rights, those who are arguing for autonomy of the nation, and those who wish to wholly separate from Canada. One of the most notable differences in how each member of the movement responds to these goals is how they respond to the way the goals are marketed and voiced by the leaders of the movement (Pinard; 2002). The response to the words sovereignty, or separation, or sovereignty-association, and independence all garner different reactions from

the voters. The voting public experience confusion in these different terms. They are not sure, in what circumstance, Québec will remain a part of Canada and when they will not. The confusion corresponds with an undesired feeling of instability for the votes which they would rather avoid.

There is not an active debate as to whether or not there is a different culture or society in Québec. Québec is different from the remainder of the provinces in Canada, not only because of their language and their use of civil law, but because they regard themselves as a national community and they place that identity above their Canadian identity (Stevenson; 2011). The nationalism of the French Canadiens that developed in the 17th century after the abandonment of the French motherland is not the same as the nationalism that was evident during the 1960's following the industrial revolution. The Québécois, in general, regard themselves as a minority within the federation of Canada and a majority status within their own province (Iacovino and Sevigny; 2011). This section has exemplified how the continuously destructive history of Québec has influenced the emergence of both ethnic and civic nationalism. The next section of this study will be providing the data which will be used in determining how nationalism in Québec changed during the most active period of Québec nationalism. The data will begin with a contextual overview of the period between 1960 and 1985.

Chapter 3: Discourse

Discourse

The data utilized in this study will be extracted from various memoirs, speeches, books, and letters that have been published by three leaders of the PQ. René Levesque, Jacques Parizeau, and Lucien Bouchard, each of whom played a prominent role in the various campaigns for sovereignty promoted by the PQ. There are several ways to study the separatist movement in Canada and the views of the PQ in particular. The discourse used by these leaders will be regarded as a reliable source to interpret the changes in the goals of nationalism during the period of time in which the political fortunes of separatism in Québec waxed and waned. The data will be separated into two major sections due to the complexities surrounding historical occurrences in the federal and provincial political environments. The first segment will contain discourse that was published between 1960 and 1985. This data will be discussed in light of several events which are believed to have impacted the discourse used by the various political leaders. The second segment of the discourse will be chosen from material published between 1986 and 2000. This data will be discussed in light of several significant provincial and federal events which impacted the methods that the PQ used in their language concerning sovereignty. The historical context may also be utilized as a tool to highlight the turmoil that the Québécois nation has experienced throughout the active period of the sovereignty movement. The following is a complete list of the discourse that will be analyzed throughout the study.

- *An Option for Québec*- René Levesque (1968)
- “For an Independent Québec,” *Foreign Affairs*- René Levesque (1976)
- *My Québec*- René Levesque (1979)
- *Memoirs*- René Levesque (1986)
- Resignation letter- Lucien Bouchard (1990)
- *On the Record*- Lucien Bouchard (1992)

- *Québec in a New World: The PQ's Plan for Sovereignty*- Jacques Parizeau (1994)
- "A Case for a Sovereign Québec," *Foreign Affairs*- Jacques Parizeau (1995)
- Speech given the night of the 1995 sovereignty-association referendum- Jacques Parizeau (1995)

The nine pieces of discourse will be analyzed according to the developed code in order to decipher a shift in the language used.

1960-1985

The first period of data is the time span between 1960 and 1985. The data during this time period will be largely drawn from discourse used by René Levesque. As the inaugural leader of the PQ, founded in 1967, the words produced primarily by Levesque, while being influenced by several members of the party, are believed to be a reasonable glimpse of Levesque's views of sovereignty and of the sovereignty movement. As previously stated, the provision of the context surrounding each piece of discourse is vital in order to perform an analysis of the data. Four historical events have been identified as being pertinent to the discourse extracted from Levesque: the Quiet Revolution, the passage of Bill 101, the first referendum for sovereignty-association, and the Constitution Act of 1982. A brief description of these events will provide an adequate contextual discussion for the data set that will follow.

Historical Context of the Political Environment

The first significant event during this period is Québec's major industrial movement known as the Quiet Revolution. The Quiet Revolution was a reaction to the stunted economic and political growth that occurred during the Duplessis era. This period of development began in 1960 and lasted throughout the decade. When the Liberal Party took power of the provincial government in 1960, Premier Jean Lesage executed policies which encouraged the secularization of education and social services (Howard; 1991). A distinct emphasis was

placed on “succeeding in business”, which occurred with the weakened position of the Catholic Church, the growing importance of education, and the increased migration to the growing metropolis of Montréal (Dickinson and Young; 2003). The Lesage administration increased the amount of responsibility that the provincial government had towards its residents. This included the development of a provincial “opt out” program in 1966 which would, for example, allow the provincial government to refuse federal funding provided for a federal program, such as a pension program, in favor of instituting a similar provincial program (Cauchon; 2008). The Quiet Revolution was a period of intense development, industrialization, and nationalization of educational and social services, and is called a period of “spring cleaning” for the Québécois administration (Levesque; 1986). During the Quiet Revolution, Stevenson (2004) claims that, “Québec moved in less than a decade from being one of the most politically and socially backwards Canadian provinces to being the most advanced (921).”

The second significant event during the tenure of Levesque’s leadership was the passing of Bill 101 in 1977 by the Québec National Assembly. This bill had a significant impact on the language laws in the province and served as an expansion of Bill 22 from 1974. Bill 22, passed by a PLQ administration, created policies which legally named French as the official language of use in government, business, and education (Saywell; 1977). Bill 22 was a provincial response to the federal Official Languages Act of 1969 that formally declared Canada a bilingual country (Dickinson and Young; 2003). Citizens were guaranteed governmental assistance in French if desired. As well, Bill 22 increased opportunities for Francophones to gain employment in government agencies (Gibbins, *et al*; 1985). During the period between 1974 and 1977, ruling power in the province changed from the PLQ to the

inaugural government of the PQ. Bill 101 implemented tighter restrictions and offered more explicit instructions as to how language laws and rights were to be addressed. The only minority group formally recognized by Bill 101 was the English speaking population, in addition to including the implementation of legal provisions which were to now dictate how children would be educated throughout their primary years (Colman; 1981, Gagnon and Montcalm; 1990). In essence, Bill 101 sought to “make the use of French obligatory, without, however, forbidding the use of another language (Québec National Assembly; 1977).” The different manners in which the PLQ and the PQ addressed the use of language affected the chance of survival of the Québécois culture in different ways.

The third influential event during this period of study is the failure of the first referendum for sovereignty- association held in 1980. The referendum in 1980 failed by a measure of 20 percent with 60 percent of the voting population opposed sovereignty association of Québec and 40 percent of the voting population in favor (Clarke; 1983, Gibbins, *et al*; 1985, Dickinson and Young; 2003). The referendum was phrased in a way which would assume the implementation of a new political and economic relationship that Québec would have with Canada. An approved referendum in 1980 would have given the provincial government the ability to negotiate with the federal government in order to gain political sovereignty, while maintaining an undefined economic relationship (Howard; 1991). The failure of the referendum has been attributed to the lack of support that the PQ had from businessmen in the metropolis of Montreal (Gougen; 1993). The demographics of the voters who voted in favor of separation from Canada consisted largely of young people, students, and the well-educated (Clarke; 1983). While this population was a large percentage of the general population, it did not account for the majority of the population. Gagnon and

Montcalm (1990) argue that the policies that the Levesque administration passed were largely reactionary policies prior to the failure of the referendum. Policies were not proactive and could be considered fairly retaliatory against the federal government and the policies they imposed.

The Constitution Act of 1982 is the final measure which is believed to have had a significant influence on the development on nationalism. The federal government, under the administration of Pierre Elliott Trudeau, began negotiations for constitutional reform in the effort to “patriate” the Canadian Constitution (Gibbins, *et al*; 1985). Prior to this constitutional reform, any final decisions regarding changes to the Canadian Constitution remained under the control of the British government. Under the 1982 Act, Canada alone would be able to amend the document without final approval from London after the patriation of their own constitution. The Levesque government was opposed to the four major approaches that the Trudeau government was taking in order to achieve patriation (Gagnon and Montcalm; 1990). First, the Canadian government refused to discuss a change in the division of powers before developing a new amending formula. Second, the proposed amendment formula denied Québec ability to “opt out” from federally funded government programs and did not grant the province an exclusive ability to veto parliamentary decisions. Third, Québec was opposed to the development of a Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as Québec had previously adopted a provincial Charter of Rights. Finally, when the federal government did open negotiations to a renewed division of powers, Québec was unsatisfied with the lack of decentralization that they would be awarded. Québec remained outside the constitutional negotiations, as the Trudeau administration pursued its goal of patriation- with or without Québec. The remaining provinces signed the patriated

Constitution which was ruled legally binding by the Supreme Court despite the absence of Québec's signature (*ibid*).

Data

The PQ was formed following the beginning of the Quiet Revolution due in part to the efforts of René Levesque. Levesque, a former television journalist and a former member of PLQ Premier Jean Lesage's cabinet (Smiley; 1978), made his first political efforts as a sovereigntist by removing himself from the PLQ and forming the Mouvement Soverainete-Association (MSA) (Saywell; 1977). This group of individuals gathered together, in the name of promoting a more independent Québec, with the intention of instituting a political party in order to accomplish independence. The PQ formed as the MSA expanded into a formal political party and began running candidates in various ridings for the National Assembly as early as 1968. Levesque, as the first leader of the PQ, marketed the proposed solution by the PQ to all of Québec's problems to be obtaining independence from Canada (LaSelva; 1993). Despite a decline in support following the terrorist actions of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) (Dickinson and Young; 2003), the PQ was elected to form their first government in the National Assembly in 1976 and Levesque became Premier of Québec (Howard; 1991). The following excerpts, from various documents written by Levesque, are representative of several moments during his tenure as the leader of the PQ when the separatist movement was gaining momentum and support. The first source is written following the formation of the party in 1968, the second source was written in 1976 directly preceding the PQ's first election to form the provincial government, and the final source was written in 1979 in anticipation of the first referendum for sovereignty- association.

An Option for Québec was written, not in an effort to exemplify the entire platform of the PQ, but rather as a brief explanation of what the PQ believed would be the best solution for Québec. The book was written in 1968 following the official formation of the PQ as a political party in provincial politics. The following excerpt exhibits the reasoning behind, and stances of, the PQ as a political party and what they hope to accomplish once they formed the provincial government:

“We are children, of that society, in which the *habitant*, our father or grandfather, was still the key citizens. We also are heirs to that fantastic adventure—that early America that was almost entirely French. We are, even more intimately, heirs to the group obstinacy which has kept alive that portion of America we call *Québec*...Anyone who does not feel it, at least occasionally, is not-is no longer—one of us...More is involved here than simple intellectual certainty. This is a physical fact. To be unable to live as ourselves, as we should live, in our own language and according to our own ways, would be like living without an arm or a leg—or perhaps a heart...On the table, we propose that Québec should lay a project for association which would include: a monetary union and a ‘common market,’ along with their logical complement, the coordination of fiscal policies. Some, at one extreme, will tend to see in this association very serious impediments to that independence of which they have dreamed so intensely, that it is, understandable, hard for them to view it as being anything but absolute and complete. The slightest amputation seems to them to make it a thing unbearably flawed and suddenly much less worthy of their enthusiasm. The point is this: we as a people have all the means we need, but not enough that we can afford to be carried away by mirages or by conditions that are no longer applicable (Levesque; 1968).”

The article “For an Independent Québec” was written prior to the PQ winning the provincial election which allowed them to form their first government in 1976. Levesque, as the leader of the official opposition leader, refers to a highly centralized federal government with a persistent tendency to continuously deny the formal recognition of a French Canadian culture. The following was written in an effort to explain what policies the PQ would bring forward if they were to form the next legislature:

“Inevitably, there had to be a spillover into politics, More than half of our public revenue and most decisions that count were and are in outside hands, in

a federal establishment which was basically instituted not by or for us, but for others and, always first and foremost, for their own purposes. With the highly centralized financial system that this establishment constitutionally lords over, this means, for example, that about 80 percent of Québec savings and potential investment capital ends up in banks and insurance companies whose operations are none of our business... Now how does the Parti Québécois see this society begin to find its way as an independent nation? What is the general outline of the political, social and economic structure we hope to bring forth? Serious observers have been calling our program basically social-democratic, rather comparable to the Scandinavian models although certainly not a carbon copy since all people, through their own experiences, have to invent their own 'mix'. The way we have been trying to rough it out democratically through half a dozen national party conventions, ours would call for a presidential regime, as much of an equal-opportunity social system as we could afford, and a decent measure, as quick as possible but as carefully as indicated, of economic 'repatriation'. This last would begin to happen immediately, and normally without any great perturbation, through the very fact of sovereignty. With the gathering in of all of our public revenues and full legislative control which any self-respecting national state has to implement over its main financial institutions, banks, insurance companies and the like (Levesque; 1976)."

My Québec was written in 1979, in the form of an interview, given to and answered by Levesque. As it was written in 1979, the PQ and the Levesque administration were preparing to introduce the first referendum for sovereignty-association to the National Assembly and then to the general public. Throughout the text, Levesque addresses the effects of the visit of Charles de Gaulle to Ottawa and his unexpected "*Vive le Québec libre*" statement that he made in front of thousands, as well as the effects of a counter referendum proposed by the Trudeau administration on the efforts of the sovereignty campaign. The following text is an excerpt revealing how the party approaches the definition of policies issues as they would affect the voters of Québec:

"All the efforts we have made during the last two years have been directed towards one objective: controlling our own affairs. We will start with sufficient control of our economic life which, alone, can ensure the survival and development of our language and our national identity...the day Québecers are masters of their own resources and their own economy we will be able to make further progress forward (Levesque; 1979)."

1986-2000

The second set of discourse from the Parti Québécois comes from samples collected from Levesque, Jacques Parizeau, and Lucien Bouchard. Parizeau held the leadership of the PQ from 1988 until 1996 (Dickinson and Young; 2003). He was Premier of Québec, following a PLQ administration, from 1994 to 1996. Bouchard served as a member of Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservative federal cabinet from 1988 until 1990. His tenure in the cabinet was during the period leading to the constitutional rounds of the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords. Bouchard, as a native Québécois, was concerned with the treatment Québec would receive during these negotiations. Following what Bouchard reveres as poor negotiations and relations with Québec, Bouchard resigned from Mulroney's cabinet and founded the federal separatist party, the Bloc Québécois (BQ). The discourse included in this section of the study is taken from sources between 1986 and 1995. The following six samples of discourse are taken from sources, ranging from journal articles to memoirs. The first piece of discourse is an excerpt from *Memoirs*, written by Levesque in 1986. The next sample will be derived from Bouchard's resignation letter from Mulroney's cabinet in 1990. The third piece of discourse will be from Bouchard's memoir entitled *On the Record*, published in 1992. The fourth piece was written in 1994 as a forward written by Parizeau for a book published by The National Executive Council of the Parti Québécois. The next sample is from an article that was written by Parizeau for *Foreign Affairs* journal in 1995 entitled "A Case for a Sovereign Québec." The final set of discourse is the speech Parizeau made immediately following the defeat of the referendum in 1995.

As in the previous data section, it is necessary to fully exemplify the political environment during this period of the study and how that environment affected the context of

the discourse. Four events between 1986 and 1995 have been identified as having a distinct impact on the language that these leaders use in each of piece of their discourse. The first two events are the two failed attempts to reform the federal constitution; the Meech Lake Accord in 1990 and the Charlottetown Accord in 1992. The negotiations for the Meech Lake Accord took place between the provincial Premiers and the Prime Minister, while the final decision of the Charlottetown Accord was voted upon by the general voting population across the entirety of Canada. The third historical event that would affect the speech of the PQ is the formation of the Bloc Québécois, as was previously briefly described. The final historical moment is the second referendum for sovereignty-association held in 1995.

Historical Context of the Political Environment

The Constitution that resulted from the Constitution Act of 1982 does not include a signature from René Levesque, indicating that Québec never officially approved the final draft of the negotiations. Negotiations to reconcile Québec's absence from the Constitution Act of 1982 began in 1987 in the form of a list of Constitutional amendments called the Meech Lake Accord (Vipond; 1993). These negotiations were to take place between the Progressive Conservative Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the ten provincial premiers. The PLQ government of Québec, under Robert Bourassa, developed a list of five proposals that, with minimal revisions, were included in the final Meech Lake document. Québec's demands were: constitutional recognition as a "distinct society", a veto on any federal constitutional amendments, influence over immigration law in order to maintain a French speaking majority of the population in light of the drastically lowered birth rate, a limit on the amount of federal spending allowed on provincially run programs, and a reliable and significant representation of Québec in the Canadian Supreme Court (Watts; 1991).

The Meech Lake amendments failed because two provinces, Manitoba and Newfoundland, believed the document allowed too many exceptions to Québec and failed to benefit the country as a whole (Dickinson and Young; 2003). The manner in which Meech Lake proceeded through negotiations was wrought with controversy. The general public felt removed from a constitutional amendment process that was taking place behind closed doors between just eleven men (Cairns; 1988). The failure of the Meech Lake Accord disappointed the Québec government to the extent that the Bourassa government voted to present the federal government with an ultimatum. The federal government needed to hold another constitutional amendment referendum by the end of 1992, or the province would be forced to hold another referendum for independence (LeDuc and Pammett; 1995, Stein; 1997). The second constitutional negotiation process became the Charlottetown Accord.

The negotiations of the Charlottetown Accord were to be decided by a national referendum and were marketed as a process which would include the input of the national public. British Columbia and Alberta had already agreed to take part in the constitutional negotiations prior to the ultimatum given by Québec, and the remainder of the Canadian provinces agreed to take part in the election (Vipond; 1993). Charlottetown included provisions which affected the country as a whole, not just the demands of Québec. These provisions included revising the role and the selection mechanism for the Canadian Senate and formally recognizing the right of aboriginal communities to self-government (Vipond; 1993, LeDuc and Pammett; 1995). In essence, this document touched on the three main principles of the Constitution Act of 1982; responsible government, Canadian federalism, and the rule of law (Johnston; 1993). The viability of the Charlottetown Accord was to be decided by a popular referendum in which the entire voting population would either accept or

reject all of the negotiations in a single yes or no vote. There was general support for the Accord until the final weeks before the vote. The voting publics of six of the ten provinces, including Québec, ultimately voted to reject the Charlottetown Accord (Vipond; 1993). Québec has remained absent from the Constitution following two federal campaigns for reform. These large constitutional campaigns, neither of which resulted in an affirmative vote, left a distinctly anti-constitutional taste in the mouths of both the Québécois and the general Canadian public (Stein; 1997).

A new federal political party was formed following the demise of the Meech Lake Accord in 1990. This new political party is the Bloc Québécois (BQ). The BQ, founded by former Progressive Conservative cabinet member Lucien Bouchard, was formed with the promise of doing what was necessary in order to help Québec obtain sovereignty within the federal government (Clarke and Kornberg; 1996, Belanger; 2004, Gagnon and Hérvault; 2007). Bouchard formed the party with the promise that the party would be quickly disbanded (Gagnon and Hérvault; 2007). This promise however, was made under the assumption that sovereignty would be realized during the 1995 referendum for sovereignty-association. This goal was not accomplished however, and the BQ still remains a significant federal party in Parliament today. The party, with members exclusively from Québec, gained significant stature during the federal election of 1993 which resulted in the BQ becoming the Official Opposition in the House of Commons (Gagnon and Lachapelle; 1996, Belanger; 2004, Gagnon and Hérvault; 2007). Regardless of its nature as a separatist party, the BQ operates as a socially democratic, center-left political party (Thorburn; 2007). As a federal political party that openly exists solely for the purpose of aiding Québec's sovereignty efforts

while maintaining a federal presence in the House, the formation and durability of the party has become a symbol of the perseverance of the sovereignty movement.

The failed sovereignty-association referendum held in October of 1995 is the final historical moment which had an effect on the sovereignty movement. Parizeau and the PQ won the provincial election in 1994, claiming that with that success would come a referendum for sovereignty to be held within a year of election. The PQ, the Action Démocratique du Québec (a provincial, conservative, and autonomist party), and the BQ worked alongside one another during the campaign, in order to bring each end of the political spectrum together in order to persuade the public to vote “oui” for sovereignty (Dickinson and Young; 2003). The federal government refrained from making many statements concerning the referendum as the provincial support for the referendum remained substantially low. Low support for the referendum remained constant until September of 1995 when Bouchard was placed as the head of the campaign, and support soared (Clarke and Kornberg; 1996). The federalists largely campaigned on the argument that the referendum was incomprehensible in that the National Assembly proposed political sovereignty and an unexplained economic relationship with Canada, of which the federal government did not recognize. Despite the combined efforts of the sovereigntists, with a 93% voter turnout, the referendum failed by a rate of 50.6% of the population voting against sovereignty and 49.4% of the voters favoring sovereignty (Clarke and Kornberg; 1996, Gagnon and Lachapelle; 1996, Dickinson and Young; 2003).

Data

The first sample of discourse for this portion of the study is taken from Levesque’s *Memoirs* (1986). Levesque published his autobiography immediately following his

resignation from the party leadership. Levesque makes a concerted effort to eliminate the possibility of this book becoming a political agenda and focuses on making a purely biographical story (Levesque; 1986). The underlying tone of the book describes a life that was dedicated to securing independence for Québec, because, in Levesque's view, without independence and the opportunity to govern themselves as a Québec state, the Québécois would be little more than merely a "potential people". The chosen sample is an example of Levesque's thinking that the Québécois are a people and therefore it is necessary for these people to be independent from any outside governing force.

"We formed a people who were distinct and consequently unique in the world. We, that is, we French-speaking Québécois, are not French, or at least haven't been so for centuries. Observers of the French regime had recognized this fact well before the Conquest. A new continent had already forged a new original type of man, and the small interest the Old Country showed in him only reinforced his spirit of independence. During the last century this same man rose against the Empire of Her Britannic Majesty in 1837-38 in a hopeless combat, yet it emphasized his refusal simply to disappear. And now we were in a position to establish that, warmed under the sun of the Quiet Revolution, the same sap that ran in his veins was feeding all kinds of expressions of a true national community, one that nothing could prevent from aspiring to break its bonds to reach full realization of its potential.

'But was it necessary to cut all formal ties with Canada? Even though confederation, which was never really a true one, gave us dangerously little breathing space at the very time we felt the need for ever-increasing room to manoeuvre, didn't it remain conceivable that the framework could be readjusted in such a way as to let Québec live and develop freely?

'Like many others, I tried out the various formulas then current: special status, or particular status, opting out (the right to withdraw, with financial compensation, from various federal programs), and finally a new or renewed federalism within which we would constitute an associate state, free from dependence as a minority. With regard to all these concepts one idea stood out: equal rights for the two collectivities... 'equality or independence.' This alternative, which I had clumsily evoked myself, suited me perfectly. It appeared to me to be a legitimate ultimatum and one that had some chance of shaking up the musty rigidity of the federal regime (Levesque; 1986).'

The second piece of discourse is a sample from the resignation letter that Lucien Bouchard wrote to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in order to withdraw from the federal

Cabinet of the Progressive Conservative Party of Canada in 1990. Bouchard, being from Québec, was involved in the negotiations for the Meech Lake Accord. In the last few moments of negotiations, the terms of the Accord were altered to the point where Bouchard was left feeling betrayed, as a representative from Québec. This encouraged Bouchard to submit his letter of resignation from Cabinet:

“I feel a moral obligation to withdraw from your government. I ask you to release me from my ministerial responsibilities and from my responsibilities for Québec...Québécois, in particular, must redefine the degree, the structures, and the conditions of their participation in the Canadian system. To me, it does not matter whether we call it associative, confederative, or anything else. However, it will require another round of negotiations: a true one this time, one concerned with fundamental issues. The negotiations will be genuine because the motivations that given its dynamic force will be genuine. In other words, it will be necessary to negotiate from a position of strength. Only a Québécois state with a clear mandate based on the recovery of its full attributes will have the proper political authority to negotiate the Canadian association of tomorrow...In the end it is better to have honour in disagreement than agreement in dishonour. In any event, nothing could ever be worse than dishonour in disagreement, a fate reserved for those who would attempt, in vain, I hope, to convince Québec to attend another booby-trapped conference with the idea of snatching back ultimate concessions that could be nothing but humiliating (Bouchard; 1992).”

The next piece of discourse is extracted from Bouchard’s autobiography, entitled *On the Record*, published in 1992. The autobiography is similar to the organization of Levesque’s *Memoirs* in that Bouchard writes this autobiography in an effort to candidly depict his own life, from childhood to becoming leader of the BQ. The pieces of data that will be extracted from this source will provide a glimpse as to how the leader expresses his views of sovereignty and Québec nationalism following the failure of the Meech Lake Accord.

“Québécois see the same country [as Canadians] but reflected in a mirror. Their real state is Québec. For the last thirty years, they have tried to seize as much power as possible from Ottawa. They feel they form a nation, one that is predominantly francophone, to which they pledge their primary loyalty. They have long recognized in the various elements that make up a state the

attributes of a country: state, territory, loyalty, people, and culture. It is, in fact, a country that is being artificially kept within the Canadian country. By rejecting Meech, English-speaking Canadians had sent the message that they do not want two countries in one and that, if they had to choose, they would choose their own. This gave Québécois the idea of doing the same thing. English Canada had seen about as much political change in the federal system as it was willing to accept. If Québec wanted to go further, it would have to go elsewhere, meaning home to Québec. This decision goes beyond negotiation and removes us forever from questions of good or ill will, of esteem or contempt, of respect or rejection. The decision is one of logic and political necessity. Instead of constantly worrying about our own feelings and those of others, or going around in circles and tearing ourselves apart, we must take notice of reality and its demands: there is a country missing in this country, and it is ours. The Quiet Revolution stopped precisely at that point. Québec is an unfinished country, one that needs to be completed (Bouchard; 1992).”

The next sample of discourse in this time period is the forward written by Parizeau for the book *Québec in a New World: The PQ's Plan for Sovereignty*. The forward of this book was written as a preliminary introduction to the platform of the Parti Québécois, should they be elected to power in the next provincial election. This book was monumental to the sovereignty movement because it marked the first time that the platform of the PQ would be published in English. The campaigns of the PQ had been largely targeted towards francophones until this point. The targeted demographic for the PQ changed during this period from a campaign primarily directed to francophones to targeting all Québécois as Québécois regardless of linguistic characteristics (Dubé-Corkery and Béiveau; 2005). The following excerpt is a sample from Parizeau's justification of the actions of the PQ.

“Québec society is going through a difficult period. Its ways of life and habits of mind are being challenged from all sides. Thirty years of progress and achievements are not being questioned. The achievements have become a source of problems; the progress appears to be disintegrating. Thirty years ago, education reform was the starting point of the Quiet Revolution. But now we are facing the weaknesses of our education system: a growing school dropout rate, functional illiteracy and the collapse of vocational training at the secondary level. After investing so much energy and money to ensure that education would be accessible to all our young people, how can we explain such disappointing results?...People point out that other societies are also

undergoing the same developments and experiencing the same realizations, conclusions, worries and reappraisals. This is no doubt true, although to different degrees in different places. However, a significant number of these societies retain a capacity for change, movement and hope. This is not so in Canada. Government, which in the past played a central role in the cultural, social and political spheres, now finds itself at a standstill. There has been much critical comment about the way rivalry between the two major levels of government, federal and provincial, leads to duplication and waste. In the end, the result is a kind of sclerosis that makes any effort painful and limited if not impossible. Paralysis is no way to live. That is our situation. For five years, all of Canada's governments engaged in an effort to change the system, create new hope and rediscover a zest for leadership, but the failure of the Charlottetown Accord marked the end of that initiative. No longer will anyone seek hope or try to find a way forward through renewed Canadian federalism (The National Executive Council of the Parti Québécois; 1994)."

The next piece of data is a sample from an article written by Parizeau for the journal *Foreign Affairs* in 1995. This article is titled, "A Case for a Sovereign Québec," and was written in conjunction with an article written by PLQ leader, Daniel Johnson, entitled "A Case for a United Canada." Both of the articles were included in the same issue of the *Foreign Affairs* journal directly preceding the referendum in October of 1995. The article begins with historical memories and occurrences as an introduction to why nationalism in Québec exists and why it is important for the Québécois people to grasp their own destiny (Parizeau; 1995). As Parizeau argues that the Canadian government will never formally accept a "Two Nations" approach to federal policy, the following excerpt depicts Parizeau's interpretation of Québec nationalism and what would occur both culturally and economically if sovereignty were to occur.

"The problem with Canada can be summed up in one question: How many nations live in its midst? For Québécois, who have spoken French on this continent since 1608 and who make up 25 percent of Canada's population, the answer is obviously two. That is the understanding upon which Canada was founded in 1867. The two nations would share some powers in a central state, but they would also coexist in strong provincial governments with substantial autonomy...The case for independence does not rely solely on Canada's refusal to compromise with its French component. It draws strength from the federal government's incessant infringements on Québec's jurisdiction and

from the decisions of the Canadian Supreme Court to shorten the list of Québec's powers...Québec's determination to become a member of the family of nations ultimately stems from its own successes. When upwards of two-thirds of your economy is owned by domestic interests...you have no desire to turn inward. You have no desire to close doors. Rather, you want to open them wide. You want to step out and be yourself, talk for yourself, and deal for yourself, directly and without any intermediary...Open to the world and avid consumers and exporters of cultural and industrial products in both the French and English-speaking worlds, Québécois long to be more of an international presence. Sovereignty is a way to be fully present in the modern world of ideas, culture, commerce, and politics; it is a way to speak in our own voice in good intelligence with our neighbors as partners on this continent and elsewhere (Parizeau; 1995)."

The final piece of discourse is a sample from a speech that Parizeau made on the evening of the second sovereignty referendum in 1995. This speech was made to the audience of supporters of the "oui" campaign for sovereignty-association directly following the announcement that the referendum had failed by less than one percentage point. The emotional impact of the vote and the evening made a profound impact on the direction and reception of the speech.

"Friends, we have lost, but not by a lot. It was successful in one sense. Let's stop talking about the francophones of Québec. Let's talk about us. Sixty percent of us have voted in favor...I would have liked for it to go through. I really would have loved for it to go through. We were so close to having our country. Well, it's just put off for a short while, not for a long time. We won't wait another 15 years this time, oh no. What has happened is wonderful. In one meeting after another, these people who had said the future of our country isn't that important were coming along and saying we want that country of our own. And we will get it. We will end up with our country. It's true that we have been defeated, but basically by what? By money and the ethnic vote...The independence of Québec remains the cement that binds us. We want a country and we shall have it...Here in Québec we are not going to sacrifice ourselves in that movement to the right that the rest of Canada is taking. We are going to demonstrate that we are able, even if we don't have a country as yet, that we will raise a French society that has its heart in the right place, and in the long run, finally, we will have our own revenge and we will have our own country. Long live hope, long live Québec (Dubé-Corkery and Béliveau; 2005)."

The data that has been provided throughout this chapter exhibits differences in the language used by each leader. The language used is not necessarily different depending on who is speaking, but, it is argued to be affected by the internal and external political factors surrounding the sovereignty movement. Events that result in the empowerment of the separatist movement such as the Quiet Revolution or the passing of Bill 101, have been hypothesized to create a shift in language from language protecting culture to language that would be promoting a successful independent Québec economy. Political events that stifle the development of the Québécois nation, such as the Constitution Act of 1982 and the failures of both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords, have been hypothesized as being a factor in a shift of language from emphasizing the Québec economy to language used in order to protect and promote a distinct Québec culture. The following section will analyze the discourse of René Levesque, Jacques Parizeau, and Lucien Bouchard. The language used will be analyzed in relation to the external political environment in Canada and Québec using the developed code which will make evident if, or when, these shift occur.

Chapter Four: Analysis

The discourse in this study will be analyzed by using a language-in-use discourse analysis. The factors of this discourse analysis include the context surrounding the discourse as well as the language that is used by each leader. It is hypothesized that the discourse will make evident that a shift in discourse happens from a language reflecting ethnic nationalism and a goal of nation-building, to language that places an emphasis on characteristics of civic nationalism with a goal of state-building. This shift will be affected by the internal and external political environment that the PQ is subject to at the time of the discourse. State-building will be identified as the goal of the political leader when the political environment has been affected in a way that would result in a situation where the PQ would feel confident in their efforts of obtaining sovereignty. Nation-building will be assumed as the goal of the party when the political environment is stagnant or when the party feels as though protectionism of the nation is important. This shift is going to be evident based on the number of times that the leader uses each type of language. A brief reminder of the code which is used to identify these shifts follows.

Coding of the data will be made from the following developed system. Indicator words will be used to identify the acknowledgement of a type of nationalism in each political leader's discourse. If the following words are used it will be assumed the language is being used for the purpose of nation-building; Québécois culture, the French or Francophone language, Québécois history, our people, and "being taken advantage of" or "being humiliated". The use of these words will indicate that the speaker has the goal of emphasizing the protection of the language, culture, and history. The terms "our people", "taken advantage of" and "humiliated" will be interpreted in the way in which the speaker is

assumed to have used them. If the terms are used in a manner reflecting the protection of being taken advantage of as a culture, the use will be a nation-building indicator. The indicator words that will identify the emphasis on the goal of state-building includes the following terms; military, independent governmental institutions, economic advances- either in context of the financial market or environmental resources, GDP, or being “taken advantage of”. These terms will indicate that the political leader is placing an importance on expressing how the Québécois nation is able to survive as an independent economic state. The term being “taken advantage of” will be assumed to be for the purpose of emphasizing state-building if the context is being taken advantage of economically. Each of the pieces of discourse will be analyzed in light of this code and the external political environment.

The first piece of discourse is from *An Option for Québec* written by Levesque in 1968. The political environment during this period nourished the growth of the independence movement. The PQ had recently been established as an official political party for the province of Québec, and because of this it is reasonable to assume that the party was experiencing a substantial amount of confidence to their success as a party. The Quiet Revolution created an environment in which members of the Québécois nation, who had previously been encouraged to stifle the development of their own economy, could now explore new industrial paths. *An Option for Québec* was written in an effort to provide the public with a basic explanation of what the PQ was as a political party. The excerpt included in this study contains terms which reflect an emphasis placed on both types of nationalism. Levesque uses terms such as “language” and “a people”, as well as identifying that people outside of Québec are not “one of us”. Levesque also includes a description of the “monetary union” that Québec would maintain with Canada, with a “common market” in concert with

common “fiscal policies” made between the two states. The political environment created by the Quiet Revolution was one which allowed the PQ to feel as though they may succeed as a political party. The language that was used reflects an emphasis placed on both nation and state-building goals of nationalism in Québec.

The second piece of discourse is extracted from Levesque’s “For an Independent Québec” written in 1976. This piece was written in the same year that the PQ won their first provincial election. The PQ had stated that a successful election would indicate that support for sovereignty would be at an increased level, and would thus result in the party developing a campaign strategy for a referendum for sovereignty. Levesque writes that revenue and most financial decisions are not “made by or for us”. This identification of an “us” and a “them” continues in a highly economic discussion including terms such as; “legislative control”, “institutions”, “national state”, a “political, social, and economic structure”, and a “financial system”. The political environment of the PQ as one of confidence in the polls and projecting a successful campaign in the provincial election likely raised the confidence level of the PQ regarding public support for sovereignty. The language used by Levesque strongly reflects the use of state-building terms. Civic nationalism takes precedence over ethnic nationalism as the PQ identifies the need to promote the economic necessity and ability of the Québécois nation to exist as an independent state.

My Québec is the source which the third piece of discourse is taken from. Levesque wrote *My Québec* in 1979 after winning their first provincial election, and after the Levesque administration passed Bill 101. The success of the party in the provincial election as well as the establishment of the new language laws in Québec led up to the campaign for the 1980 sovereignty referendum. The book discusses the path of nationalism in Québec, as well as the

process which the referendum had to go through in order to reach the general public. The language that Levesque uses includes terms that exemplify an emphasis placed on both nation and state-building goals of nationalism. Nation-building goals are reflected in the terms such as “our language” and “our national identity.” Levesque also identifies an “us” and a “them” in this piece. Terms such as; “economic life,” and Québécois should own “resources” and “economy,” reflect the importance that Levesque places on the state-building goal of nationalism. In *My Québec*, Levesque identifies a nation-building goal in concurrence with a state-building goal. This piece and language is surrounded by a political environment which would encourage the PQ to encourage the Québécois nation to feel confident about their abilities to survive as a nation as well as to survive as an economic state.

The fourth piece of data is from Levesque’s *Memoirs* written in 1986. Written immediately following Levesque’s resignation from the leadership of the PQ, the political environment surrounding this piece was relatively quiet. The Constitution Act of 1982 was signed without Québec four years earlier, the 1980 referendum was unsuccessful per the desires of the PQ, and the constitutional reforms had yet to occur. Given the lack of events that would have significantly impacted the direction of nationalism in Québec, the language Levesque used can be assumed to be unaffected by immediate political events. The language that Levesque uses reflects an emphasis placed on the nation-building goal of Québécois nationalism. The excerpt includes terms such as; “a people,” “French-speaking Québécois,” and a “national community.” The excerpt, with the exception of a brief mention of “financial” and “federal programs,” places a heavy emphasis on the existence of the Québécois nation as a culture and as a nation, as opposed to discussing the success that an independent economic Québec state would experience.

Bouchard's resignation letter from Mulroney's cabinet written in 1990 is the fifth piece of discourse used in this study. The letter was written directly prior to the final negotiations of the Meech Lake Accord and was triggered by Bouchard's feeling that the federal government was not adequately taking Québec's concerns and requests in consideration. In his letter, Bouchard uses terms discussing a Québec state and institutional structures which should be taken into account when the federal government negotiates with the Québec government. Bouchard was involved in federal negotiations with a government regarding the constitutional rights of his home province. With the importance surrounding the conclusion of the Meech Lake Accord approaching, Bouchard felt used as a pawn in these negotiations (Bouchard; 1992). The resignation letter that he submitted to Mulroney places an emphasis on the Québec state. Bouchard argues that only a Québec state would be able to properly negotiate terms with the federal Canadian state. This state-building goal of nationalism is evident.

The sixth piece of data is extracted from Bouchard's memoirs *On the Record* written in 1992. This piece of discourse was written following the Meech Lake Accord, during the same year as the Charlottetown Accord, and following the establishment of the BQ as an official federal political party. The political environment was highly active during this time with events that would have affected Québécois nationalism. The foundation of the BQ, by Bouchard himself, would have an effect on raising the confidence level of the nationalists by introducing the demands of the sovereigntist movement directly into the federal parliament. The failure of the Meech Lake Accord and the continuing negotiations of the federal referendum of Charlottetown likely gave Bouchard a reason to emphasize both a nation-building goal of nationalism, as well as a state-building goal of nationalism, which is what he

did. Bouchard uses terms such as; “francophone”, “nation”, a people”, and “culture” which identifies the emphasis placed on nation-building for the movement. Bouchard also uses terms such as; “their real state is Québec”, “state, and “territory”. The emphasis placed on both of these goals indicates that Bouchard finds an importance on protecting the ethnic characteristics of the Québécois nation, in addition to the importance of completing the establishment of an independent Québécois state.

The seventh piece of data in this study is the forward to *Québec in a New World: The PQ's Plan for Sovereignty* written by Parizeau in 1994. The political environment had grown quieter since the constitutional reforms of 1990 and 1992. The PQ would not be facing another provincial election for another year, and as such this book was written to explain what the party would be arguing in the event that an election would take place. Parizeau writes about the “life and habits” of the “Québec society”, and gaining control of the “cultural” and “social” spheres of Québécois life. The emphasis placed on the nation-building goal of Québécois nationalism takes precedence over the mentioning of the “political” sphere of Québécois life. The argument that Parizeau makes is centered on the establishment of the Québécois nation and the importance of the nation being in control of its own people.

The eighth piece of data included in the study is “A Case for a Sovereign Québec” written by Parizeau in 1995. Parizeau published this article in conjunction with Daniel Johnson’s article “A Case for a United Canada,” for *Foreign Affairs* journal. The article was published following the PQ’s election to form the provincial government. The campaign for this election was run on the promise that Parizeau would provide the government with a referendum for sovereignty which would be presented to the general public. The referendum

for sovereignty was scheduled for one month after this article was published. The language that Parizeau used reflected an emphasis placed on both the nation-building goals of Québécois nationalism as well as the state-building goals of movement. The emphasis placed on the nation-building goal is evident in the following terms; two “nations”, “French speaking”, and “culture”. The state-building goal of Québécois nationalism is evident in the following terms; “courts”, “economy”, “commerce”, and “politics”. The state-building terms clearly reflect the development of civic nationalism, while the nation-building terms are a reflection of the protection of the ethnicity of the Québécois nation. The political environment developing from the PQ winning the provincial election and the campaign for the sovereignty referendum would motivate the PQ to use language which would convince voters in Québec of the cultural benefits of sovereignty as well as the civic benefits of achieving sovereignty.

The final piece of data included in this study is the speech that Parizeau made following the sovereignty referendum in 1995. The election did not result in the favor of Parizeau or the PQ as the “no” side succeeded by only a slim margin. The language that Parizeau used during this speech reflected an ethnically focused speech. He emphasized the use of “francophones” and Québécois “society”. As previously stated, this speech changed the tone of the nationalism discourse. While the campaign had been focused on all people residing in Québec as people who should desire Québec sovereignty, the ethnic tone of this speech placed the emphasis of the Québécois nation on the French language. The political environment created by the loss of the election for the “oui” campaign resulted in a speech that was concentrated on protecting the Québécois nation. The lost election caused a loss of

confidence and thus created the need to emphasize the nation-building goal of Québécois nationalism

These pieces of discourse each reflect either nation-building goals of nationalism or state-building goals of nationalism, and in some cases both goals. It was not assumed that one piece of discourse would reflect one goal to the exclusion of another. We recognized the possibility of both goals being identified in one piece of data. The political environment surrounding each piece of discourse has been shown to have an effect on the language that each leader uses regarding the intentions of Québécois nationalism. The Levesque pieces written in 1968, 1976, and 1979, Bouchard's resignation letter and his memoirs, and Parizeau's article written in 1995 were all written in environments in which the events surrounding the PQ would make the leaders feel a heightened level of confidence. The founding of the PQ as a party, the support in the polls for an election as well as a sovereignty referendum, the negotiations prior to Meech Lake, and winning the provincial election in 1995 would all indicate a rise in support for the PQ and thus for the campaign for sovereignty. This heightened level of confidence corresponds with the use of indicator words which emphasize the state-building goal of nationalism. The pieces written in 1968, 1979, 1992, and 1995 each emphasize both the state-building goal as well as the nation-building goal of nationalism. In these periods it is assumed that the leader feels the need to campaign for sovereignty by stressing to the electorate that the Québécois nation is a distinct and significant nation and culture which must be protected, but that if they were to become independent the probability of Québec being economically successful is feasible. The pieces written by Levesque in 1976 and by Bouchard in 1990 primarily emphasize only the state-building goal of Québécois nationalism. The political environment of provincial elections

and campaigns for sovereignty-association as described previously indicates that the authors felt the necessity to establish the political and economic potential of an independent state, comforted that the audience recognized the existence of the Québécois nation.

The data represented by the writings of Levesque in 1986, and Parizeau in 1994, as well as his speech in 1995, use terms which indicate an emphasis placed on the nation-building goal of nationalism. As illustrated previously, the Levesque piece and the forward written by Parizeau were produced between periods of intense activity for Québécois nationalism. Levesque wrote his memoir between the Constitution Act of 1982 and the beginning of the constitutional rounds. Parizeau wrote the forward between the Charlottetown Accord and the campaign for the 1995 referendum for sovereignty. Neither of these periods were moments where the PQ used language which emphasized the state-building goal of nationalism. The speech that Parizeau made following the 1995 referendum was made in a period when the efforts of the sovereignty movement had proven not enough to win the sovereignty referendum. An emphasis on nation-building was evident in each of these pieces. The leaders preferred to use language which would highlight and justify the existence of the Québécois nation as well as how the nation was “deserving of being recognized” as a legitimate part of the Canadian federal state.

Conclusion

Québécois nationalism is a phenomenon which will not disappear in the near future (Carens; 1995). Nationalism occurs when a group of people identify an unequal distribution of rights and work towards greater political autonomy (Calhoun; 1993, Nielson; 1998). The method which is used in order to determine membership in a nation creates division in the overarching ideology of nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is evident in instances when cultural and linguistic properties are the characteristics believed to be paramount in binding the nation (Ignatieff; 1993). A nationalism which operates under the belief that all people who acknowledge the political capabilities of the nation are able to be rightful members of the group, is civic nationalism. Ethnic nationalism is based on the francophone language, the acknowledgment of a Québécois culture, and the recognition of the destructive history the Québécois have experienced. Civic nationalism is reflected in the Québécois nation when discourse prioritizes ideas about working towards restructuring political and economic institutions in order to secure political sovereignty. This study looked at how the internal and external environment affected the course of Québécois nationalism. The language that political leaders used during the time period delineated in this study was a useful tool in identifying these changes.

We concluded that nationalism discourse revealed differences between the years 1960 and 2000. Changing discourses reflected nation building and ethnic appeals at certain times, and the goals of state building and civic nationalism at others. It has also been shown that both goals of nationalism can be evident in a single piece of data. One cause of the change from civic nationalism to ethnic nationalism is identified as the internal and external political

environment to which Québec society is subject. Several pieces of data in this study were published during a period in which the political leader was able to use language emphasizing both the cultural characteristics of the Québécois nation as well as the political and institutional potential of an independent Québec state. There were also pieces of discourse in which the leader used language only reflecting the distinct history and culture within Québec society.

Language which reflects both the nation-building and state-building desires, and discourse reflecting primarily a goal of state-building, occur in a political environment in which there is relatively strong confidence in the PQ efforts to achieve sovereignty. This environment would be marked by the PQ winning provincial elections, or being ahead in polls previous to an election, during a campaign for sovereignty-association, or being confident about constitutional negotiations. The discourse that uses language primarily emphasizing the nation-building goal of nationalism is evident during periods when the political environment had become quiet, or when the sovereignty movement experienced a period of loss, such as the disappointment of the sovereignty campaign in 1995.

Virtually all observers recognize that a sovereign Québec would result in drastic changes for the people of Québec, of Canada, and possibly North America and the rest of the world. Some scholars worry that the secession of Québec would send a message across the world as the only well-established democracy to experience secession (Dion; 1996). Ignatieff (1993) argues that if federalism cannot be successful in a country such as Canada, then federalism is less attractive as a stable form of democracy. According to these scholars, the continuation of Québec in Canada would be in the best interest of both Canada and Québec. The way in which Québec fits into the federal system in Canada is a pressing concern in

Canadian politics and will continue to be so (Stevenson; 2011). At the same time, it is accepted that a Québécois nation exists, based on the majority use of the French language in a distinct culture. From a cultural perspective, it is not difficult to see an argument for an independent Québec. Economists, however, are highly divided on whether an independent Québec could achieve economic success (Dion; 1996). Scholars and other political observers are also divided on what kind of relationship Québec would have with Canada should it achieve sovereignty. One of these concerns is how Québec's multiethnic population will react to sovereignty; whether that population will choose to remain in Québec or opt to remain a part of Canada. The Supreme Court of Canada was asked to make a ruling in 1998 regarding the legality of the secession of Québec from Canada. The Supreme Court ruled any future referendum presented to the people could not assume an economic relationship with Canada that is not guaranteed or agreed upon prior to the writing of the referendum (Aronovitch; 2006). This 1998 Supreme Court ruling impacted how the nationalists would continue their quest for sovereignty by effecting the legality of the international recognition of a sovereign Québec.

This study shows that the language used by political leaders regarding the Québec state is affected by both the internal political environment in Québec, as well as the external political environment of Canada. Voters in Québec are still being faced with concerns from competing views about whether sovereignty remains a viable option for Québec. Bouchard sparked a debate as recently as 2010 by stating that he did not believe that another referendum for sovereignty-association would be held during his lifetime (Hamilton; 2010). PQ leader, Pauline Marois, claimed that refraining from holding a referendum does not necessarily imply that sovereignty is dead, but rather it will remain a project of the Québécois

nation and it will not end (Hamilton;2010). This argument that sovereignty may not be achieved in the immediate future may find its own enemy in other sovereigntists. Former leader of the PQ, Bernard Landry, argues that the support for referenda on sovereignty trend upwards based on the history between 1980 and 1995 (Landry; 2010). According to Landry, it is reasonable to believe that, if faced with another referendum, Québécois would chose sovereignty. These political leaders each interpret the current state of Québécois nationalism differently. The direction of the sovereignty movement is a matter of interpretation that varies over time.

Québec nationalism has been, and can be, studied in many ways. This study used discourse as a tool for analyzing the influences which cause the goals of Québec nationalism to change. The political environment has been identified as an important factor in the language used, impacting discourse that changes to and from language indicating state-building goals and nation-building goals. The data of this thesis was limited to samples written in or translated to English. The data was analyzed as carefully as possible, taking the entire document into consideration, however the outcome of the hypothesis may or may not have been different if data written and published in French was also included. The results of any study are dependent on the included variables. The conclusion of this study could vary by including data in the French language, but also by including data of more current political leaders.

It is evident that nationalism discourse is affected by the context in which the language is being used. The goals of the Québécois nationalism may, at times, be focused on building the prowess of an economically and politically sovereign Québec state. The goals may also, at times, be focused on developing the cultural distinctiveness of the Québécois

nation. This study shows that, during the period between 1960 and 2000, the goals of Québécois nationalism that were vocalized to the voting public were slightly altered. Given the international environment in the current global economic recession, and the potential reactions to the federal election of 2011, Québécois nationalism will remain a pertinent topic in Canadian politics. The factors influencing how the goals of nationalism are articulated to the people who decide the fate of a nation-state should be analyzed and understood in every way possible in order to prepare for the changing political realities in Canada.

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