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Quebec's Uninhabitable Community: Identity and Community among Anglo-Quebecer Out-Migrants

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Abstract:

How do Anglo-Quebecers who have migrated to Ontario in the past 45 years perceive and negotiate their identity in relation to Quebec? Since 1971, 600 000 anglophones have left Quebec for other parts of Canada. This out-migration coincided with political tensions that influenced a complete economic and linguistic shift in power from English to French. The symbolic and literal reclamation of Quebec as a French province set the conditions for the partial erasure of the Quebec anglophone (Anglo-Quebecer) community (group) and sense of identity. From a series of semi-structured interviews with anglophones who left Quebec within the past 45 years, I illustrate how Quebec's monolingual French language ideology has created a sense of identity and community that is *"uninhabitable"* for Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants. These migrants are researchable as a community but are not socially accepted or visible as one in broader society. The French nationalist discourse in Quebec no longer recognizes their presence or their language. This study contributes to the broader research on Canadian linguistic minorities and decolonisation efforts in Quebec by focusing on the Anglo-Quebecers that migrated from the Montreal area to the Greater Toronto Area, where previous research has only focused on Anglophones still living in Quebec.

Keywords: Identity, community, anglophone, language-ideology, Quebec, Canada, migration, multilingual-environment, periphery, decolonisation.

Summary for Lay Audience:

This is a research project on one of Canada's two linguistic minority groups under law. It is an identity project on groups of Quebec anglophones. I questioned how Anglo-Quebecers who have migrated to Ontario in the past 45 years perceive and negotiate their identity in relation to Quebec due to the 600 000 anglophones who have left Quebec for other parts of Canada since 1971. This out-migration coincided with political tensions that influenced a complete economic and linguistic shift in power from English to French in Quebec. From a series of semi-structured interviews with anglophones who left Quebec within the past 45 years, I illustrate how Quebec's monolingual French language ideology has created a sense of identity and community that is *"uninhabitable"* for Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants. These migrants are researchable as a community but are not socially accepted or visible as one in broader society. Anglo-Quebecers are part of an *uninhabitable community* because the French nationalist discourse in Quebec does not recognize their presence and actively excludes their language. Meanwhile, Anglo-Quebecers continue to signal their differences from other Canadian Anglophones (e.g. in Ontario) by displaying objects that reference their ties to Quebec, such as landscape paintings and sports memorabilia. Anglo-Quebecers have become accustomed to avoidance relationships where specific objects can either evoke negative or positive feelings about Quebec. In taking the concept of *uninhabitable communities* as a theoretical lens for research in multilingual environments, individual perspectives of identity and community can be seen to differ from discourse circulated by the structural systems of the nation. In thinking with this concept individual claims to authenticity from linguistic minority groups can be analysed alongside the structural systems of power that they are in tandem with throughout history.

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Thank you, Dr. Lindsay Bell, and Dr. Karen Pennesi for all your help in the writing process as well as for your guidance in making this research a reality. I must also thank all of my participants for sharing a part of themselves and their time with me.

I have made friends and met mentors in the Western University Anthropology Department. They have encouraged me to follow through on this research and without their help this project would not have been possible.

This work is dedicated to my family.

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Introduction

When meeting new people, I often get asked the question, "what do your rings mean?" (I wear rings on both hands), and I tell them that the two silver ones on my right hand are gifts from my girlfriend and the ring on my left hand, the gold one, used to belong to my paternal grandfather. My grandfather's ring has his initials on top of it and two fleur-de-lis symbols on the sides (a stylized depiction of a lily) (Fig. 1). The fleur-de-lis symbols on the sides of this ring are the same ones that can be found on the Quebec flag as well as on pieces associated with the French Monarchy. I don't know the exact reason, but I suppose for my grandfather, the ring was meant to symbolize where he grew up and lived his whole life, the province of Quebec.

Figure 1- My grandfather's ring

I have always treasured the ring. My father wore it for most of my childhood. He would use it as a jumping off point to tell me about what it was like living in Quebec and what my grandfather was like as a person. I never met my grandfather, yet I have always been told that we were alike, at least in appearance. It was a significant moment when my father passed it on to me. It was a coming of age feeling of pride and responsibility but also a connection to something bigger than myself, a connection to something I have been told that I am a part of but has been lost by partial erasure and a shift in discourse that is still usually only talked about in a whisper.

While the ring has been an object of comfort and belonging for me, it has also been a source of confusion and ambivalence with respect to how I understand my family's history and relationship to place. Through the course of this research, I realized how unusual it was for my anglophone grandfather to wear this ring. The fleur-de-lis symbol is synonymous with the French language in general and the province of Quebec in particular. Through the 1960s, it became associated with Quebec's emerging linguistic nationalist agenda and therefore now indexes Quebec's socio-linguistic tensions.

The ring's complex semiotic functions, and my relationship to them, surface in conversations I have about the ring. Being asked about the ring has forced me to admit that although I was born in Quebec, I have lived almost all of my life in Ontario. This brought up challenging feelings of at once being "from somewhere" but not necessarily belonging. These feelings are compounded by my own linguistic abilities. I cannot speak French beyond a beginner level. When in conversation about the ring, my interlocutors

almost seem disappointed in my lack of ethnic and linguistic "authenticity," meaning French-ness. There seems to be no room for Quebec-ness without this linguistic piece. On the one hand, it makes me feel good to identify as an Anglo-Quebecer but on the other, it brings up confusion, as all my life I have kept being told all these great things about this place that I am from and was born, but I don't completely feel as though I'm from there. This feeling of being in-between or being confused about where people belong has been echoed in my interviews.

I come from an Anglo-Quebecer family that moved to the Greater Toronto Area in the late 1990s and therefore had prior experiences and an established rapport with the Anglo-Quebecer community before starting this research. Inspired by my background, I was interested in exploring the complex relationships that Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants to Ontario maintain with Quebec, particularly in how they construct their identity and make sense of feelings of belonging. More broadly, I was interested in investigating how people identify with places and express themselves through objects, but also why it matters to identify with a place in terms of the past and current socio-political context of Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec). The association of identity with various other distinguishing categories (e.g., culture, ethnicity, region) opens itself up to ambiguity because of the various possible ways in which these generalising terms can be used and have been used by other scholars.

In my conversations with my participants there was a sense that they placed value in their relationships to Quebec yet expressing it in the present as an identity posed some

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substantial challenges. My participants described intense feelings of ambivalence with regard to their linguistic and regional identities. My participants expressed an affinity with Quebec, but also recalled that many francophones did not want them there and so were hesitant in their self-identifications. The Anglo-Quebecers whom I spoke to have both happy memories of Quebec but also memories of the events that made them feel as though they were being squeezed out of the province or as one interviewee described it, as the feeling of being on the chopping block.

As Quebec Anglophones, my participants hold a contentious relationship to Quebec even if their described life experiences were positive. They, like me, are caught in the historical and political web that is French-English relations in Canada. My grandfather's ring helped reveal to me the ways in which Anglo-Quebecers have navigated their place in relation to Quebec with what I will explain as being an *uninhabitable community*.

Since the 17th century there has been a community of settler francophones living in Quebec, Canada. What a lot of people don't know or misunderstand, is that there was also a relatively large linguistic minority group of English Canadians living in Quebec as of the 18th century. The English were the dominant economic group for the past couple centuries of the province's history, resulting in various conflicts and prejudices. Presently, there are very few anglophones left in Quebec, between 1971 and 2001, "the proportion of Quebec residents who declared English as their mother tongue declined dramatically from 13.1% to 8.3% of the province's total population."[1] Since the early

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[1] It was only in the last census period (2001–2006) that there was a slight growth rate among native English

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1970s up to the present day, around 600 000 anglophones have left Quebec for other parts of Canada. This out-migration coincided with political tensions that influenced a complete economic and linguist shift in power from English to French in Quebec during the first government of the Parti Québécois (1976 - 1985). During this era, francophones symbolically and literally reclaimed Quebec as a French province. This research looks at the consequences of this shift on the Quebec anglophone (Anglo-Quebecer) community's sense of identity and belonging.

The feeling of ill-belonging and not feeling welcome was common with the Anglo-Quebecers that I spoke with. From a series of semi-structured interviews with anglophones that left Quebec within the past 45 years, I found that these feelings described above is part of the Quebec anglophone identity and self-understanding. Their home of Quebec in a lot of ways is still the same now as it was before but it has changed in a way where Quebec is no longer home for them in the same way anymore.

This thesis describes how Quebec's monolingual French language ideology has affected Anglo-Quebecer self-identification. I illustrate how Anglo-Quebecers maintain an ambiguous claim and affinity to Quebec but are restricted in their claims to authenticity of being a Quebecer by francophone discourse. What I mean by this is that the minority linguistic status of Anglo-Quebecers technically makes them a vulnerable community

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speakers, from 591,365 to 607,165 […] a more inclusive frame of reference defines English speakers as those who have English as a mother tongue as well as those who speak a mother tongue other than English, but for whom English is the first official language speakers. Based on this definition, the total anglophone population in Quebec as of 2006 rose to 995,000, which is equal to 13.4% of all Quebecers and roughly equivalent to the number of French-speaking official language minority communities in the rest of Canada" (Corbeil 2010, 11 -13).

within Quebec but their linguistic majority status of English in the rest of Canada has also made them out to be the oppressors of francophones and French in the province's history. Simultaneously a minority and majority, Anglo-Quebecers are a unique population through which to investigate intersections of language, power, and identity. This thesis focuses on the betwixt nature of Anglo-Quebecer identity and has found that Anglo-Quebecers are a periphery group whose identity and sense of community are researchable and imaginable but are *uninhabitable* categorically and ideologically.

This thesis is guided by a single key question: how do Anglo-Quebecers who have migrated to Ontario in the past 45 years perceive and negotiate their identity in relation to Quebec? In answering this question, I found that Anglo-Quebecers have an affinity with Quebec and acknowledge having a shared collective experience among other Anglo-Quebecers, yet due to the monolingual language ideology of French that circulates in Quebec discourse, Anglo-Quebecers are unable to wholly inhabit a sense of Anglo-Quebecer identity and sense of community. This is due to a lack of recognized authenticity of being a Quebecer for anglophones, from the perspective of Quebec francophones and Anglo-Ontarians. This study contributes to the broader research on Canadian linguistic minorities and decolonisation efforts in Quebec by focusing on the Anglo-Quebecers that migrated from the Montreal area to the Greater Toronto Area, where previous research has only focused on Anglophones still living in Quebec.

While researching Anglo-Quebecer identity I analysed socioeconomic status and reports of minority status and marginalization as they are attributed to the Anglo-Quebecer

population by the Canadian Government (Government of Canada 2013). In thinking generally about this, linguistic minorities are assumed to be non-dominant within their own context, in terms of power relations, forms of capital, and conceptions of mobility. In the case of Anglo-Quebecers this assumption gets thrown on its side and is complicated because the case of Anglo-Quebecers is not a straightforward one. Anglo-Quebecers hold a peculiar and ambiguous linguistic minority status.

Anglo-Quebecers are a linguistic minority within the province of Quebec but are at the same time a linguistic majority outside of Quebec in the rest of Canada. This peculiarity is something that has been explored further in this research and can be used to help disentangle other similar cases that are similarly not complex in terms of marginalization. It is self-evident that people don't tend think about how the dominant language in their society may also be a minority language across a provincial or municipal border. For example, unless someone was already aware to the Anglo-Quebecer group of anglophones living in Quebec, I think it is likely that many Canadians would find the idea of English having an official linguistic minority status as being unusual.

Currently, the majority of Quebec identity research has been restricted to focus primarily on stories of francophones living in Quebec as the vulnerable majority group finding their way to power, as well as the linguistic minority groups of francophones living outside of Quebec (Gérin-Lajoie 2016, 4). Monica Heller (2016; 2011; 2003) is a foremost scholar on the topics of francophone linguistic minority groups and education, the commodification of French in Ontario, as well as the post-nationalist pathways that

Quebec francophones have taken in the decolonisation and reclamation of Quebec as French rather than English. Her work is inherently discursive moving between French and English realities and is usually grounded in the turbulent socio-economic history of English and French ethno-linguistic groups in Canada. I have made the same efforts here in this thesis to maintain this same type of grounding in analysing linguistic minorities in Canada as Heller does, but my case focuses on Anglo-Quebecer migrants instead of francophones or Franco-Ontarians. There is already a great body of scholarly work on French Canadians and francophones that is extensive and has publications coming out regularly.

A recent study by Olivia Walsh (2020) analysed the attitudes towards the French language in Quebec through a discourse analysis of a collection of over 300 articles from six Québécois authors concerned with the standard and ideal variety of the French language spoken in Quebec, between the 1920s and the 1990s (1). This study concluded that the view of French in Quebec moved from a more imperialist view of Quebec French in relation to France, to a more regionalist valuing of the Quebec variety of French as the new ideal language variety in the province (10). The change in perception of the value of Quebec French over time coincided with the economic, linguistic, and cultural shift in power from English to French that began in the late 1970s and early 1980s. This study has been important for verifying reports from my participants regarding the shift to a monolingual language ideology of French in Quebec.

Other scholars like David Pettinicchio (2012) describe the migration patterns of Quebec

Anglophones in trying to deduce why anglophones left Quebec. This is primarily a quantitative study dealing with census information. What little research there is available on Quebec Anglophones is typically quantitative in some manner. For instance, Jedwab (2007) analyses the lack of leadership in Quebec Anglophone communities and Fenwick (1981) and Rose (1985) give analyses of the events of Anglo-Quebecer exodus[2] as it unfolded throughout the 1980s. But these studies give more of a general overview of the structural conditions of francophones and anglophones, instead of an in-depth qualitative analysis of personal and individual perspectives. There is already a breadth of research in relation to the topic of linguistic minorities in Canada but there is a lack of qualitative research on Quebec Anglophones. This lack of research on Quebec Anglophones is even greater when specifically focusing in on Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants.

In Canada there are two official linguistic minority groups under law stated in Section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (even though we all know there are also vulnerable indigenous languages) (Gérin-Lajoie 2016, 4). These two groups are anglophones who live in Quebec and francophones who live outside of Quebec (4). There are roughly one million francophones living outside of Quebec in other provinces in Canada but there are also about one million anglophones living inside of Quebec (3). Gérin-Lajoie discovered that there was a greater interest and attention given to the francophone linguistic minority groups in Canada by social scientists than there has been interest in Quebec anglophone linguistic minority groups (4). I also found this to be the case when starting this project. In coming to this discovery Gérin-Lajoie and I are both

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[2] The term "exodus" has been used to describe the anglophone out migration in the media during both sovereignty-association referendums. It is not a term I have developed to describe this phenomenon.

interested in filling the void of research in regard to the Quebec anglophone linguistic minority.

Gérin-Lajoie (2016) conducted research exploring rural anglophone teacher's professional and personal identities as they intertwine and are influenced by their linguistic minority status living in Quebec (4). She concluded that anglophone identity and community is variable based on differing regional experiences of people's perceptions of minority status (164). Some anglophones felt like a minority and some didn't. Specifically, Gérin-Lajoie points out that there is a difference of experience of rural Quebec Anglophones and anglophones from Montreal where a prominent anglophone business community once existed (164-165). In coming to this conclusion Gérin-Lajoie suggests future research in regard to this "dichotomy" that she points out in the differing perceptions of minority status between rural and urban Quebec Anglophones.

This is where my thesis contributes to the broader research on Canadian linguistic minorities and decolonisation efforts in Quebec. By focusing on the Anglo-Quebecers that migrated from the Montreal area to the Greater Toronto Area, I have conducted research and made analyses that expand on Gérin-Lajoie's (2016) findings. My findings in relation to the Quebec anglophone minority case with Quebec can be read in dialogue with Gérin-Lajoie's speculations about further research on the subject of dichotomy between Quebec anglophone minority groups.

Besides an empirical contribution from this thesis relating to the case of Quebec Anglophones there is also a theoretical contribution from this thesis in terms of thinking about relations of linguistic minority status and power. This thesis contributes to many of the ongoing decolonizing projects in Canada and internationally but what is interesting about this case is that it is a decolonisation story about a colonial power that colonized another colonial power. In disentangling the peculiar case of Anglo-Quebecer linguistic minority status and marginalization it became evident that this case is an untapped field in the context of Quebec identity studies. This project contributes theoretically to a broader study that analyses the converging themes of language, identity, linguistic minority status, mobility, and political economy already being engaged with in cases like Catalan and Spanish speakers in North-Eastern Spain and the case of French and Flemish in Belgium (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2015; Landry and Bourhis 1997, 24). These cases all have similar aspects to them, and it is in the language-planning field that issues related to the notion of linguistic landscape first emerged. Language planners in Belgium and in Quebec were among the first to recognize the importance of marking the boundaries of linguistic territories through the regulation of language use (Landry and Bourhis 1997, 24).

What this project has found in the peculiarity and ambiguity of Anglo-Quebecer linguistic minority status can broaden theoretical work already at play in the analysis of these similar contexts internationally. The concept of an *uninhabitable community* can be applied to other similar cases but also future research specifically dealing with Quebec (e.g., allophones and other language communities influenced by Bill 101). "Allophone is

a term that describes a person who has a first language that is not English, French, or an

Indigenous language" […] many allophones are immigrants or the children of

immigrants, but not all allophones are immigrants" (The Canadian Encyclopaedia 2020).

There are many long-established cultural communities across Canada with mother

tongues that are not French, English or an Indigenous language, whose members may be

considered, but may not necessarily self-identify, as allophone (Noakes 2020).

This thesis argues that the concept of *uninhabitable communities* is a theoretical lens for

research in multilingual environments. With it, individual perspectives of identity and

community that differ from discourse circulated by the structural systems of the nation

come into view. In thinking with this concept individual claims to authenticity from

linguistic minority groups can be analysed alongside the structural systems of power that

they are in tandem with throughout history. This concept further illuminates cases dealing

with the politics of belonging, linguistic and cultural partial erasure, as well as

relationships of avoidance in linguistic minorities. This thesis takes a socio-linguistic and

anthropological perspective to analyse the interviews of 19 anglophone out-migrants

from Quebec to analyse Anglo-Quebecer identity as partially representative of the case of

the 600 000 anglophones that left Quebec for other parts of Canada within the past 45

years. This is a starting point in the research, there are other perspectives I missed based

on the resources and time I had available. This thesis takes into consideration important

socio-economic preconditions and cultural, political, as well as linguistic shifts that have

shaped modern Quebec. I take these preconditions to argue the point of using the concept

of *uninhabitable communities* to explain the case of Anglo-Quebecer out-migrant identity

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but also for other linguistic minority groups who have found themselves in similar situations.

There are two important ways of thinking about nation that are relevant to my analysis. One is that Quebec is thought of as a PLACE, a landscape, a territory that people feel connected to and want to remember and retain an affiliation with. The second is that Quebec is thought of as a community of people, along the lines of how Benedict Anderson (1983) explains in *Imagined Communities*. Anglo-Quebecers generally have negative feelings about Quebec in terms of thinking about Quebec as a cohesive community. Anglo-Quebecers have been excluded from Quebec in various ways and have been made to feel as though they should leave Quebec. Consequently, Anglo-Quebecers are left with an uninhabitable community because they have been partially erased from Quebec. Outside of Quebec, Anglo-Quebecers find no analogous provincial community in Ontario as they previously felt with Quebec and so the only community/nation they can legitimately claim is the larger Canadian one. Claiming Canada as one's primary affiliation and identification unifies both the thoughts of community and PLACE for Anglo-Quebecers in a satisfying way.

Chapter Two defines the concept of *uninhabitable communities*, the cornerstone of my argument about Anglo-Quebecer identity. Chapters Three and Four work to support and elaborate on the concept of *uninhabitable communities*. Chapter Three contextualizes how language and space influence each other in understanding how Anglo-Quebecers emerged as an *uninhabitable community* and tracks the political and economic

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preconditions for out-migration and subsequent types of identity formation. Chapter Four looks at how the notion of an *uninhabitable community* is lived and experienced today**.** I analyse very specific memory objects (landscape paintings/sports memorabilia) that mediate socio-politically charged relationships with the past. I argue that these objects serve as *objects of detachment* which allow Anglo-Quebecers to hold onto memories of the past while keeping politically charged sentiments at a distance through an avoidance relationship.

Before getting into Chapter Two and the concept of *uninhabitable communities* I will relay a brief historical overview of the socio-political and linguistic history of anglophones and francophones in Quebec. Afterwards I concisely describe what methods I used to carry out this research project, the types of coding and thematic organization I used to begin analysis, as well as my thoughts on carrying out this research in the face of Covid-19.

Historical Overview

While anglophone-francophone relations in Canada are warmer now than have been in the past, most Canadians recognize the tensions between these ethnolinguistic groups (Gérin-Lajoie 2016, 3). These tensions can be traced back to the initial conquest of New France by the British in 1759, through the history of francophone linguistic rights, and to the ongoing nationalist movements in Quebec (Fenwick, 1981). In recent history, francophone nationalist movements that began in the 1950s and 60s resulted in a large anglophone migration out of Quebec primarily around the first sovereignty-association

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referendum in 1980 and after the Parti Québécois came to power in 1976 (the PQ —

Quebec provincial party) (Fenwick, 1981). Many anglophones left due to decreased or

strained economic opportunity within the province (Pettinicchio 2012; Rose 1985). The

sovereignty-association referendums were when the province of Quebec voted whether to

remain a part of the Canadian Confederation or if they would leave and create their own

French forward socialist nation (Pettinicchio 2012). These referendums took place in

1980 and in 1995, the second of which saw a vote that left many anxious because there

was only a 2% difference in votes that kept the province within Canadian Confederation

(Boberg 2010). The PQ pushed both of these referendums in their Quebec/French first

platforms. There was also the creation of a new Canadian federal party called the Bloc

Québécois in 1991, a French forward federal party. But how did Quebec get to this point

of wanting to leave Canada? How did the anglophones get to the point of feeling so

strongly about leaving the province that 600, 000 of them found it better to move

anywhere other than Quebec over a 45-year period, 100, 000 of which left all in one

weekend (11-12)?

The1940s and 50s in Quebec are known as Le Grand Noirceur (The Great Darkness)

(Turner 2020). During this time Maurice Duplessis had been Premiere of Quebec for

decades and his vision of Quebec society was strictly conservative. The Quebec economy

in this period was still controlled mainly by anglophone businessmen and Duplessis was

connected closely to the Catholic Church which controlled many facets of Quebec's

society. Working class people were disproportionately French Canadian and all the

factories were owned and managed by anglophones (Turner 2020, E2 5:00-9:00).[3] "If you didn't speak English you couldn't get a job […] at the time French-Canadians in Quebec were close to the bottom of the heap in income and education ranking 12th out of 14 ethnic groups […] and The Great Darkness had left its mark on the Quebec psyche, humiliations and resentments around language and power festered for decades that created a political tinderbox, where a few misplaced words could start a wildfire" (Turner 2020, E2 10:30).

Wildfire did start, and it was lit by Donald Gordon. Donald Gordon was the President of the CN Rail Company back in the 1960s when CN was still owned by the federal government and Gordon had to attend and present at parliamentary meetings each year to give updates on the railway (Turner 2020, E2 13:00). At the 1962 CN parliamentary meeting Donald Gordon lit the "political tinderbox" in Quebec with his reply to a French representative's question. Gordon said: "as far as I'm concerned, as long as I'm president, promotions are not going to be made because the person is French Canadian" (Turner 2020, E2 13:00). This comment did not sit well with the already present labour unrest in Quebec. From that point on Donald Gordon became the embodiment of Anglo arrogant supremacy in Canada and the Donald Gordon debacle for many, was the end of the democratic path to freedom and equality for French Canadians and violence seemed like the only rational way forward (Turner 2020, E2 14:00). Francophones went to the street in mass to protest Donald Gordon and Anglo supremacy by picketing businesses, vandalizing federal buildings, and burning an effigy of Donald Gordon. A year later in

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[3] CBC podcast *Recall: How to Start a Revolution*.

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1963 the bombings started. Black Friday was the day that saw 10 bombs placed in

Westmount mailboxes (the historically wealthy Anglo municipality on Montreal Island).[4]

The period of The Great Darkness lifted in 1960 when Jean Lesage became Quebec

Premiere and had a more progressive vision for the province by secularizing education

and health care. Deemed as The Quiet Revolution (1960-1970), but for many it came far

too slow and far too quietly (Turner 2020, E2 13:00). The early 1960s in Quebec saw the

birth of the Suicide Commandos, The Quebec Liberation Front (the FLQ), and violent

acts of terror in the name of French freedom, equality, and revolution (Turner 2020, E1

15:00). Francophones had every right to be upset and lash out against their Anglo

oppressors but the events that followed the Donald Gordon debacle, particularly with the

Suicide Commandos, the FLQ, and eventually the October Crisis (1970), left many

wondering whether the drastic and bloody response to years of Anglo and federal

oppression could be justified or avoided by reaching the same ends of French equality

and rights, but by different means.

Bill 22: The Official Language Act (1974) introduced by the Liberal Premiere Robert

Bourassa, and Bill 101: Charter of The French Language, introduced in 1977 by PQ

Premiere René Lévesque, brought change to Quebec making it officially French and

shifting the hands of power from English to French. For many Anglos the feelings and

actions of this exchange in power never ended and went further and further to the point

that it is arguable that there was not only the turned tables of power but the turned tables

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[4] Westmount is a small, independent municipality covering some one and a half square miles, entirely
surrounded by the city of Montreal (Gubbay 1998, 9).

of oppression. That is up for debate, but it is evident to point out that there have not been many attempts for any encompassing rulings in Quebec for English and French harmony, or any rulings that put an end to the language debates that are ongoing to this day. There have been federal rulings on bilingualism such as the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1969) and the amendment to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1983) with Section 23, involving the right to English or French education. Although, within Quebec itself the primary policies on language that are put forth and passed are typically in favour of strengthening francophone linguistic rights and freedoms by harkening back to Bill 101, not for social or linguistic equality (Government of Canada 2021). For example, Bill 96: "An Act Respecting French, the Official and Common Language of Quebec," has been tabled this year in Quebec, 2021, which could amend the Canadian Constitution to grant increased rights and privileges for francophones and the use of French in Quebec while also putting a cap amount on the number of Quebec Anglophones that are allowed to attend the provinces publicly funded college program called CEGEP (Mackenna 2021). This is only the most recent occurrence of one of these types of bills that works to strengthen Bill 101, but it will also be the most stringent bill since Bill 101.

As English suppression grew with the increased rigidity of the Quebec Board of the French Language (commonly referred to as the language police, the OQLF) many Anglos had the opportunity and good fortune to leave the province instead of sticking it out and better equipping themselves with the French language. In some ways it's hard to blame them for leaving but in some ways, it makes one wonder why some were so unwilling to

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go along with the change. It is a complicated and unending history of tension but thankfully it is at a point where we can reflect on it and hopefully not re-kindle the wildfire that blew it out of control. This brief but intense history of oppression, terror, suppression, and linguistic tension is the basis for which this project is analyzing the identity negotiation and construction of Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants in the past 45 years.

Methods

This project was conducted throughout the Covid-19 pandemic. My methods had to adapt to changing restrictions and guidelines. I relied primarily on semi-structured interviews that were carried out over Zoom (a video conferencing software) or the telephone. I conducted 15 interviews with 19 participants, some participants interviewed as couples — 7 over Zoom, 7 over the phone, and 1 in person with someone in my Covid bubble. I collected around 15 hours of audio from these interviews. The majority of the participants fit the inclusionary criteria that I laid out, but some participants were those that were born in Ontario but lived most of their life in Quebec, and then moved back to Ontario. Some others were born in Quebec but moved to places other than Ontario or did not stay in Ontario. I found that these outliers from my research did not dramatically impact the data in a negative or irrelevant way, in fact some of these participants had some of the most significant things to say in all the data that I collected.

The interviews over Zoom calls were E2E encrypted, and password protected courtesy of Western University and the participants spoke with me over video call for those that

chose to meet over Zoom. In the case of the Zoom video calls only the audio was recorded and it was recorded on a separate recording device (Tascam DR-05X) instead of from the Zoom application itself. This allowed for the data to stay more within my control, and it reduced the risk of data storage being accessible from the Zoom application or on servers by other people. Phone interviews were recorded this way as well with the Tascam DR-05X. I decided on semi-structured interviews for the primary method of data collection in this project because I wanted to be prepared to ask certain key questions and address key topics but not limit myself to those topics. More questions and topics were elicited this way by the natural flow of the open-ended conversation, and I ended up refining and adding to my list of questions and interview plan as the fieldwork went on. I had initially planned to conduct more than one interview with each participant, but I found that it was not necessary, and they as well found that it was not necessary because they could not think of anything else that they would like to tell me. I always asked them at the end of the interview if there was anything I had missed or if they would like to talk about something we didn't touch on. Each interview ended up being around 40-75 minutes long depending on how much the participants were willing to speak with me.

The inclusionary criteria I used in choosing participants consisted of accepting participants who were over the age of 18 and who were born in Quebec. I also accepted participants if they were anglophones who had move out of Quebec within the past 45 years in order to focus on those Quebecers that left around the time of the two sovereignty-association referendums. Other criteria involved whether they considered

themselves to be Anglo-Quebecers even if some other people may consider them technically allophones (e.g., a person of Italian or Jewish decent that identifies with the anglophone perspective of being a Quebecer).

This project used a passive snowball sampling strategy initiated via email. It involved existing participants and key contacts being supplied with recruitment information that they then used to reach out to others in their network of persons that fit the project's inclusion criteria. My initial participants were recruited from family members and people who were familiar with my study as I was developing it. The snowball sampling strategy seemed optimal for this study in contacting potential participants because the group of people who identify as Anglo-Quebecers do not perceive of themselves as a habitable community ideologically and do not have public organizations, that I am aware of (besides the odd Facebook group), that I could have contacted to recruit potential participants. That being said, no potential participants were directly contacted for this project, I did this to maintain ethical conduct and to avoid feelings of coercion in the participants. The methods of data collection and analysis in this project primarily consisted of semi-structured interviews and discourse analysis where data was collected through online resources. As the project unfolded the strict adherence to the inclusionary criteria became muddied in order to get more participants involved. This was not because there were not enough participants that fit the criteria out there, but it was because it was difficult to get in contact with them with the passive snowball sampling through email in the early stages of the Covid pandemic, people's priorities were elsewhere understandably.

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I recruited seven female participants with ages ranging from 55 to being in their late 80s. I recruited more male participants than female participants, but this was unintentional. I recruited twelve male participants with similar age ranges as the female participants. These participants gave me an intentional sample of Anglo-Quebecers with ages that verify them as having been anglophones that left Quebec in the decades surrounding the French sovereignty-association referendums.

Once I recruited my participants and conducted each interview, I scribbled down my initial thoughts and impressions of how the interview went and what the participant seemed to talk the most about. For instance, a significant or striking story or a topic or theme that they seemed to always come back to. This made thinking of nodes (themes or categories to organize the data) for the coding process later easier once the data collection stage of the research was completed. Some of the most common questions I asked included if the participant would ever move back to Quebec and whether they kept any objects that were significant to them that related to Quebec. The latter question is where I collected the majority of data regarding evocative objects and objects of detachment. In addition to recording my thoughts in a journal after conducting an interview I transcribed all of the interviews myself with the use of the Phillips Pro Transcribe software and a Phillips foot-pedal.

Other than collecting data through semi-structured interviews I collected news articles from the Toronto Star, the Montreal Gazette, CTV News, and The Walrus Magazine all ranging from 1970 up to the present day. My reasoning for doing this was to code these

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articles alongside the transcripts I typed from the interviews, in order to see if the personal accounts that I collected matched or differed from the public and news media perspective (discourse). I found that in many cases fears and anxiety exaggerated some stories towards a negative light in regard to the co-existence of languages in the province of Quebec. Confusion and concern was reflected in the opinion of news outlets covering linguistic and political events in Quebec. Many participants expressed that the media made things worse and pit people against one another leaving out what the average person thought about what was going on. I found that the general sentiments of what was being reported about how anglophones and francophones felt at the time seemed accurate to the personal accounts I analysed. The differences I found were the reasons for why people were feeling this way and what they were prepared to do to rectify those ideas and feelings. The clashing of ideologies and new ideas on language policy were being publicized and for many people it was an equally exciting as well as confusing time. I acknowledge that I have only drawn upon English news media outlets and that their perspectives or discourse reproduction may be skewed or biased towards an Anglo perspective in comparison to a French perspective, but I am analyzing these articles alongside anglophone interviews in order to maintain a consistency of approaching this study from the Anglo perspective and experience. If I had interviewed francophones and had a better grasp of the French language myself, I would have collected articles from French news outlets as well, but that is for another project and another day. With the time and resources, I had available to me, approaching this project from both the French and English perspective would have been too large of a task.

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Unbeknownst to myself when beginning this project, I have come to realize that this past year, 2020, is the 50th anniversary of the October Crisis and there have been news stories remembering and acknowledging the Anglo-Franco tensions in Canada, as well as news stories remembering the October Crisis. The timeline of this research and this anniversary is coincidental but also significant because the lack of knowledge and awareness about such an eventful part of Canada's history bares consideration as to why it is so little spoken about.

Coding

The data collected in this project was coded using the coding software NVivo 12. I organized the data into four main nodes: **Positive (Quebec), Negative (Quebec), Opportunity,** and **Belonging.** Each of these nodes also contained child nodes or sub-nodes within them: **Positive (Quebec) —>** Objects —> Neighbourhood **// Negative (Quebec) —>** Discrimination —> Media —> Politics —> Slurs or Insults **// Opportunity —>** Socioeconomic Status —> Time of Moving —> Toronto **// Belonging —>** Bilingual ability —> Priority —> Self Identification. I chose to code the data this way based off what was significant to the interviewees themselves but also what was most relevant to my research questions. Additionally, these codes came from the recurring themes that arose from the data and how they could be organized to fit within each other.

Covid-19 Changes

In first planning out this project, I like many others, was not expecting a worldwide

pandemic to occur. Covid-19 drastically changed everything.

My project employed semi-structured interviews over Zoom calls and telephone calls, which did make things more challenging than if they were in person but also in some ways it made it more convenient. It was more challenging to read body language when only seeing the top half of participants over a Zoom call as well as it was particularly difficult to read body language when I could not see my participants at all over the telephone. It made me pay more attention to the register of the participant's voice as well as the tone in which they would answer my questions. I had to become an even better listener and draw upon the teachings of online ethnography and alternative methods from theory classes that no one thinks they will have to end up using until they have to. On the upside, I did not have to spend time traveling to each participant's home to interview them, I could conveniently interview all of my participants from my desk at home, cutting research costs and time. This removes a large portion of the first impression ephemera that I usually rely on when meeting someone and entering their home or the space they chose to meet with me. Even though it was more difficult to read the body language of my participants in order to better adjust the flow of the interview I could have my questions and interview plan out in front of me without it being distracting to the participant.

In taking into account my previous experience of conducting interviews and participant observation in person and now my experience with this project I think I have come to realize that this form of ethnography, online interviews and news media research for later

discourse analysis, is a great way to conduct research when it's difficult to procure resources or have funding available to travel to another part of the world or even within the country. The problem of geography or safety of physical distance with certain sociocultural and linguistic anthropology research projects can be remedied by the use of online methods and resources.

Many anthropologists believe that ethnographies conducted online are just when one immerses themself into an online community, but I don't think that is necessarily true because the community I worked with for the most part does not consider themselves a community per se, I just used online resources to collect my data (Murchison 2010, 24). I think there is a difference between using online resources to carry out methods of data collection from a group of people in the analog world and collecting data on a digital community. I think more students should aim to do this kind of research moving forward, even if it's possible to have more face-to-face meetings, because it was an effective way to conduct a qualitative research project and ethnography. As I write this the effects of Covid-19 have become the norm of life and we are slowly starting to be vaccinated, but the return to a non-masked world is not yet on the horizon. I hope that anthropologists in the future conduct research projects using online resources to carry out research methods because it benefits their project or available resources and time, not because it is thrusted upon them.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I will be unpacking the concept of the *uninhabitable community* as it relates to Anglo-Quebecers as well as other linguistic minorities.

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Chapter Two

Uninhabitable Communities: Analysing Anglo-Quebecer Migrant Identity and Community, From Quebec's Core, to its Periphery

Having a sense of belonging with the place a person is from or with the people that they

identify with is important. But what happens when there is the feeling of being caught in-

between two places or groups of people? What happens when someone doesn't feel as

though they fully belong with either? What happens when their self-understanding is seen

as inauthentic or is not validated by others? My research participants, anglophones from

Quebec who migrated to Ontario, expressed this vexed sense of belonging. They are

caught in-between Quebec and Ontario, as well as French and English. The anglophones

from Quebec that I interviewed are from a "distinct" part of Canada, but

linguistically/culturally they are not representative of that distinction (French-ness).

When they relocate to other parts of Canada, like Ontario, there is an assumption that

they would easily fit in with all the other anglophones and English speakers in the rest of

Canada and feel "at home." For many of my interlocutors, it wasn't so straightforward.

Many Anglo-Quebecers I spoke to felt they did not fit inside Quebec. They often

described feeling unwanted. At the same time, they didn't fully feel they belonged

outside of Quebec either. "Belonging tends to be naturalized and becomes articulated and

politicized only when it is threatened in some way" (Yula-Davis 2006, 197). In other

words, people usually only become aware of their belonging to place once it is called into

question.

Anglo-Quebecers understand themselves as culturally different and misrepresented, as well as at times, misunderstood. In Quebec, anglophones historically have been viewed as just another group of Canadian English speakers that infringe on francophone rights and French language preservation due to the history of language tensions in the province. These linguistic tensions are grounded in longstanding economic inequality where typically anglophones were elites (not everyone but many), while francophones were predominantly working class (Heller 2011, 31-32). Outside of Quebec, Anglo-Quebecers are presumed to be either French by virtue of being from Quebec, (which often has negative connotations as a result of the politics and tensions described in the introduction), or they are presumed to be like any other Canadian anglophone, which my interlocutors specifically expressed to me that they are not.

Anglo-Quebecers are a linguistic minority in the province of Quebec but in the rest of Canada they are part of the English majority. This puts them in a peculiar position of being connected to the ethno-linguistic group that marginalized francophones in Canada, yet they are also in the linguistic minority in Quebec that was marginalized by francophones increasingly after the first sovereignty-association referendum in 1980. Negotiating that position socio-linguistically, politically and with regards to self-understanding is difficult.

In this chapter. I show how Anglo-Quebecer identity works as an *uninhabitable*

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community for many of my interlocutors. Anglo-Quebecers are caught in the middle of the ethno-linguistic tensions of anglophones and francophones in Canada, resulting in them being unwanted and unrecognized as a community or group by francophones, mainly ideologically. Many Anglos have expressed that they have imagined being a part of a migrant anglophone community after leaving Quebec but that imagining of community has been undermined and been made uninhabitable for Anglo-Quebecers. The experience of neither being a "real" Quebecer nor an anglophone from outside of Quebec, means that they experience their sense of belonging as a set of gaps, or pieces that don't always fit together. While Anglo-Quebecers are part of a community that can be researched and analysed, political tensions mean that their identity as Anglo-Quebecers can't fully be inhabited in an everyday sense of identification or affinity with place.

The notion of *uninhabitable community* builds on Anderson's (1983) seminal work, *Imagined Communities,* which discusses the rise of modern nationalism. A nation according to Anderson (1983) is, " an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (6).[5] Nation and community are an invention and a creation by people, "it is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the

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[5] "In fact, all communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined… (6) The nation is imagined as limited because even the largest of them, encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations… It is imagined as sovereign because the concept was born in an age in which Enlightenment and Revolution were destroying the legitimacy of the divinely-ordained, hierarchical dynastic realm… Finally, it is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as deep, horizontal comradeship" (7).

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minds of each lives the image of their communion" (6). Anderson traced the specific

changes that led to the possibility of people imagining themselves as collective

(specifically print media). While Anglo-Quebecers can imagine themselves as a

community, inhabiting it is something that is very difficult. They know themselves to be

from Quebec and to be anglophone but the process of having to explain why they are to

others, as well as the connotations associated with being anglophone in Quebec's

politically charged history is heavy, since Anglo-Quebecers are denied validation for

their self-understanding in feeling as though they don't belong in Quebec.[6]

Uninhabitable communities are those which are not fully socially acceptable or visible.

Even though the potential community members don't articulate their self-understanding

of their identification as being a part of a larger community or group, they can imagine

themselves as belonging to a potential community, but their imagining goes no further

than the *possibility* of community. Anglo-Quebecer imagining of community is only the

possibility of community because they didn't consider themselves to be a group until they

left Quebec. When they were in Quebec, they were just Quebecers, not necessarily

Anglo-Quebecers or Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants.

This chapter unfolds into four parts. First, I explain the connection between language and

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[6] Much in the same way Heller puts it in Paths to post-Nationalism (2011), I too have had to work "back and forth between the details of the here and now, and the structural relations of difference and inequality that sediment over time, emerging as vested interests and giving some kinds of people access to types of resources that others cannot share. I have ended up with an (endlessly ongoing) ethnography of a discursive shift. That shift turns out not to happen in linear sequential time, nor to diffuse from centres to peripheries (or, at least, the centre of today may be the periphery of tomorrow). This ethnography requires arduous and often tedious discursive work in spaces that often need to be constructed out of leftover interstices, taking form over here while everyone else is looking over there…" (192).

identity and how it illuminates Anglo-Quebecer linguistic minority status. Second, I illustrate how Anglo-Quebecers feel as though they don't belong in Quebec and are prevented from categorically and ideologically identifying as Quebecer by francophone discourse. Third, I show how Anglo-Quebecers don't feel as though belong in Ontario either, they are culturally if not linguistically different. Fourth, in seeing how Anglo-Quebecers neither fit in Quebec nor Ontario, I explain how some of Anglo-Quebecers take up a more national Canadian identity category. The discourse perpetuated in Quebec about categorical identity sets the standards for authenticity and makes it so that other possible self-identifications are blocked out in the aim of preserving French in Quebec.

On Language & Identity

How do we understand identity and community in anthropology? Quite possibly the most prevalent and important kind of social groups that are not based on kinship are communities (Monaghan and Just 2000, 101). Communities can be organized around kin groups but are not solely based and comprised of kin groups (101). Communities are concerned with an identification and a loyalty that is rooted in the shared history and shared experience of its members (101). This could be an experience of place and a celebration of one's home or region (101). Communities are often crucial to creating feelings of solidarity in places that are otherwise highly fractionalized (102). This is important to keep in mind when thinking about the Anglo-Quebecer community because they only started thinking of themselves as a community or a potential community once they had been made to feel as though they should leave Quebec.

When I say potential community, I mean that theoretically Anglo-Quebecers could be a community, but they are inhibited by an ideological issue held by many of them for which some Anglo-Quebecers feel that there is a boundary to this feeling of *welcome* and community in Quebec, and inside themselves. I talk about community in this thesis in two particular ways. I talk about it in terms of an ideological (internal) sense of community and groupness as well as an external more literal sense of physical community. The ideological sense and perspective of feeling welcome in part of a group is concerned with describing the concept of *uninhabitable communities*, whereas the more direct and literal sense of a neighbourhood-community is more of what Monaghan and Just (2000) define as community. It is not that Anglo-Quebecers cannot inhabit the land of Quebec, it's that there is an ideological roadblock in place for many Anglo-Quebecers in terms of primarily self-identifying as categorically being from Quebec.

We know people's sense of self and affiliation matter a great deal. Yet the notion of "identity" requires some unpacking before moving on to my analysis. "Identity" is used for both analytic and theoretical purposes in looking at categories of practice and everyday experience (Cooper and Brubaker 2000, 8). It's also a term that is contradictory in all the things it is meant to do and represent. In the social sciences it's debated whether identity is actually a useful term for understanding all the work it is meant to do (similar to other terms like 'nation' and 'culture'). Cooper and Brubaker (2000) outline the driving ways identity is used analytically in the social sciences:

"It is used to highlight non-instrumental modes of action; to focus on self-understanding rather than self-interest; to designate sameness across persons or sameness over time; to capture allegedly core, foundational aspects of self-hood; to deny that such core, foundational aspects exist; to highlight the processual, interactive development of solidarity and collective self-understanding; and to stress the fragmented quality of the contemporary experience of 'self,' a self unstably patched together through shards of discourse and contingently 'activated' in differing contexts… 'identity,' then bears a multivalent, even contradictory theoretical burden" (8).

In response to the reifying and contradictory nature of "identity," Cooper and Brubaker (2000) came up with 3 terms that better categorize and articulate the work "identity" is meant to do, without the reifying pitfalls of the term itself (14 - 19). The three theoretical terms they came up with are: *self-understanding*, *identification*, and *groupness*. These terms do not necessarily replace "identity" entirely, but they enhance its analytical and theoretical capability through specificity. I use their framework in my discussion of Anglo-Quebecer identity to dispel ambiguity but also to illustrate how Anglo-Quebecers are an *uninhabitable community* that are denied access to their self-understanding and groupness through a lack of authenticity and validation due to the deeply tense and politically charged history of anglophones and francophones in Quebec.

Identity is neither entirely essentialist nor constructivist, it's a combination of the two. On its own, essentialist views of identity lead to harsh categorization and objectivist ideology

which have historically been criticized (e.g., ethnocentrism). On the other hand, on its own, constructivist views of identity are not useful either because they are far too relative and fragmented to describe a concept that which requires some degree of sameness and generalization for it to even be considered identity (Cooper and Brubaker 2000, 1). The negotiation involved with identity is the process of balancing between the aspects of one's individual and collective self but also the essentialist and the cosmopolitan view of group membership. Identity involves the "social positioning of self and other" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 586). This encourages the focus of theory with identity to the intersubjectivity and positionality of the individual in relation to the collective. The internal and external. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) anchor the concept of identity in interaction and locate identity "as an intersubjectively achieved social and cultural phenomenon" that is indexically produced by linguistic resources (607-608). Therefore, language and identity are necessarily connected in their co-production, negotiation, and manifestation as cultural phenomena.

Identity "is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 585). This means that language and identity are inherently connected due to identity being produced from language -- which puts the "value of approaching identity as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction, rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories," as a valuable conceptualization of identity analytically (585-586).

Understanding the connection between language and identity is important especially for looking at Anglo-Quebecers because of the peculiar minority and majority status that they possess. Minority and majority statuses in multilingual places that have historical tensions with the languages and the people that speak them, such as Quebec, are complicated especially when there have been transitions of power and discursive shifts in relation to a periphery group becoming the core group, and vice versa.

"*Core–periphery*" is a common spatial metaphor used to describe and explain the unequal distribution of power in the economy, society, and polity" (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2013, 3). Discourse studies scholars Sari Pietikäinen and Helen Kelly-Holmes (2013) explain that "viewing multilingualism through the lens of core–periphery dynamics helps to bring forth the linguistic and ideological tensions which are evident in issues of language boundary-making, language ownership, commodification, and authenticity" (1). This is important to consider for any discussion of identity and language with the peoples of Quebec since the categorical boundaries of identification between francophones and anglophones are so strictly guarded. The authenticity and validation of Anglo-Quebecer identity and Quebec Anglophones in general is criticized and kept at bay from no longer interfering with the aims of francophone Quebec.

Anglo-Quebecers are a linguistic minority within Quebec and a linguistic majority in the rest of Canada. They once sat at the core of power in Quebec for centuries even though they were linguistically and demographically a minority in Quebec. Throughout the

1960s and 1970s the anglophones in Quebec moved from the core of power in Quebec to the periphery of the core-periphery system. Peripheries are as Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2013) argue "ambiguous and interesting spaces; they are spaces of transformation and negotiation, rendering them novel and revealing spaces to examine contemporary complexities of multilingualism" (5). Multilingual spaces with historical, social, and political tensions imply ideological struggles of language because of the simultaneous existence of various language ideologies "particularly in contemporary evolving multilingual situations where language boundaries and norms are often dislocated, in flux, or renegotiated. This makes multilingual minority language sites a complex space for various ideological conflicts and contestations" (8). This is exactly what I have found with Quebec Anglophones and Anglo-Quebecer identity.

Anglo-Quebecer identity is one that is on the periphery of Quebec's core-periphery system, but it is also viewed as being at the core of Canada's core-periphery system due to their status of being anglophone and because of English's international status of maintaining social as well as monetary capital. This folds Anglo-Quebecers into the same core group of anglophones in the rest of Canada, even if they are not. There is a cultural difference of Anglo-Quebecers that is often expressed as their claim to place and groupness as Quebecers rather than being equated to the same anglophones from Toronto. Being compared to an anglophone from Toronto has been reported as being a previously negative thing according to the Anglo-Quebecers I spoke to because it implies that an Anglo-Quebecer does not understand Quebec life or francophones. This invalidation of Anglo-Quebecers by francophones caused great tension, ambiguity,

feeling as though anglophones should leave Quebec. The out-migration of Anglo-Quebecers has been the result of the long-lasting contestation of language ideologies where Anglo-Quebecers have felt as though they do not belong in Quebec anymore.

They Don't Fit in Quebec

Part of the circulated francophone discourse about Quebec Anglophones I keep mentioning partly stems from the intentions of language laws outlined by the OQLF but it's also present in the revolutionary writings of the French civil rights movement from the 1960s and Quebec's academic world in the 1990s. During the FLQ's reign of terror a popular book written by Pierre Vallières from prison, made its way to being a seminal work in the French revolutionary movement and ideology. The book is called *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (1968). In English it's called *White N*****s of America* (1968). This harshness of discourse in comparing the experience Quebec Francophones to black American slaves is reflected as retaliation in how Quebec Francophones felt and/or feel about Anglo-Quebecers. This book was briefly banned in certain parts of the country, but many people ended up being able to read it and the book became a pillar in the discourse of linguistic tensions at the time.

More recently a book published by Josée Legault from University of Quebec called *L'Invention d'une minorité: Les Anglo-Québécois* (1992), came out in the lead up to the second sovereignty-association referendum. It explained that the Anglo-Quebecer minority is a fallacy and a creation. Legault's thesis roughly says that there is not really an Anglo-Quebecer community in Quebec based on its own identity and difference from

the rest of Canada. She reports that this 'minority' was invented from scratch for strategic purposes. This is her conclusion from her 1991 study that analysed dominant English discourse in Quebec. Her book was not printed in English and was meant as something for francophones and French speakers to read. It became another seminal work in the francophone perspective on Anglo-Quebecers but since it comes from a place of academia it is presented as an argument with more legitimacy than Pierre Vallières. Both of their works became well read by francophones across Quebec, influencing the discourse and perspective of francophones.

I am not specifically arguing that Anglo-Quebecers are a community within Quebec as Josée Legault denies, even though it can be argued that they were and still are a community there, technically (e.g., federal linguistic minority status). In my findings my participants only started to think of themselves as a community or a group after they left Quebec due to the type of discourse perpetuated by the PQ, the OQLF, the Bloc Québécois, and writers like Pierre Vallières and Josée Legault, which was denying anglophones ideological habitability as Quebecers.

Part of what I am arguing and what makes the Anglo-Quebecer category of identity uninhabitable, is that even though Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants understand themselves as Anglo-Quebecers they are not accepted as being authentic Quebecers in the eyes of francophones. From my interviews, I learned that Anglo-Quebecers don't always feel they fit in Quebec even though their self-understanding involves their belonging to Quebec. It is due to the type of discourse perpetuated by these authors and Quebec's

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government institutions.

When I asked my participants directly if they (still) considered themselves to be from Quebec, or if they are a Quebecer and whether it's something that they think of as a part of themselves, most of my 19 participants said "yes." In thinking of how answering yes to this question would be for strategic purposes as Legault argues, it does not make sense as to what purpose my participants would be answering "yes" when they do not even live in Quebec anymore and the referendums are now in the past. This question was aimed at addressing Anglo-Quebecer self-understanding. Self-understanding is a 'dispositional' term that designates what might be called 'situated subjectivity': one's sense of who one is, of one's social location, and of how (given the first two) one is prepared to act" (Cooper and Brubaker 2000, 17).

In describing people from Quebec there are three terms that are most commonly used: Quebecer, Quebecker, or Québécois. Québécois is generally used to refer to francophones and ethnically French people in Quebec, while the terms Quebecer or Quebecker are more commonly employed to refer to anglophones and allophones. My participants more commonly refer to themselves as Quebecers, English-Quebecers, or Anglo-Quebecers. These are the French and English ways of saying you are from Quebec even though they technically mean the same thing. I'm not saying that the French and English are the only people in Quebec because there are other linguistic minorities that get categorized as allophones as well as vulnerable indigenous, immigrant, and Metis communities. But this distinct focus on English and French Quebecers is what is most relevant in the contextual

hierarchy in terms of what I am arguing with this case.

While on the one hand, participants understand themselves as being Anglo-Quebecers (as indexed by their response 'yes' to my question), a closer look at their discussions around that question reveals that people's self-understandings were unsteady, hesitant or inconsistent. They were unsteady and inconsistent because of the clashing and contradictory nature of their self-understanding as Anglo-Quebecers in combination with the discursive understandings of them by francophones. The best example of this shaky self-identification is in Roger's narrative.

Roger, a Quebecer from the Chateauguay Valley, has an anglophone mother and a francophone father. He was born into a bilingual home with a "very French" surname. Roger nevertheless said that he "definitely" considers himself anglophone. Roger describes his last name as being both a blessing and a curse because it leads people to assume that he is French and a fluent speaker, but he isn't. People will start conversations in French with him and they are caught off guard or almost judgmental that he is not more fluent. They will say things like: "with a name like that and you are not French? What are you then?". Roger at the same time reports that his negotiation and understanding of himself is complicated because he doesn't feel as though he can be categorically French (francophone) nor English (anglophone). He is neither and both at the same time. Yes, he is "definitely" anglophone, as he says. He grew up in Quebec, but he doesn't necessarily feel welcome there.

Roger has recently moved back to Quebec, to Montreal, and he expressed how he has reflected more on how he negotiates his sense of belonging, identification, and self-understanding in a broader context. In his experience he thinks anglophones are not wanted in Quebec, even now. He said, "you would think that modern minds would be able to park it [anglophone and francophone tensions] but somehow it just continues to be, continues to fester and be important and I don't know… some days my husband and I will take a walk and we feel like tourists here [Montreal]. We debate are Canadians frightened to come to Montreal"? [7] He's not sure whether English Canadians are frightened to come to Quebec because they don't think they will be able to communicate well enough to get around, or if they just simply feel unwelcome as though they are not 'authentic' enough for the French space.

Authentication is a process "by which speakers make claims to realness and artifice, respectively" (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, 601). Authentication deals with discursively verifying identities. "It is a social process played out in discourse" (601). In other words, the authenticity, claim, and validity of one's self-understanding as a categorical identity hinges upon the acceptance of their self-understanding with others, discursively. For example, going back to Roger, he has been denaturalized for his lack of French fluency. His fluency in French is good enough for him as a Canadian to be able to work for the government and pass language proficiency tests, but as a Quebec anglophone who has moved back to Montreal, his fluency is not up to the standard of the monolingual

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[7] There are many instances in archival footage from the Quebec My Country Mon Pays (2016) documentary by John Walker where francophones were recorded arguing with Quebec anglophones saying things like: 'you are just like all the other English in Ontario, why don't you go be with them instead of trying to be like us?'.

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discourse present within Quebec's society.

Language fluency has become the central component of authenticity making in Quebec. In part, it is due to the emergence of Quebec's Office Québécois de la Langue Française (OQLF) often called the "language police." The office acts as an authenticity police at least in terms of the Québécois French language and its maintenance. They enforce the standard variety of language in the province and make decisions on what can be considered authentic in relation to cultural, linguistic, and ethnic group affiliation in Quebec.

Roger is a good example of how blurred and shaky Anglo-Quebecer self-identification can be. Roger has characteristics and experiences that lead him to understand himself as potentially both categorically a French and English Quebecer, but neither at the same time. This feeling is present with the other Anglo-Quebecers that I spoke to as well, except in a slightly different way since they don't have as strong of claims to being categorically francophone, like Roger. While Roger is stuck between being francophone and anglophone, he is also stuck between being from Quebec and being from anywhere else. The uniqueness and bond that Anglo-Quebecers feel with each other but also the unwelcome and ill-belonging that they feel in Quebec and Ontario is why Anglo-Quebecers are an *uninhabitable community*.

The Anglo-Quebecer community or group is ideologically uninhabitable even though many of the Anglo-Quebecers I spoke with understand themselves as: Anglo-Quebecers.

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For Roger, it left him divided since he is both English and French by blood, cultural emission, and to some extent language. When asked directly if my participants (still) considered themselves to be from Quebec, or if they are a Quebecer in some way, and whether it's something that they think of as a part of themselves other participants admitted that they do understand themselves as Anglo-Quebecers, but it is an ambiguous and tense understanding.

Once realizing that they didn't fit in Quebec anymore, many Anglo-Quebecers left to escape the perpetual tensions between English and French. The largest initial exodus occurred around the time of the first sovereignty-association referendum in 1980 but many anglophones had already begun leaving after the PQ came to power in 1976. Many Anglo-Quebecers went to Ontario, but also other places, and unfortunately, they too found in Ontario that they did not fit well. They all spoke English, but they were culturally very different.

They Don't Fit in Ontario

Another part of what makes the Anglo-Quebecer community *uninhabitable* is that even though they are made to feel as though they don't belong in Quebec, they also feel like they don't necessarily belong in Ontario either (or wherever else they moved to after leaving Quebec). They still feel like they should be in Quebec. The francophone argument that Anglo-Quebecers were just like any other anglophone speaker in any other English province was not ringing true for Anglo-Quebecers after they moved, even if linguistically and politically life was simpler.

A good example of this feeling comes from Lyn and Rick. Lyn is a retired nurse and Rick is a retired bank employee. They expressed that they are still Anglo-Quebecers even after 40 years of living in Ontario. They acknowledge that they have become more Ontarian but still think of themselves primarily as Quebecers. What is more interesting though, is that they think there is something different about Anglo-Quebecer's experience of provincial migration as opposed to other Canadians moving to other provinces. Rick explained saying that Quebec, "probably means more to us [Lyn and Rick] than any other areas of Canada. I can't imagine how, as an example, you grew up in Manitoba and you moved to Toronto for your work, how you would have that really Manitoba feeling about yourself necessarily 40 years later, whereas I think it's a little bit more unique if you're born in Quebec and you moved to some other area of Canada."

There are other groups of anglophones who live in close contact with francophones in other parts of Canada besides Quebec (e.g., Manitoba, Alberta, New Brunswick, Ontario), but these francophones usually identify as being Acadian or Franco-"insert province" (e.g., Franco-Ontarian), they are different from Quebec francophones in language variety and certain cultural practices. So, when Rick is talking about a perceived uniqueness among Anglo-Quebecers he is referencing how the experience of Anglo-Quebecers with Quebec francophones is different because of Quebec's turbulent history. Other people in Manitoba or the Maritimes have not experienced the same sorts of modern pressures in direct relation to Anglo and Franco linguistic tensions. It's not to say that all anglophone and francophone experiences across Canada are the same or that

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some are more important than others. Gérin-Lajoie 2016 (2016) found in her study on Quebec Anglophone teachers that there was a variability of minority experience even across anglophones within Quebec between rural anglophones and Montreal anglophones.

The perceived uniqueness of the Anglo-Quebecer experience is a common thread amongst the participants in their self-understanding of being Anglo-Quebecers. Yet their uniqueness and self-understanding of being Anglo-Quebecer is challenged by central Canadian discourse, as well as francophone Quebecers. Rick and Lyn did not necessarily move just because they wanted to move, there were external socio-linguistic and economic reasons that reinforced their leaving Quebec. They expressed that they miss Quebec but can't go back to live there because there are still issues (e.g., what language you use in situations dealing with healthcare and social services), and it's not good to relive the past, so they stay in Ontario. One must move on, as many of my participants expressed. But Lyn and Rick told me that soon after they moved, at least for Lyn, there was a bitterness of being squeezed out of Quebec. This bitterness arose from being made to feel as though they didn't fit in Quebec even though they understood themselves as being Quebecers up to that point. This type of bitterness, the result of feeling excluded in Quebec, in many cases manifested as a component of why the community and group of Anglo-Quebecers is one that is uninhabitable. This bitterness was long lasting for some, as it was for participants with Johnny and Kevin but for many it fizzled away, like Lyn, and the longing for belonging and validation of being an Anglo-Quebecer remained.

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It's not only in Ontario that Anglo-Quebecers did not feel welcome. It happened in other parts of Canada as well. A particularly poignant example of this comes from Roger. Roger told me of a childhood experience where the themes of misunderstanding and belonging arose in a harsh way. Roger said: "My parents took our family on a cross country road trip; we rented an RV and we spent a month crossing the country […] I remember we were parked at a stop light in Calgary, Alberta, and of course our RV had a Quebec license plate. I remember people rolling down their windows and saying, 'go the fuck home Quebecers, get out of our province' and that was very difficult." Roger and his family were targeted for being from Quebec. Those individuals who verbally assaulted them were assuming that Roger and his family were all francophone and that it was a continuation of the controversy and tensions between anglophones and francophones in Canada. That was particularly difficult for Roger because Roger's family is both francophone and anglophone. He said it made him conscious of how he was different from those in the rest of Canada and it wasn't something that people liked him for. Even though Roger identifies as anglophone and the people who shouted at him and his family thought they were francophone, Roger felt like it didn't matter because the main point they made was that they didn't like people from Quebec, and he was from Quebec.

Outside of Quebec the stereotypes and misunderstandings of the province itself and the people in it are apparent from Roger's story but also in my own experience. Every time I tell someone I am from Quebec they assume I am French. This is a common misunderstanding amongst Ontarians for many Anglo-Quebecers, as I myself have experienced but also found to be consistent in my data. After realizing that I am not

French and that I come from an English Quebec family, I usually get asked why I was in Quebec in the first place and why I can't speak French. They don't understand how Roger, the other participants, or myself could be any different culturally if not linguistically from other Anglo-Canadians. But as one can imagine, my participants had a lot to say about how they were different from Ontarians and how they first viewed Ontario. This basic and common misunderstanding about Quebec's history by others, especially other Canadians, is troubling in trying to communicate this case.

Almost all my participants described the differences between Toronto and Montreal in terms of "warmth." They said that the people in Montreal were "warmer" and even if they were not francophone, everyone participated in a *laissez faire* (free form or relaxed style) and *joi de vivre* (joy of life or the enjoyment of life) lifestyle. Anglo-Quebecer priorities in many ways were different from how they compared themselves to Ontarians and Torontonians, or even other Canadians if the Ontarian identity is more of a Canadian one. Yes, one must work but one must also enjoy the things in life that are the reason for their work (family, food, friends, spirituality, love, art, etc). It's not to say these things are only found in Quebec but there is a heightened appreciation that is evidently different there in comparison to other places in Canada. Anglo-Quebecers described Toronto as "cold" as well as money and business oriented. They said people just went to work and went home. Anglo-Quebecers complained about the quality of food in restaurants and service as well as the atmosphere of walking the streets.

Anglo-Quebecers said Torontonians were not as hospitable and friendly in general.

Everyone stayed in their own lane, so to speak. It was nice everyone spoke English and made things more convenient, but they said they missed hearing French and Ontario didn't feel the same. Many described the feeling of migrating to Toronto from Montreal as a culture shock and they jokingly said that the only reason Toronto has since flourished as a more creative and "warm" city now is because of all the Anglo-Quebecers that migrated in the past few decades to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA). The differences in understanding and perspectives between Anglo-Quebecer and Anglo-Ontarians can be seen in how Sheelagh, a former RBC (Royal Bank of Canada) employee who worked on University Avenue in Toronto, saw the differences between Montreal and Toronto. She said: "I always found that it [Toronto] was… it was nine to five, you know? You got on the GO train or you got in your car and you left work and you went home. Unless it was a major event that you had to go to you didn't do much socializing […] I find that amongst Ontarians, they are a little cooler and more stand-offish maybe than Quebecers."

This sentiment is furthered by what Rob, a film editor, said about the differences between Montreal and Toronto. He said: "It's funny my friend used to say that Toronto was New York but run by the Swiss. I always thought that was true. That it was uptight, and it aspired at being a cosmopolitan city but didn't quite know how to pull it off. It was over regulated, and rules based, and people didn't really know how to enjoy themselves and certainly in Montreal that is not the case. You learn that at a very young age [how to enjoy yourself]. So, whatever, there is truth to some prejudices, and I think it's hard to say if you grew up in Montreal, you prefer Toronto to it."

Another example is from Rick, a retired TD (Toronto Dominion) bank employee, who explains that it's not just the cities themselves as Sheelagh and Rob explain but it's also that the life experience between Anglo-Quebecers and Anglo-Ontarians differs. Rick said that he is sure that he would feel differently sitting in a bagel shop or a deli in Montreal as opposed to someone else from another part of Canada because he knows what that feeling is like or supposed to be (even though he is not from the Jewish community in Montreal). He said that when he is sitting in a bagel shop in Montreal, that is when he feels Québécois. He said: "Yeah maybe I don't speak French, but I mean, I know what this place [Montreal and Quebec] is all about from having lived here for 30 years, you know? Whereas somebody from London or Windsor wouldn't feel that way at all I'm sure, if they were sitting in that restaurant." Rick strongly connects sensory experience with place and food in his self-understanding of how he locates himself as being an Anglo-Quebecer and how he fits that into how he self-identifies with being from Quebec.

Food is something significant that has come up with Anglo-Quebecer's longing and affinity with Quebec, be it either bagels, maple syrup, or produce. The Atwater market, the hot dogs/chip wagons, trips to sugar shacks, St. Viateur Bagels, Schwartz's Deli, as well as the general sharing of food. Dinner parties amongst neighbours was something that Anglo-Quebecers said was almost completely absent when they moved to the Toronto area but was previously a source of connection for them with other people in Quebec. Rick also acknowledged that in most cases in order to be accepted into the category of Québécois or Quebecer, there is the assumption that he must be fluent in French or be francophone, and that Anglos aren't really "true," authentic, or naturalized

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Quebecers, as we saw in the last section. What is being argued is that this is not the only acceptable way of being, practicing, and understanding oneself as a Quebecer.

Most of my participants expressed that they did not want to go to Toronto in the first place, but they had to in order to have economic opportunities and careers that would not be stunted based on their primary language and self-understanding. Many of them had to leave family behind and many of them said that they had to get used to that disconnect and in-between feeling of social location. The way they understood themselves was not understood or appreciated by the francophones in Quebec nor the anglophones in Ontario. The Québécois thought that Anglo-Quebecers were just like Ontarians and Ontarians thought Anglo-Quebecers inhabited the strictly guarded category of being a Quebec francophone.

The Anglo-Quebecers I spoke with were lucky in that they were privileged enough, even though they were/are a linguistic minority in Quebec, to be able to leave Quebec, to somewhat of the guarantee that they would be economically successful in doing so. That being said, almost all of my participants reported that if they hadn't had to leave Quebec, they probably wouldn't have. It was their home. After they left Quebec for Ontario or wherever else they went to, some hold onto an identification with Quebec in their self-understanding, but some hold on tighter than others.

The excerpts above are from those that hold onto and prioritize their Anglo-Quebecer categorical identification in their self-understanding. In the next section, I explain those

that do not prioritize or maintain a grip on their Anglo-Quebecer self-understanding, as they imply that it has been replaced by a more national Canadian categorical identification. In taking up a Canadian identity, Anglo Quebecers may actually have internalized the Ontario perspective of not having much of a provincial identity because an Ontarian identity is so closely tied to what has been found as being a Canadian national identity. Some people have lost touch with their Anglo-Quebecer self-identification, either because they wish to detach from understanding themselves as belonging to an *uninhabitable community* or perhaps, they never felt as though being Anglo-Quebecer was acceptable as an option in the first place. Being Anglo-Quebecer is *uninhabitable* as a categorical identity, which in turn prevents those who identify as Anglo-Quebecer from amalgamating as a community or a group ideologically, thus stimulating participants to turn to a more national identity.

Canadian-ness

In seeing how the categorical identification of Anglo-Quebecers is *uninhabitable* due to neither fully feeling like a Quebecer nor an Ontarian, caught in-between, many of my participants expressed that their categorical self-identification is actually one of a more national Canadian nature. If they can't inhabit the categorical Anglo-Quebecer identification and they don't understand themselves as anything other than Anglo-Quebecer, not Ontarian, as was seen in the previous sections, then one possible categorical identification for them to inhabit is a national Canadian one.

Part of what is at stake here is the idea of "identity maintenance" and to what extent

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people hold on to the same identity over time. For francophones who leave Quebec or Franco-Ontarians, they have to do a lot of work to maintain identity (French schools, lobbying for services, etc). This is not the case for Anglo-Quebecers, specifically those that don't live in Quebec anymore. The taken-for-granted-ness of English, as the unmarked language in Canada and internationally also means that in looking at the situation of Anglo-Quebecers there is no fear from others that their identity will be lost, because it was never really allowed to flourish in the first place, nor was it rooted primarily in language. If the rest of Canada speaks English what is so important about maintaining identity for a specific group of English-speaking Canadians? In speaking with my participants and my own life experience this seems to be the common thread of thought or argument in discussing Anglo-Quebecers from the perspective of someone who is not Anglo-Quebecer. Additionally, since there isn't really a discursive space to voice thoughts on this matter where Anglo-Quebecers are seen as a coherent group, the effect of identity maintenance passes with time and can be replaced, undermined, or forgotten.

The only time I have ever read anything about Anglo-Quebecer outmigration and Quebec political tensions in the national news, was this past year — 2020 was the 50th anniversary of the October Crisis. Along this same line of thought, in the pod-cast *Recall: How to Start a Revolution*, Geoff Turner (2020), (a journalist from British Columbia) said he had never learned about, heard about, or even realized what had gone on in Quebec until he heard about it randomly in a punk-rock song. The passing of time stripped categorical identity from Anglo-Quebecers as well as central Canadian discourse

in its absence on the matter, letting Anglo-Quebecers be forgotten, but also keeping them from being remembered. In this situation, it is difficult to maintain categorical Anglo-Quebecer identity and it's simply just easier to categorically identify with and inhabit a broader category that unifies a national one. Similar to how Lauren Leve (2011) points out when and why identity categories matter in relation to neoliberal contexts (551).

In the case of the Anglo-Quebecers whom I spoke to, they don't categorically or primarily self-identify as Anglo-Quebecer or as (English-) Quebecers anymore (even if they did previously). The eventful and tense history of Quebec seems to have affected many of them in a way where categorically identifying as being Anglo-Quebecer is too difficult. For instance, an anglophone man from Quebec, Pete, when asked: do you still consider yourself to be a Quebecer in some capacity, or do you think of yourself more as Ontarian now, said: "I'm really proud of my Quebec roots, I guess the big thing is, I've been retired for several years and we [Pete and his wife] made the decision to stay here [Ontario] so, I'm proud to say I came from Quebec but I'm Canadian first. I don't really associate with regional politics all that much [anymore]." Pete relationally seems to understand himself as Anglo-Quebecer, with his "roots" as he said, but Pete doesn't seem to identify with Quebec categorically anymore due to the amount of time he and his family have been away from Quebec. He said he doesn't really associate with regional politics now, but he also said in the interview that he used to be a "political animal" staying up to date on everything that was going on all the time in Quebec, but not anymore. Similar answers to the question placed to Pete above come from Jim, Timothy, and Johnny. They all consider themselves Canadian first, but they also maintain a self-

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understanding and imagining of themselves as Anglo-Quebecer even if they don't identify as Anglo-Quebecer categorically.

Jim, a retired anglophone Quebecer who ended up actually moving back to Quebec, after working between Ontario and Quebec even said: "I am a Canadian… [laughs] okay? Number one. Even though all the time I spent in Quebec, I am Canadian first and I live in the province of Quebec so obviously now that I've spent 55 years cumulatively in Quebec, I guess I associate more with being a Quebecer rather than Ontario (or being Ontarian) but I am a Canadian first."

Timothy a retired bank employee who left Quebec for work said: "I used to think about the idea of the transplanted Montrealer a lot, but over the years, I mean that was 40 years ago, so after a while it's all just goes with time. You tend to feel perhaps more Ontarian now or just plain old Canadian rather than a displaced Montrealer." In Timothy's case he said that he used to be concerned about his categorical identification of being an "English-Quebecer" but the sense of urgency in that identification faded with time since he wasn't living in Quebec anymore.

Johnny said that he considers himself a Canadian but he knows he has been shaped by his Quebec life and experience so that is just part of who he is. He doesn't think of himself as a Quebecer first. He said it's definitely part of him, but he said he really just feels like a Canadian that has lived in 3 different provinces at one point or another, now.

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In interpreting what Pete, Jim, Timothy, and Johnny had to say about how they self-identify categorically as primarily Canadian now, it can be seen that they all understand themselves and describe themselves as having an affinity or connection to Quebec, but no longer identify with this Anglo-Quebecer identification as a primary characteristic of the more external expression of their identity. As Cooper and Brubaker (2000) explain, "self-identification takes place in a dialectical interplay with external identification, and the two need not converge" (15). In other words, they can think of themselves as one thing but express themselves as another, externally to others. The acknowledgement and assessment of individual experience in contrast to discourse circulated by systems of structure and power from a nation.

In speaking with a man named Kevin, I found that there were also Anglo-Quebecers who have traded their self-understanding as Anglo-Quebecers, for a national Canadian one entirely. Kevin, an Anglo-Quebecer/Canadian now in the tech business said: "from a self-identification perspective I see myself as Canadian." Kevin's view of himself is tied to his view of the country. He said Quebec is a big part of the country and its one of the things that people outside of Canada reference because of its bilingualism or because it's unfamiliar to the United States in comparison. But Kevin said that he doesn't like to define his view of the country based on what it is not and what he is not, he just sees himself as Canadian. He said it's not an issue of being sentimental for "the 'old country' or something like that, again it was 43 years ago, Quebec is just part of Canada. I'm Canadian. I live where I live, I enjoy where I live, you know the likelihood of moving back to Montreal would be the same likelihood of moving to Vancouver or Halifax or

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Calgary."

It's not to say that all anglophones from Quebec are longing for Anglo-Quebecer recognition so that they can identify as Anglo-Quebecers categorically but there are contextual factors at play in terms of why Kevin solely identifies categorically as Canadian now. Kevin had a lot of experiences that negatively impacted him in relation to Quebec. Kevin told me that he went to a high school on the West Island of Montreal that was half English and half French, which was unusual but happened due to meeting the standards of the resources available in differing school districts. In other words, the school was making do with what they had available and the number of students they needed to teach. One thing in particular Kevin told me was disturbing and it related to his time at school and riding the bus. To get to his particular school, he had to ride the bus with English and French students. Kevin said sometimes the French students would <u>spit</u> on him and the other English students on the bus. This was in the late 1970s in the flare up of French pride leading to the first sovereignty-association referendum. Kevin also explained that once he moved to Ontario and finished off his high school, he was teased and called a "frog," for being from Quebec, which is a derogatory term for French people even though he wasn't French. It's not to say that Kevin isn't completely valid in solely identifying as categorically Canadian and nothing else, but in hearing his stories I can't help but wonder if these experiences reinforced how he wanted to self-identify going forward outside of Quebec. Kevin told me he just doesn't think of Quebec anymore, it's not on his mind.

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Conclusion

In conclusion, due to Anglo-Quebecers not feeling welcome in Quebec and the lack of understanding from those outside of Quebec in terms of what has happened historically and politically between anglophones and francophones, many Anglo-Quebecers feel as though they neither belong in Quebec nor Ontario. The discourse in Quebec that creates the standards for authenticity and categorical identification linguistically and culturally, intentionally impedes Anglo-Quebecers from self-identifying categorically and ideologically as Anglo-Quebecers — matching their self-understanding. The absence of a discourse or knowledge of what happened with Anglo-Quebecers in Quebec, or in Ontario, makes Anglo-Quebecers feel as though they don't belong in Ontario. To other people Anglo-Quebecers seem to be just the same as any other Canadian anglophone and have assimilated back into English Canada but Anglo-Quebecers understand themselves as culturally different. As a result of this feeling of ill-belonging and being caught somewhere liminal between Quebec and the rest of English Canada, Anglo-Quebecers have been squeezed into taking a national Canadian categorical identification as their primary identification even if previously this was not the case. All other options are ideologically *uninhabitable* for Anglo-Quebecers as they have shifted from the core of power in Quebec to becoming a marked group.

Among Anglo-Quebecers there is a weak sense of community, groupness, and connectedness even though there is evidence of them imaging an Anglo-Quebecer community. There is some variability in terms of how Anglo-Quebecers identify as well as that each case is relative to their own experience. Some wholly self-identify as Anglo-

Quebecer, some are somewhere in-between this distinction, and some don't self-identify as Anglo-Quebecer at all due to priority, aspects of the passing of time, ideology, and negative experiences.

Anglo-Quebecers neither fit cleanly in Quebec nor Ontario and how they are made to feel as though they don't belong in either based on the harsh Quebec discourse surrounding authenticity. There is also almost complete absence of an Anglo-Quebecer discourse in Ontario and other English provinces. The Anglo-Quebecers I spoke to were squeezed out of Quebec and have had their self-understanding undermined so much so that they can't inhabit any other categorical identification, other than a national one. They are lost in the fray of what happened in Quebec and in the memory of people in Ontario and in other English-speaking provinces.

Anglo-Quebecers therefore are an *uninhabitable community* that is part of both a marginalized minority (in Quebec) but also a marginalizing majority (outside of Quebec). In Quebec and Canadian discourse, Anglo-Quebecers are viewed as both at fault for historical francophone and French oppression, but they are also articulated as victims in the wake of the redistribution of power from English to French. This is a complex and contradictory position. In concluding the aims of this chapter, Anglo-Quebecers should now be less ambiguous and be better understood in how they are an *uninhabitable community* which has denied them ideological access to their categorical self-understanding, through a lack of authenticity and validation. This is due to the deeply tense and politically charged history of anglophone and francophone relations in Quebec.

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In the next chapter, I show how the spatialization of English and French in Montreal and

the mobilization of a regionalist French language by the OQLF set the conditions for and

produced the partial erasure of Anglo-Quebecers from Quebec. I also make note of how

the beginning of the shift in power from English to French in Quebec around the first

sovereignty-association referendum (1980) was influenced by the economic shift from

Montreal to Toronto that it coincided with, and vice-versa.

Chapter Three

Bursting Anglophone Bubbles: The Partial Erasure of Quebec Anglophones

In 2013, an Italian restaurant in Montreal learned that its menu violated language laws set out in Quebec's Bill 14 (Hobbis 2017, 709-710). The words "pasta," "antipasti", and "calamari" were displayed on the restaurant menu in their Italian form, instead of the French translations. The Office Québécois de la Langue Française (OQLF) sent a notice requesting that the restaurant change these words to French and reprint their menus. The owner of the Italian restaurant instead of complying with the OQLF, went to the media where groups of anglophones and allophones cried back in outrage at what they believed to be a ridiculous request. This event was later termed "Pastagate," amusingly similar in name to the "Watergate" scandal.[8] Many people in the anglophone news media in Quebec and Ontario picked up on the story in outrage but also in humour (Vessey 2016; Hobbis 2017). They exclaimed that this enforcement of the language law(s) was ridiculous and "overzealous" (Vessey 2016; Hobbis 2017).

In the wake of "Pastagate," the head of the OQLF ended up stepping down from their position (Vessey 2016). Anglo-Quebecers and the broader Canadian public questioned the motives and procedures of the OQLF by enforcing the law in this way. It caused a lot of negativity towards French and Quebec in general throughout Canada. As a present result, any time there is an event where French forward political parties or the OQLF try

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[8] Richard Nixon (1972)

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to further increase the strength of Bill 101 in the province of Quebec, many Anglo-Quebecers and anglophones in other areas of Canada dismiss these concerns as just an unrelenting fixation on the particularities of language use by francophones. Yet for some of the francophones trying to maintain the French language in Quebec, the measures set out in Bill 14 are still not stringent enough to ensure the vitality of French in Quebec (Bourhis 2019, 656). For many francophones, "Pastagate" is now used as a term to describe an Anglo-Centric point of view on Quebec politics.

Debates about language are almost always debates about something bigger and point to issues of power and authority rather than the immediate matters at hand (Heller 2016). Rather than taking "Pastagate" at face value and debating the role of foreign cognates in language maintenance efforts, this chapter looks at how and why Quebec's language policies involved linguistically reclaiming space, not only through menus, but street signs and other aspects of Montreal's linguistic landscape. "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (Landry and Bourhis 1997, 25).

Prior to "Pastagate" English and French were not only separate languages but were the grounds for very separate spaces. Montreal is typically the main city equated with anglophones in Quebec. Within the city, distinct neighbourhoods became either French or English with symbolic boundaries that were clear to everyone (e.g., Westmount, Notre-Dame-de-Grâce, East and West Montreal, going East of Bleury street and the mountain,

etc). These spaces were linguistically marked but marked by socioeconomic status as well, wealthier parts of the city were typically anglophone and the working-class quarters were typically francophone. Many of my Anglo informants described living in a "bubble" or a "ghetto" where they could fully operate in English and without issues. The OQLF's mission to reclaim all space as French needs to be understood in light of the existing ways in which language and socioeconomic status is mapped onto the province in general, but Montreal in particular.

From my interviews I learned that the explicit control over Quebec's linguistic landscape through Bill 101 and subsequent bills worked to inhibit an Anglo-Quebecer sense of entitlement to community and categorical identity, both literally and symbolically. This is a result of the monolingual language ideology that is underscored by the OQLF. The rise of modern nationalism on which Quebec's political efforts are based popularized the idea of "one language, one nation, one culture." The role of using only one language in unifying a nation or political entity has become a taken for granted component of social cohesion in many parts of the world (Gal 2019). This has involved the eradication and erasure of plurilingualism and linguistic diversity of many stripes. While globally, minority and indigenous languages and dialects are the most common casualties of this type of monolingual ideology, in Quebec, monolingual ideology and policy have instead made less space for the dominant language of English. In turn, this has created the conditions for what Anglo-Quebecers experience as an *uninhabitable* community, a feeling of being unwelcome.

In supporting the argument of this chapter, I explain how deeply segregated and divided Montreal's neighbourhoods have been in the mapping of language to space, as well as how Anglo-Quebecers express the geography of language in understanding the spatiality of English and French in Montreal. This sets the stage for how Anglo-Quebecers have explained that the neighbourhoods they lived in, in Montreal, were Anglo 'bubbles' isolated from the rest of French Quebec. These anglophone 'bubbles' burst due to years of infighting about language and the discourse which arose from this infighting produced the partial erasure of Anglo-Quebecers from Quebec directly following the beginning of two key shifts in the province's structure. One shift dealt with the economy and another dealt with a change in discourse surrounding the French language in considering the Quebec variety of French as a regionalist language, distinct from France (even though the politics of language and the drive for preservation of language is similar in both Quebec and France). These shifts came simultaneously around the time of the first sovereignty-association referendum in 1980 and have persisted in enabling an overextension of Quebec's Bill 101, up to the present day.

The Segregation of Montreal Neighbourhoods

Gupta (1992) describes space as a "neutral grid on which cultural difference, historical memory, and societal organization are inscribed" (7). Space is inscribed upon by the events, people, languages, and cultures that inhabit them. The spatial distribution of hierarchical power relations is a good starting point for understanding the process whereby "space" distinctly achieves the notion of "place" (Gupta 1992, 8). For instance, when a piece of land is given a name, a status, or a tie to a people, it's culture and their

language. The ways in which language maps itself to culture and the ways that culture maps to a sense of identity, categorical or otherwise, creates a boundedness (Urciuoli 1995, 533). In areas of boundedness there is the partial erasure of people and practices "that do not fit politically salient categories" thus creating people on the border or periphery — on the border of identity, language, and space (535). This process creates "invisible people in risky or ambiguous positions" (535).

In this description of space, once the neutral grid has been claimed by members of a culture, its history, and its societal organization, the neutral grid of space is no longer neutral. It becomes tangled in the affairs of distinguishing the borders to which people claim connection, ownership, and authority. This theory of space becomes increasingly complicated when claims to space can be multiple and overlapping. In this case I am talking about English and French neighbourhoods on the island city of Montreal.

The mapping of language to space and the mobilization of language ideology is powerful and immense. In the case of Montreal [the city of Mount Royal/Ville-Marie],[9] it is a city of neighbourhoods and "islands," even though there is only one main island containing the city of Montreal. Francophone and anglophone spaces in Montreal have been perceived as separate for a long time, to the point where the terms of reference for Franco and Anglo spaces in Montreal end up creating an image of two distinct islands, instead of

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[9] Jacques Cartier climbed up the mountain on what is now the island of Montreal and he named it Mount Royal [in its English relative name]. He wrote: "Nous nomism's icicle montaigne le Mont Royal." [We named the said mountain Mount Royal]. The name Montreal is generally thought to be derived from "Mount Royal"; the name given to the mountain by Cartier in 1535. It's important to remember that there were Iroquoian people and settlements there before the French explorer Cartier and later the Kingdom of France arrived.

the one main island in actuality (Fig. 2). Anglo-Quebecers have resided in spaces mainly

on the West side of the island of Montreal (the West Island), and the Franco-Québécois

have resided in spaces mainly on the East side of the island (the East Island) (Fig. 3). In

conversation with my participants, they would commonly describe themselves as, "being

from the West Island" which to someone who isn't familiar with the geography of

Montreal, would assume that Montreal was composed of multiple islands comprising the
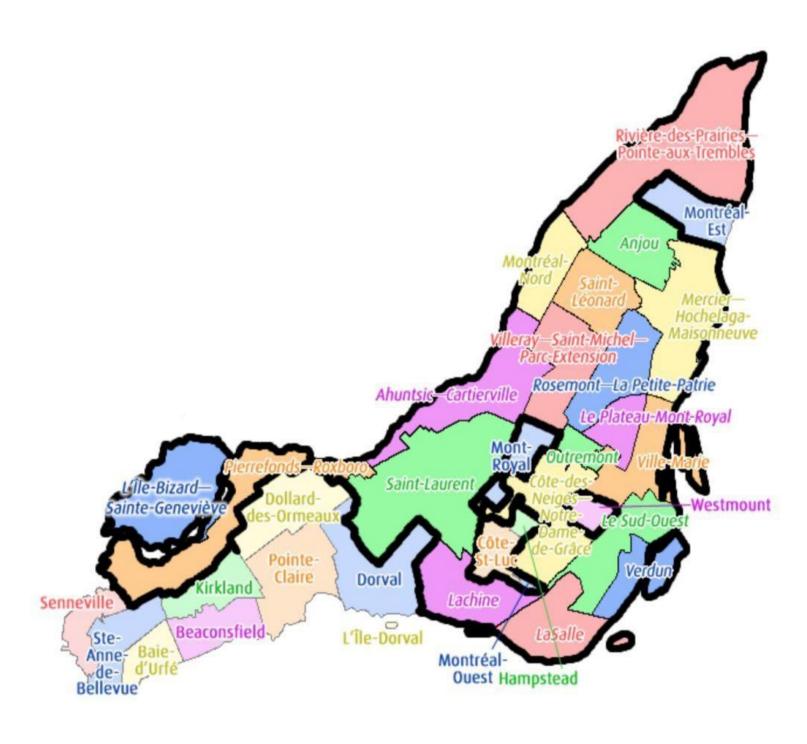
main city space.

Figure 2 - The Island of Montreal and its boroughs — https://www.ariannerelocation.com/les-arrondissements-de-montreal/
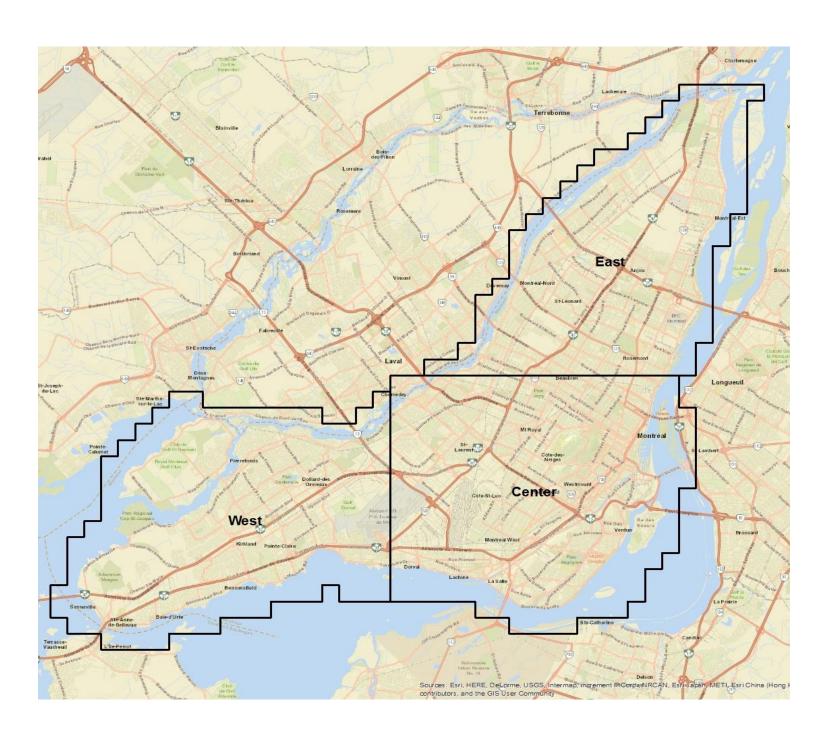
**Figure 3 - The Island of Montreal, the Western, Centre, and Eastern regions -
https://www.concordia.ca/library/guides/geospatial-data/geodata.html**

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In thinking of these linguistic and spatial divides, a key question that should be asked is how were these divides experienced, but in this case how were they experienced by Anglo-Quebecers? Johnathan Kay (2016), former editor of *The Walrus* magazine, explains that he was of one of the last generations of anglophones who thought they could live in Quebec without being fluent in French. Kay said, "the Montreal of my childhood was a place where many anglophones could exist in a *bubble*. Clustered densely in the Western corners of Montreal, our neighbourhoods were still mostly sealed off from the province's majority francophone population." These Anglo areas represent a privilege of being anglophone, due to the years of Anglo domination over francophones in Quebec. The ability to operate in a place independently or separately when being a linguistic minority group is exemplary of a kind of privilege. Although, in the years leading up to the 1980 sovereignty-association referendum, everything subsequently changed and these 'Anglo bubbles' that Kay describes, quickly began to burst. I show in this discussion the ways in which language and cultural identity have been mapped onto the neighbourhoods in Montreal and how they are telling of how language tensions and language ideologies have been mobilized to the effect of Montreal's segregation.

The division of people in space based on language has gone on for generations in Quebec. My father grew up in the neighbourhood of LaChine, a neighbourhood on the Southwest of the island of Montreal. My father said that pretty much up until he was leaving high school in the late 1960s and going to university further into the central neighbourhoods of Montreal, near McGill University, he lived and operated in an English bubble. He did not need to know French or use French on a daily basis, and he said there

were not really any French people around where he lived either. Almost all of the Anglo-Quebecers whom I talked to in this study explained that most of their childhood involved growing up in an English bubble tucked away in a Montreal neighbourhood or a rural English town not far from Montreal. Many Anglo-Quebecers only had to consider learning French or incorporating it into their daily lives once they were graduating from high school and going out into the workforce, like my dad.

Rob, who has been and will be frequently referenced throughout this entire discussion of Anglo-Quebecer identity, had this to say about being Anglo and experiencing French in an ethnolinguistically segregated city, he said:

"There are things that you are missing out on because you aren't reading the French papers and you are not watching French television. You had a sort of more constrained cultural milieu, you know, and there were areas of the city that were fully French that you wouldn't go to, in the same sense here [now in Los Angeles] where there is a sort of segregation by race and economic class in America — in Montreal you know, you wouldn't really go East of Bleury [street] if you were English… I was aware of the geography of language, I was aware of, you know, where I was welcome and where I was not."

The geography of language divided people not only linguistically but ethnically and economically in many cases (Walker 2016). It was even to the extent that different neighbourhoods had their own police services. Westmount, the wealthiest Anglo

neighbourhood and the neighbourhood that was targeted by the FLQ, used to have their own security/police force that was separate from the Montreal municipal police force because Westmount was its own established and historic municipality in the city centre. Other neighbourhoods would have squads of English police in English neighbourhoods and French police in French neighbourhoods (Walker 2016). Rob implied at one point in our conversation that the police even doled out different treatment to those they caught in trouble depending on who they were. Those who found themselves in an unfamiliar neighbourhood, such as an English person in a French neighbourhood or a French person in an English neighbourhood may find themselves being approached differently. People in this type of environment adopted a term that denotes hardship and minority status in describing anglophone neighbourhoods — the term is "ghetto."

The term "ghetto" has been historically used to refer to Jewish quarters of cities, specifically in reference to WWII and the Nazi holocaust of Jewish people. In more contemporary times it has also come to index African American communities in the United States of America. So then why did so many of the Anglo-Quebecers that I spoke to refer to English neighbourhoods in Montreal as being "English ghettos"? In reference to these English ghettos there is an avoidance of acknowledging socioeconomic status and what an actual ghetto may be like. This type of avoidance is common with descriptive language that is socioeconomically and ethnically or racially charged, but is language being used by what is viewed as a dominant group member (LaDousa 2011). It's hard to picture the once central demographic and linguistic power of Anglo-Quebecers in Quebec living in ghettos. So, what is really going on here?

In many cases people who were allophones but identified as anglophones were of Jewish descent or were Jewish immigrants. It is possible that the term "ghetto" came into use in Anglo neighbourhoods in Montreal due to the portion of the Jewish community in Montreal that identified as being anglophone. The term then transferred into other anglophone's lexicons as descriptors of their community. Montreal has historic and well documented Jewish and Italian communities throughout the city.

Anglo-Quebecers in some cases saw/see themselves as living in English ghettos because they were linguistically and demographically a minority — technically. They operated in bubbles. But the Anglos still maintained a rather high socioeconomic standing in many cases even though the power over linguistic dominance had shifted from English to French in Quebec. Anglo-Quebecers maintain a standing well enough that around 600, 000 of them were able to afford to move away from Quebec and move to jobs that were better or equal to the ones that they left in Quebec. When French forward language policies became more heavily enforced on Anglo-Quebecers, as I will explain later, they were able to leave unlike the francophones in their years of domination by the English.

In this discussion of Anglo-Quebecer neighbourhoods in Montreal I have shown how starkly divided Anglo and Franco Quebec really was before the first sovereignty-association referendum, particularly in relation to Montreal's neighbourhoods. Anglo-Quebecers in Montreal and some surrounding rural towns were able to live and operate separately from francophones, in 'bubbles,' even though Anglo-Quebecers were/are a

minority group. Now I will show in the next section why this ability to live in 'bubbles' was no longer possible for Anglo-Quebecers in Montreal and the rest of Quebec, after the first sovereignty-association referendum. There was a shift to a monolingual language ideology of a regional variety of French, distinct from France, which created conditions that encouraged Anglo-Quebecers to leave Quebec.

The OQLF and Quebec's Move to Monolingualism

For this section it is important to understand the concept of *language ideology*, where: "ideologies of language are not about language alone. Rather, they envision and enact ties of language to identity […] Through such linkages, they underpin not only linguistic form and use but also the very notion of the person and the social group; as well as such fundamental social institutions as […] the nation-state, schooling, and law" (Schieffelin 1998, 1). Language ideologies are "the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine and Gal 2000, 35). Language ideologies are the preconceptions people have about their own language as well as other people's language. This gives each person a different outlook and perspective on the world depending on which languages they know how to speak. The concept of language ideology is of anthropological importance not only because of its ethnographic variability but because it mediates a link between social structures as well as forms-of-talk (Goffman 1981) — or more simply, the different ways people communicate (Schieffelin 1998).

For instance, having an essentialist ideology or an assumed isomorphism about space, place, culture, identity, and language raises many problems in general. The mobilization of a monolingual ideology of language creates a lot of work for those enforcing it and spreading it around. In the case of Quebec, the Office Québécois de la Langue Française (OQLF) plays an important role in the promotion of monolingual language ideology. Language ideology can be spread or mobilized through everyday discourse as well as everyday objects and practices (e.g., street signs and the workplace). Through the mobilization of language of an essentialist language, the partial erasure of anyone and anything that contradicts that ideology and hierarchical system of power is seen as endangering that system and ideology. Anglo-Quebecers and English Canada is seen as a threat to Quebec's monolingual regionalist ideology of French and the OQLF is largely tasked with enforcing the defence against this threat.

The OQLF was founded in 1961 by Jean Lesage's Liberal government, during the Quiet Revolution. The main goals of the OQLF have since been to support the use and maintenance of the French language in Quebec — that involves the preservation of French from English-Canadian oppression and American assimilation. Throughout the 1970s, the OQLF increasingly took on the responsibilities of enforcing the Charter of the French Language (Bill 101 - 1977) and the Official Language Act (Bill 22 - 1974) when the power in Quebec politically, linguistically, and economically began to shift from the anglophones to the francophones after the Parti Québécois (PQ) came to power in 1976. The discourse on French linguistic purity in Quebec then shifted to a more pluricentric view of the French language, a regionalist appreciation. With a regionalist variety of

French, francophones were able to see the value in their own variety of Quebec French instead of striving for the value placed in the form from France.

The attention to the French language given by the OQLF has enabled a discourse of purity regarding a regionalist form of French that is distinct from France. A regionalist variety of the French language has become the standard variety of French for Quebec. The OQLF controls the discourse which creates an essentialist and monolingual-nationalist ideology of French in Quebec, and it is mobilized on the linguistic landscape and enforced by those who share the ideology. The French Nation of Quebec, if they are to enforce their ideology of French monolingualism to its fullest, as a reclamation and modernization of Quebec, will persist in enforcing smaller matters that threaten their linguistic ideology.[10]

In my interviews with Anglo-Quebecers, there was the acknowledgment of a history of purist ideology of the French language in Quebec going back to France, but Anglo-Quebecers were more concerned with the developing Québécois standard of French regionally. The reason why Anglo-Quebecers were more concerned with the regionalist aspect of the pluricentric shift of the Quebec standard of French was because the 'ideal' of French became more defined "by its distance from the threat of English than its

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[10] In the late 1960s the purist discourse of French underscored by the OQLF was tied to a standard model of French from France, not yet regional Quebec, which is evident from the joy that many francophone Quebecers received once hearing the remarks of Charles De Gaulle's speech at Expo 67. In 1967 at an appearance for Montreal's Expo 67 Charles De Gaulle went off protocol in his speech from a Montreal balcony and reinforced the sovereignty and nationalist movement in Quebec by uttering "Vive le Quebec libre" — [long live free Quebec] — implying that Quebec was under occupation. These words from De Gaulle reinforced Quebec's connection with France by strengthening ties of French imperialism in Canada. This view of a standard French being from France continued in the lead up to the simultaneous linguistic, economic, and political shifts that began around the first sovereignty-association referendum in 1980.

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closeness to the French of France" (Walsh 2020, 1). The regionalist standard of Quebec French created a new monolingual ideology of French in Quebec which was strictly enforced to the outrage of many anglophones. Anglophones that could not keep up with the changes were slowly squeezed out of Quebec society by the mobilization of a purist French discourse and monolingual ideology of French in Quebec.

Quebec's monolingual language ideology was adopted in order to preserve French in Quebec at all costs, in response to the previous century's attacks on its vitality by the British Empire. The severity to which actions are carried out in practice by francophones so as to maintain a monolingual ideology of French in Quebec has varied over the past half-century. Similarly, not all anglophones want to infringe upon the francophones in some sort of Anglocentric ideology of oppression. The average people that have co-existed and now still co-exist in Quebec get lost in these events of great hardship and disarray. Relativity and individuality are import to remember for both the cases of anglophones and francophones, but it's also important to remember unfortunately that the level of sameness and persistence of negative ideology that has been mobilized by both groups to produce the consequences and tensions that we now can see are unavoidable in discussing Quebec identity and language politics.

In the next section I show how the shift to a regionalist and monolingual language ideology in Quebec was mobilized through explicit control over Quebec's linguistic landscape. Through Bill 101 francophone Quebec has worked to inhibit any Anglo-Quebecer sense of entitlement to community and categorical identity, both literally and

symbolically within the province.

The Mobilization of Language Ideology Through Signage

Kevin, who now solely identifies as Canadian, as was mentioned in Chapter one, said that both of his parents were born in Montreal, as well as their parents, and their parents - parents. This is a few generations of history going back to the beginning of the 20th century, at least. Kevin explained that his mother used to work at the famous department store 'Ogilvy's.' He said one day when he was a teenager in the early 1980s, workmen took the engraved stone block out of the side of the Ogilvy's building and used a power tool to sand off and erase the — 's — from the stone engraved sign on the side of the building. The stone engraving was made a new as 'Ogilvy' in the French relative to the English possessive spelling of the store name. Kevin said that taking a two-ton block of granite out of the side of a popular department store in downtown Montreal just so someone can sand off the reference to the English language seems a bit silly, but also extreme. Growing up as a young adult in that environment seeing images of literal erasure of one's self-identification, at least in terms of language, is significant.

The mobilization of language ideology in the case of Quebec is most commonly recognized in practice through its monolingual policies and OQLF enforcement of those policies, surrounding street signage. Street signage is more important than one may think in the mobilization of language ideology because it involves not only signs on the street for cars but also any sign or text for conducting business. Initially the OQLF wanted everything to be in French and not allow any other language to be put on street signs, but

this did not come to pass (Bill 86) (Stewart 1988). Instead, Quebec came up with a system where any other language on signs and labels other than French must be smaller than the mandatory French that comes first. A new dominance of the French language was imparted and enforced in Quebec, mobilizing upon Montreal's linguistic landscape.[11]

The ways that language and cultural identity are mapped to spaces, such as neighbourhoods, are telling of how language tensions and language ideology are mobilized. The influence of a linguistic landscape on someone is significant. Linguistic landscapes are an important sociolinguistic factor which contributes "to the vitality of competing ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual settings […] and more than 30 countries and regional states have adopted laws regulating aspects of their linguistic landscape" (Landry and Bourhis 1997, 24). The language, ideology, and discourse that someone is exposed to all the time in their environment saturates them. It has an effect on them. Especially when in a situation of conflict or tension.

The mobilization of language ideology and ideology in general through signage has been researched in other cities as well. Shonna and Snajdr (2017) conducted a study in Brooklyn on street signs where they found that signage affects the production of a community's voice by the mobilization of language ideology through signage (22). They found that "rather than being 'the humblest of literacy artifacts' … commercial shop signs are in fact very powerful public tools that constitute, communicate, and change

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[11] "The language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration" (Landry and Bourhis 1997, 25).

social, economic, and political life" (22).[12]

In the case of Shonna and Snajdr (2017) in Brooklyn they were analyzing gentrification

and markers of socioeconomic status. They argued that the *distinction making signs* were

the signs that were mobilizing language ideology surrounding big capital corporations

which indicated a socioeconomic status ideal for their customers. In the case of Anglo-

Quebecers and Quebec, the mobilization of language ideology through *distinction making*

signage can also be illuminating in regard to understanding how language and space

affect Anglo-Quebecer self-identification in the face of their partial erasure.

In the early 1980s the sense of Anglo victimhood was on the rise. New laws limited the

use of English on road and commercial signage, as I mentioned, and there was the

severely restricted access to English-language public schooling. Kay (2016) said that "the

OQLF unleashed a legion of clipboard-wielding language gendarmes. At times, it really

did go too far. Even many francophones came to believe as much." The mobilization of a

monolingual and purist ideology of French in the Quebec variety was swept across the

province, particularly in dominant anglophone areas. This was the beginning of the end

of English bubbles within Montreal.

My mother said she thinks it got to a point where she and my father felt that they didn't

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[12] Shonna and Snajdr (2017) categorized the types of signage into two different groups: old school signage and distinction making signs (14-16). Old school signage refers to neutral signs that are straightforward about their message and do not have any ulterior motive in their message (e.g. an anvil sign means that there is a blacksmith) (14). It does not imply hierarchy or ideology; it simply informs without exclusion (14). Distinction making signs are the signs that which mobilize ideology because they have low semiotic intrusion, they have ulterior motives, they possess the language ideology in their design and mobilize it upon the public space (16).

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want to have a pettiness in their everyday lives anymore. They left Quebec in the late 1990s and experienced the full French reclamation of Quebec living through both sovereignty-association referendums. They said that continual arguments over the language of labels and street signs became tiresome. My mother said she felt fed up because she would ask herself "can we [anglophones and francophones] not co-exist in an easier manner?". She said she and my father were concerned about me and my brother being able to go to school in English because they were told at the time by the Quebec government, that if the mother of a child was educated in English in Quebec, then their child has the right to attend an English school (Section 23). But my mother said that after a while, she and my father weren't confident that by the time my brother and I were ready to go to school that this criteria for enrolling in an English school in Quebec would still be in effect.

Language policies have continued to change and have become stricter and stricter to this day in reinforcing Bill 101. The lengths to which some francophones in Quebec go to distinguish their French-ness from English is never ending. It becomes harmful on the well-being of Anglo-Quebecers who once and still do live in Quebec. Some may think this reversal of domination is retribution after years of oppression, by Anglos. At the same time, it is as though now francophone Quebec has become something similar to the oppressive Anglo system that they express they so proudly and violently fought to be free from. This hypocrisy was not lost on my Anglo-Quebecer participants and is fuel for why so many of them described feeling tired of the constant linguistic tensions.

Bill 101 has been channelled into the policies of street signage, among other things. This is an ongoing issue in Quebec. Kate McKenna from CBC (Canadian Broadcasting Corporation) (2021) has reported that this year, 2021, Quebec law makers are attempting to pass the most stringent language law in Quebec history since Bill 101, which if passed would change the Canadian constitution in regard to French rights in Canada. The bill is called Bill 96. Much of the 100-page bill, McKenna says, "is targeted at bolstering the use of French in public and workplaces after a series of studies by the OQLF, found that French in Quebec is in decline." The article does not list the OQLF studies that are given as evidence to the vitality of French being in decline. On the contrary a study by Bourhis (2019) has found that francophone vitality in Quebec has triumphed in surpassing and impeding institutional anglophone vitality in Quebec (655). "The Francophone majority succeeded in consolidating its demographic and institutional ascendancy over the anglophone minority" yet many francophones are worried about the vitality of French specifically in Montreal as more Anglophones and allophones speak English at home (655-656). For the OQLF, French is their main priority.

From the perspective of francophones, the decline of French in Quebec must be frightening. It makes perfect sense from their perspective to adjust policy as necessary to maintain the ideology that they have about the French language and the pride they feel about speaking the language. On the other hand, anyone who is not categorically francophone in Quebec is further removed from the monolingual French 'utopia' as more stringent policies are passed to preserve the French language. The policies and actions issued consequently have ended up removing part of the Anglo-Quebecer contribution to

Quebec and its history (not to mention indigenous languages, other heritage languages, and languages brough over to Quebec by immigrants). The removal of spaces that were once English as well as components of Quebec's linguistic landscape.

Anglo-Quebecers went from being at the hierarchical core of power in every regard in Quebec for hundreds of years, to moving swiftly and sternly to the periphery. Simultaneously through the mobilization of a monolinguistic ideology of French on Quebec's linguistic landscape, Anglo-Quebecers have been pushed aside from belonging to Quebec as well as to any mapping or inscription of their contribution onto the "neutral grid of space" Quebec once was (even though we all know that the English and French were not the first peoples to live on the lands of Quebec).

In the case of Anglo-Quebecers and the French language, the fear of French language endangerment is so strong that the monolingual French language ideology in Quebec has created a boundedness in Quebec that it is *uninhabitable* for Anglo-Quebecers. It is *uninhabitable* to anyone who is not strictly speaking, ethnically or linguistically a Quebec francophone. I have shown this by explaining how strictly divided Montreal's neighbourhoods are and how they have been subjected to a regionalist and monolingual language ideology by the OQLF, mobilized through Quebec's linguistic landscape. The hesitancy my participants express in identifying as Anglo-Quebecers needs to be understood in light of what I have discussed here.

In the next section I highlight the two key shifts that began in Quebec around the first

sovereignty-association referendum and contrast what I have said in the lead up to these shifts in all the previous sections with regard to the Anglo-Quebecer experience before and after these shifts.

The Two Shifts: Quebec's Before and After

The two shifts that I describe in this section are what have enabled the Montreal Anglo 'bubbles' to burst and set the conditions for a less habitable Anglo experience in Quebec. These shifts were the turning point for Anglo-Quebecers where they realized they could no longer stay sealed off in their own neighbourhoods separated from the majority francophone population anymore (Kay 2016). The Anglo privilege of being able to separately operate almost uninterrupted as a minority language group in the centre of a French majority city, began to fade as the Anglo neighbourhoods grew smaller. Anglo-Quebecers left because of the language ideology enforced by Quebec's language office but also because of the dwindling number of socioeconomic and career opportunities left in English, in Quebec. It is important to note that these shifts may seem as though they happened very quickly in the way I have described them, but they have slowly developed over the past few decades not just in the few years surrounding the referendums. These movements and efforts have been a long change in the making but I think it is more palatable to describe these events in the way that I have done so here. A more comprehensive analysis of the shifts and the effects of post-nationalism in Quebec can be found in the work of Monica Heller (2016; 2011; 2003) as well as the Government of Quebec, concerning Anglo-Quebecer socioeconomic status (Institut National De Santé Publique Du Québec 2012).

Socioeconomic status and the issues of language and space cannot be disentangled from one another when analysing Anglo-Quebecers because the separation and the division of people based on language and ethnicity almost always have some underlying consequences of social or monetary capital. Anglo-Quebecers were/are a minority group in Quebec, but they maintained a greater educational and economic status in comparison to the majority francophones. This meant that they held better jobs, lived in nicer communities (generally), and did not have to work as hard at being bilingual. This is evident in how many anglophones grew up in English bubbles and could work in English without learning French, for a time. This all changed with the economic as well as discursive shifts in Quebec that began with the establishment of a Parti Québécois government in 1976. From 1976 to the first sovereignty-association referendum in 1980, Anglo-Quebecers went from the centre of power to the periphery of the hierarchical system in Quebec (Heller 2016).

Part of what monolingual language policies do is create a regional economic market where bilingualism isn't valued. So that leaves two competing things in the case of Quebec, a global market that operates in English, but also an internal one that operates in French. The latter created the conditions for an expanded francophone middle class. The former lead to the economic relocation of almost all business in English, to Toronto. As Anglo-Quebecers have predominantly moved from Montreal to Toronto in the past 45 years, so has Canada's centre of business and trade. The economic tides began to shift from Montreal to Toronto around the same time that Quebec's language policy changed.

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Heller (2016) argues that the shift of economic excitement from Montreal to Toronto was not due to the anglophones leaving Quebec in the first place, but in fact her argument is the other way around. The economic shift from Montreal to Toronto created an environment where the conditions for passing a policy such as Bill 101 in Quebec would be possible. Yet, the passing of Bill 101 did not only solidify the reclamation of Quebec as French for francophones, it also set Quebec on a new trajectory in the creation of a strict monolingual nation enacted in the continual strengthening of Bill 101 through other such related language policies. Therefore, it does not matter much which shift came first or caused the other, economic or linguistic, because they both contributed immensely to the conditions which produced the Anglo-Quebecer departure from Quebec and their experience of having an *uninhabitable* sense of identity, community, and groupness.

Even for those that stayed in Quebec quite a while after the two sovereignty-association referendums (the first in 1980 and the second in 1995), those who tried to become more bilingual and those who tried to keep up with Quebec's ever-changing stringent language laws and expectations, there was a tipping point. One's bilingual ability and the mere use of French at all, even if not by an "old stock"[13] francophone, became not good enough. The issue of extending the reach of Bill 101 was no longer only about language preservation it was about the ethnicity of the person speaking the language.

My dad experienced growing up in an Anglo bubble in the neighbourhood of LaChine and lived through the bursting of those English neighbourhood bubbles in the reclamation

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[13] "Old stock" is a term for someone who's family came from France centuries ago and were some of the first settlers in Quebec. It is a term used by francophones who usually prefer Quebec to be for francophones only and specifically francophones who have ancestral and ethnic roots in the province.

of Quebec throughout the 1970s, the 1980s, and the 1990s. He tried his best to become

bilingual, especially for his job and in the workplace. To my knowledge he was fairly

fluent in basic communication in French up until the point he left, both my parents were.

I would hear them having simple conversations in French with each other when I was

little. On a holiday trip to France, they translated for my brother and I the whole way. But

after a while of trying to get used to a new monolingual Quebec, near to when he left

Quebec with my family in the late 1990s, my dad he said his ability to speak French no

longer mattered to those in charge. The issue that his superiors and the provincial

government seemed to be concerned with, from his perspective, was that he was not

ethnically French. He was taking up a middle-class job that could be filled instead by

someone who was ethnically French or at least someone who was francophone. This

issue was not relayed directly or explicitly to him, but he said feelings were laid out plain

enough for him that he got the message. In creating a monolingual French modern

nationalist Quebec, the ever-increasing extensions of the power of Bill 101 not just from

language preservation for French but to the felt sense of partial erasure of Quebec

Anglophones. For example, the renaming of central downtown Montreal streets, like

Dorchester street being changed to Rene Levesque boulevard and University street to

Robert Bourassa street. This type of symbolic erasure is what I have argued in this

chapter as being part of the consequence to the French reclamation of Quebec.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the overextension of Bill 101 in order to strengthen a French monolingual language ideology in Quebec has produced the partial erasure of an Anglo-Quebecer sense of community and categorical identity, both literally and symbolically, setting *uninhabitable* conditions for Anglo-Quebecers. The anglophone claim to Quebec in their sense of self as historically founding members of modern Quebec is invalid. While considering the two key shifts in Quebec's history that greatly affect this analysis, before and after the reclamation of Quebec as French in the early 1980s, I have shown how language and space are connected in looking at the way that Montreal is segregated and spatialized by language to the effect of fracture between English and French. Anglophones and francophones lived in their own bubbles in different neighbourhoods and people understood the geography of language in terms of where they were *welcome* and where they were not. The existence and easy operation of being an anglophone was relatively achievable before the Parti Québécois came to power in 1976 and the first sovereignty-association referendum in 1980, but not after.

Montreal's neighbourhoods were then influenced by a purist discourse of French that now supports a regionalist and pluricentric view of the French language in Quebec. This discourse has been used to reinforce the monolingual language ideology of French in Quebec. The monolingual language ideology of French in Quebec is mobilized through Quebec's linguistic landscape to the effect and threat of partial erasure to other ethno-linguistic groups that are exposed to that landscape.

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The enforcement of a language ideology for French that supports the idea of a monolingual French nation for Quebec is one perspective to consider. The other perspective is one of partial erasure experienced by many of the anglophones whose families lived in Quebec for generations. On the one hand the enforcement of a monolinguistic French ideology in Quebec is a form of language preservation which is understandable, but it is primarily a desire for French preservation against English, not necessarily for the sake of the vitality of French. On the other hand, it is an ideology that squeezes out ethnolinguistic groups who are not of the categorical francophone identity in Quebec.

These two perspectives come to a head in situations like "Pastagate," as I explained in the introduction. The initial anglophone reaction to events like "Pastagate" is one of annoyance and why francophones have been looking for different forms of reparations over the years, since wealth and upward social mobility has historically been made a difficulty for them, just because of their language.

For Anglo-Quebecers at least, it's not an Anglo-centric perspective that is the source of a scoffing reaction to things like "Pastagate" — it is the painful feeling of partial erasure that developed into an annoyance about the perpetuated monolingual ideology of French in Quebec. It is the surface reaction in response to what Anglo-Quebecers are not saying, in what it actually means for them to see the language they are associated with being scrubbed out and off of the city of Montreal.

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For francophones, I cannot say accurately since I am not a representative of their community and this project is focused on anglophones, but it seems that for francophones the Anglo-Centric perspective aroused by events like "Pastagate" just reinforces their drive to defend French linguistically and culturally in Quebec, from the historically looming Anglo threat that they have suffered. It is a reminder that they still aren't finished the journey they have set out on, in reclaiming Quebec as French and maintaining its safety and vitality as such, or at least it may seem that way. For francophones the linguistic battles that they have fought must feel never ending for them as well, a perpetual threat similar to the perpetual threat of monolingualism and partial erasure felt by the anglophones.

Chapter Four

Objects of Detachment: Anglo-Quebecer Migrant Identity Enacted Through Evocative Objects

Similar to my grandfather's ring, as described in the introduction of this thesis, my participants told me about objects that they have that remind them of Quebec in a variety of ways. The relationships formed with the objects that I describe are illustrative of Anglo-Quebecer self-understanding and expression of identity. Yet, to my surprise there was an extremely limited range of objects common among the households of the Anglo-Quebecers that I spoke to. In reflecting upon my grandfather's ring and all my participants' objects of a similar nature, I have come to understand how relationships to an ambivalent identity and vexed past can be negotiated in the present. This chapter describes and analyses the kinds of common household items participants describe as reminding them of Quebec, namely landscape paintings and sports memorabilia.

Drawing on Sherry Turkle's (2007) concept of evocative objects, I argue that the kinds of keepsakes that Anglo-Quebecers display in their homes semiotically circumvent the socio-linguistic and political tensions that marked their departure from the province. Whereas we typically consider the work of attachment to the objects we love, here I focus on how Anglo-Quebecers' evocative objects work to detach from possible politically charged meanings.

This chapter brings together theoretical concepts by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Hodder

(2014), Turkle (2007), and Miller (2008; 2010), with the anthropological literature on material culture and phenomenology to explain how Anglo-Quebecers hold on to what I call: *objects of detachment*. These objects stand apart from conflict in two key ways. First, they tend to be 'non-linguistic' objects that can easily be co-opted into pan-Canadian identity markers, like paintings and sports memorabilia. Second, for objects that do have direct indexical links to linguistic tensions, I show how the spatial location of the object allows it to function as an *object of detachment*. In either placing the object outside the home, or tucked away in the drawer, the feelings associated with political unrest are kept at bay.

From Evocative Objects to Objects of Detachment

People everywhere give meaning to the "stuff" in their lives (Miller 2008; 2010). Some objects take a more central place in the narrative of our lives. Turkle (2007) uses the term *evocative objects* to capture this category of material culture. Such things are objects that are, "companions to our emotional lives [and are] provocations to thought," [they underscore,] "the inseparability of thought and feeling in our relationship to things. We think with the objects we love; we love the objects we think with" (Turkle, 5-7). Most *evocative objects* gain their power from our emotional dependency on them because of the particular moment and circumstance of transition when the object entered our life (8). For people who have migrated (migrants), objects from 'Home' become particularly powerful as they serve as reminders of place (Quebec).

The concept of *evocative objects* can be applied in a number of ways. In analysing the

particular case of myself and my grandfather's ring I was introduced to a period of

transition in my life when the ring was gifted to me. It carries with it the history of my

family's migration to Ontario. For my family and other Anglo-Quebecer families there

were two significant points of migration from Ontario to Quebec (the two sovereignty-

association referendums). Those are shared experiences of migration which are laced

with a history that was entangled with nationalism and clashing ideologies.

Evocative objects have powerful relationships over the people that own them. The power

the *evocative objects* have over people is a relationship of dependency to them

emotionally in how significant they are to their owner. *Evocative objects* tell a lot about

how someone may self-identify as well as how they may express that identity to others.

Turkle (2007) puts it plainly by saying, "how we make objects part of ourselves—offers a

language for interpreting the intensity of our connections to the world of things, and for

discovering the similarities in how we relate to the animate and inanimate. In each case,

we confront the other and shape the self" (10).

Objects evoke an aspect or period of someone's life that can be read like language in the

type of relationship, dependency, or arbitrary function someone has with the object. The

shifting relationships of subject and object (or "stuff") that makes up our world, is the

idea that "human existence and social life depend on material things and are entangled

with them," and that, "humans and things are relationally produced" (Hodder 2014, 19).

In other words, objects gain meaning and function either practically or arbitrarily from

the relationships crafted between them and the user or owner.

My grandfather's ring is a way for me to express who I am and my identity in a way that does not use language, while at the same time the ring evokes language when I think of Quebec. The relationship of avoiding something is just as significant as having an affinity with something else. An avoidance relationship indexes attentive restraint toward an 'other,' and thus creates intensified relatedness through that restraint (Stasch 2011, 102). Avoidance signifies the indexical power of a "conspicuous non-action where other more positively signified meanings can be communicated" (116). People can use avoidance and its subtle variations to create new bonds or to underline and reshape existing ones (102).

In the next section, I describe how landscape paintings are common objects held onto by Anglo-Quebecers. I argue that the aesthetics of these objects are evocative for their owners while simultaneously circumventing the socio-linguistic and political tensions that marked the Anglo departure from Quebec. The semiotic circumvention of tension can be seen in how these particular objects and images are devoid of indexes of language and Quebec politics.

Quebec Landscape Paintings

My parents told me that they used to never think they would own a house living in Quebec because there was always the expectation that they would be forced to leave at some point, or that circumstances would come that would make living in the province of Quebec as an anglophone very difficult. There was the expectation that at some point my

father might lose his job and not be able to find another one. This was a constant concern

for them. This worry became a reality for them when my father was relieved of his job in

Montreal working for Teleglobe a few years after the second sovereignty-association

referendum in 1995. My parents said that the ever-increasing language laws in Quebec

seemed to have no end and that it was harder and harder for my dad to keep up with the

constant language changes in the work place, and eventually he got squeezed out. Besides

being "squeezed out," many of the jobs available at a similar level of status and pay were

also moved out of province, out of Quebec.

Even with the tense conditions of their life in the province and eventual departure my

parents still maintain reminders of Quebec in their home. They have several pieces of art

from Quebec on display but the one I recall most clearly is a landscape painting of a

'cabane à sucre' (a sugar shack). It was the one that was in our living room and I saw it

almost every day. It was centre stage in our house. What I learned from my interviews

was that Quebec landscape paintings like the ones in my home were very common among

Anglo-Quebecer households (Fig. 4). At least 9 of the 19 people I interviewed had a

Quebec landscape painting in their home or were aware that they were objects that

Anglo-Quebecers tend to have in their home.

Figure 4- The cabane à sucre painting from my parent's home

In this section, I show how Quebec landscape paintings function as *objects of detachment.* As they are void of direct indexical reference to language and politics and fixate on utopian pasts. Landscape paintings help to navigate the ambivalent feelings that people have with their history. These paintings allow for a sense of affinity with a place from which they felt forced to leave. In displaying Quebec landscape paintings in their homes Anglo-Quebecers can pass by these objects and remember what they want to about Quebec and filter out the unpleasant aspects associated with their experiences. The

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qualities of landscape paintings in particular and their history in Canadian national identity more broadly makes these objects particularly well suited to detaching from the turbulent history of English-French relations.

Paintings are non-linguistic and are thus ideal *objects of detachment* in the case of Anglo-Quebecer memory. Typically, Quebec landscape paintings depict rural life and highlight traditional trades, crafts, and subsistence practices such as agricultural work or the boiling of maple-tree sap to make maple syrup (O'Brian 2007, 303). Unlike their anglophone counterparts which feature wide-open 'unoccupied' wilderness (e.g., A.J. Casson (1898 – 1992 The White Pine 1948 tempera over graphite on paper 27.1 x 33.5 cm; Lawren S. Harris (1885 - 1970) Montreal River c. 1920 oil on paperboard 27 x 34.7 cm), Québécois paintings feature the labour involved in rural life, even if representations of people were often small and faceless (e.g., Clarence Alphonse Gagnon, Wayside Cross, Winter, 1916. Oil on canvas, 70.8 x 91.7 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario) (Berg 2012). The paintings are an ideal vision of the province and what life is like there in its simplest form, detached from the reality of the language tensions of English and French. Quebec painters did paint landscapes depicting the open wilderness as well but that is another point of argument. There are reports that members of the Group of Seven were influenced by Quebec landscape painters whose work resembles the Group of Seven's prior to the Group of Seven's popularity (e.g., Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Coté, Settlement on the Hillside, 1909, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Canada) (O'Brian 2007, 304). Quebec landscape paintings offer a way of maintaining a connection to an idealized or utopian type of romanticism.

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Quebec landscape paintings depict a place of history and culture that is not necessarily only evocative of a specific ethnic group or their language, but also emphasizes a romantic vision of what living in Quebec could be ideally depending on the observer. The subjects in the paintings are commonly reduced to indistinguishable faces because the subjects are not what is significant about the paintings. What is significant is what the subject may be doing and what surrounds the subject in the painting and what is evoked in the observer. The paintings don't directly index language or a particular ethnolinguistic group in any detail. It allows the observer to place himself or herself in the work as the subject. It is a way of 'safely' placing oneself in the fantasy of what the painting represents. Canadian landscape paintings are a national and common art form which indicates a national pride to some extent without particularizing the scene of the work.

These paintings work to detach from the particularities of Quebec politics by being easily and aesthetically co-opted into a broader Canadian tradition of landscape painting. While Canada is not necessarily world renowned for its artwork, landscape paintings have come to be icons of the nation. Notably, work by The Group of Seven is often cited as key to the establishment of a national Canadian art form. These painters created a large number of landscape paintings of Northern Ontario between 1920 and 1933 to set Canada apart as a nation and dominion and to no longer be seen as an imperialist colony to Britain (O'Brian 2007, 116).

While Quebec had a tradition of landscape painting dating back to as early as 1833 (Cook

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1974, 270), The Group of Seven found more commercial success with the largely anglophone bourgeoisie, who art historian John O'Brian (2007) describes as: "the middle-sized capitalists in a colonial country" (116). In order to have a new style of art gain enough popularity to be placed as the national art form of the Canadian landscape, the artists needed their work to be purchased and to gain social and monetary value. The intent was to form a national artistic identity. Particularly an identity specific to English speakers in Ontario, Canada even though their aim was simultaneously supposed to be a departure from English (British) Imperialism (116). The artists chose Toronto, Ontario as their hub and Northern Ontario as their muse because they believed that the national bourgeoisie of Canada would be centred in English speaking Toronto, not Montreal.

In order to appeal to the national bourgeoisie of Canada The Group of Seven had to recreate or reproduce images of a landscape that they would be invested in, or were already invested in, monetarily and ideologically. This is significant because this new national form undermined both active francophone and indigenous art practices. French-Canadian landscape painters criticized the national Canadian art form created by The Group of Seven. Quebec artists who were contemporaries of The Group of Seven did not like the idea of a national art form that had such a strong connection to English Canada, especially when the French had a longer history with the land and had lost its colonial power (O'Brian 2007, 303).

Even with aesthetic and political differences between anglophone and francophone landscape paintings, the larger, undifferentiated category of 'landscape painting' acts a

national symbol in Canada. When Anglo-Quebecers display such paintings, they are referencing the specific location of Quebec while at the same time benefiting from the depoliticized national art form.

Landscape paintings can be made personal and not political by being framed as connections to place. My parent's Quebec landscape painting of a cabane à sucre, for instance is an idealistic evocation of Quebec life made more personal through our family's experiences and memories (Fig 4. pg. 92). When I asked my mother about the painting, she explained it this way:

> "We could have [put up other art] but we were already living in Ontario when we went back to Montreal and into Old Montreal where we saw this painting and we wanted it as a keepsake of home because that [image of a cabane à sucre] always meant something to us. We used to go every spring very often to a cabane à sucre where we would, you know, go and have pancakes and syrup and then when you were little, [my brother and I] I use to boil the syrup and collect fresh snow and we would have maple taffy on the snow and that is something that we did as children there [in Quebec] also, so that is all happy memories for us … those are yeah good reminders of home for us."

This painting is in our home as a reminder of all the good memories and the idealized vision of what Quebec can be to my family and in their own vision. Traditional foods and the happy memories of those foods are significant to many people. The practice of

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making maple taffy is something special, it is a positive part of the ambivalence felt by many Anglo-Quebecers in how they think about Quebec.

Much like Quebec landscape paintings, maple syrup is something that works as a national symbol equally well, or perhaps better than, a regional one. Canada produces 85% of the world's maple syrup and 90% of that syrup comes from Quebec (Government of Canada 2011; Global News 2021). Despite it being such a regional product, maple syrup has come to be understood as 'Canadian' by many anglophones as it is consumed almost equally across the country and internationally.

With an idealized vision of Quebec through Quebec landscape paintings, Anglo-Quebecers are able to evoke a connection to Quebec while detaching from their more complex feelings. They can remember their home as a positive thing about them and cultivate an attachment to the positive, the idyllic vision produced by happy memories, a betwixt space of identity and expression. Quebec landscape paintings were found to be *objects of detachment* in a private setting, functioning in a similar way across many Anglo-Quebecer migrants that I researched. Some even went so far as to create their own ideal vision of Quebec by painting their own Quebec landscapes, as we will see with Stephen's story next.

Stephen described himself as an artist in his retirement and he also had a sugar shack painting in his home, just like my parents. But unlike my parents who purchased theirs, Stephen painted his own painting of a sugar shack (Fig. 5). Stephen paints his own

Quebec landscape paintings and to some degree creates his own *evocative objects* in relation to Quebec. Stephen explained that his paintings are simply paintings of places that he loves, which includes places in Quebec a lot of the time. The style of Stephen's paintings indicates an influence from the tradition of Quebec landscape paintings throughout the 19th and 20th century.

Stephen said he does paintings of Quebec and that he loves painting Quebec scenes either by memory or he is influenced by what he finds in a bilingual English/French magazine that he subscribes to. For him the practice of painting the places he loves in this particular style of landscape painting and displaying them in his home is significant. It is an expression of something from Stephen himself, especially when he sometimes paints Quebec landscapes by memory. To do that he must have great familiarity with the places he is expressing in paint. It is an expression of a relationship with Quebec that can be used to fit the desired positionality of the observer.
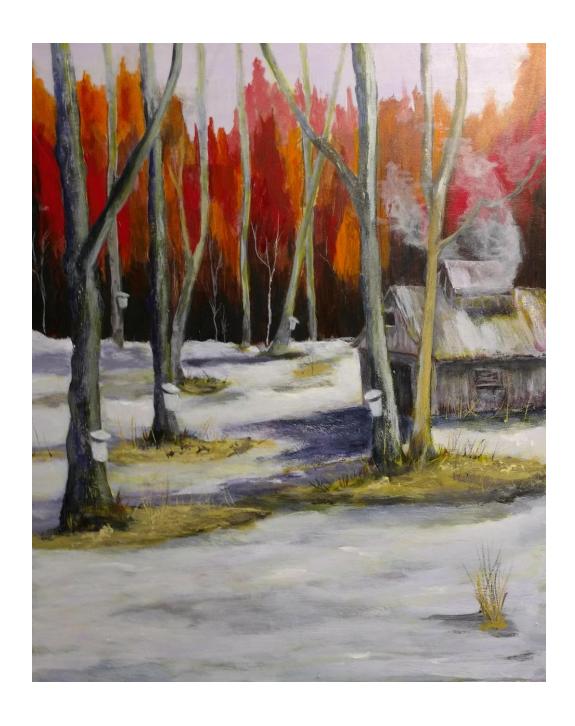
Figure 5 - Maple Sugar Birthing Shack by Stephen Ferris

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Figure 6 - Rue Principal by Stephen Ferris

Stephen's paintings depict places of cultural practice, like with the maple syrup taps and sugar shack. Stephen's paintings are not evocative of a specific ethnic group or a language, they just emphasize a feeling and a romantic vision of what living in Quebec could ideally be depending on the observer. The subjects in the paintings are commonly reduced to indistinguishable faces (Fig. 6) because the subjects in this style of painting are not what is significant about the paintings. What is significant is what the subject(s) may be doing, what surrounds the subject(s) in the painting, and what is evoked for the observer. The paintings don't directly index language or a particular ethnolinguistic group in any detail. It allows the observer to place themselves in the work as the subject, playing with their positionality.

Stephen's profession involved him being responsible for finding out whether a lot of people would be moving out of Quebec because the company they all worked for was considering moving due to the political and linguistic unrest in the province. This is illustrated in one of Stephen's stories. Stephen's work experiences in Quebec forced him to confront a very difficult political reality that is now part of his own narrative. He had worked at Pfizer Inc, that among other things, gauged the political climate of the province in order to predict and help inform the decisions of the next moves of the company. Stephen told me that in the process of completing his work duties in the 1970s in Quebec, he had the opportunity to interview René Lévesque (the Quebec Premiere and PQ Leader) on behalf of his company, to gauge what was happening politically with the PQ and the French sovereignty-association movement in the province. Stephen said that he sat across from René, they posed questions back and forth and he said that this was a paid

interview that his company had conducted with René, yet René still seemed hostile or agitated by the questions. Stephen explained that René was very aggressive about the anglophones having no voice in Quebec and that it was going to be a 'French vote' and that the rest of the country had no view that René would ever entertain. Implying that he (René) did not plan to negotiate any sort of compromise in what he envisioned as a greater French-Quebec. Stephen said it was sort of shocking to hear René Lévesque say these things so bluntly and that it shook the view of what was going on with the higher-level executives at the company where he worked. The purpose of the interview was so that the higher-level executives at Stephen's company could decide on whether they should stay in Quebec and adapt to the new way of things, the cracking down on anglophones and increased languages laws, or whether it would make more sense to just move the company somewhere else altogether.

Stephen's company ended up moving to Ontario, Stephen, and his family along with it. After all that Stephen experienced, difficult encounters like the one above and his eventual departure, Stephen still memorializes his place of origin in his painting. Like my parents' landscape paintings, they offer a way to recall place without politics. As if to maintain a more distant, yet intimate attachment, he paints his scenes rather than purchasing them from Québécois artists.

I found that the participants that expressed they had landscape paintings of Quebec in their home seemed to also have the strongest affinity with Quebec in comparison to those who didn't. In the next section, I explain why not all Anglo-Quebecers express their

affinity of Quebec through artwork or painting, even though many of them do, and I illustrate how two of my participants with some of the most emotionally charged memories of leaving Quebec mitigate those feelings and cultivate a sense of belonging to place with Quebec. They do so through the collection and displaying of sporting memorabilia. People with sports memorabilia have a more a wavering affiliation with Quebec because objects relating to sports and Montreal in this case indexes a more Canadian identity.

Figure 7 - Standstead, Quebec by Stephen Ferris

Montreal and Sports Memorabilia

Similar to Quebec landscape paintings, Montreal sports memorabilia are *evocative objects* that function as *objects of detachment*. They work to detach from Quebec language tensions, while at the same time enabling an attachment to an affirming Anglo-Quebecer identity. Perhaps more directly than landscape painting, sports memorabilia are easily conflated with (masculine) Canadian nationalism and pride.

While my parents and Stephen expressed remorse about leaving Quebec, they did so in a way that was not as emotionally charged as it could have been. For many of my participants leaving Quebec was described very matter-of-factly. This wasn't true for everyone. Johnny, a man who grew up on the West Island of Montreal, had a particularly difficult time throughout his life coming to terms with what had happened in Quebec with the referendums and English and French tensions. Johnny told me that it was only recently that he has come to terms with his anger on the matter. As he recounts, there were no opportunities left for him in Quebec by the time that he was old enough to join the work force and that socially he would constantly have unpleasant interactions with francophones. He said he was so afraid to speak to people in public in Quebec around the time of the first referendum. He couldn't speak French up to the standard that people expected of him and this made for fraught encounters. For example, Johnny said the bus driver would ignore him if he asked for directions or asked a question in English. He said that he felt like a pariah in Quebec because he couldn't speak French. That feeling of being a pariah he said maybe even influenced his choice of work because he now deals with anti-racism boards and committees. He described his experiences as "racism"

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because he said he didn't know how else to explain it. The way he talked about his experiences implied that he was trying to describe a form of prejudice but did not how to specify that prejudice.

Johnny was also very upset that his family's business had to close because their store couldn't survive due to the political and civil unrest in the province. He said this business and his grandfather were important members of their community for a long time and then it felt like none of that mattered anymore. These are unpleasant and tense feelings. What stood out in our interview was Johnny felt his feelings and experiences had no outlet or audience. In his opinion, no one really seems to understand or care, so he usually doesn't talk about it. He explained that since the Canadian public perspective on Quebec Anglophones is primarily focused on the history of Anglo oppression in Quebec, most people aren't interested or sympathetic.

When asked about things that remind him of Quebec, Johnny said he has lots of sports stuff surrounding his home bar. He described them this way in our interview, [I have] "this beautiful photo of The Rocket [Maurice Richard], [Jean] Béliveau, and [Guy] Lafleur all signed on there … wrote on the picture, it's all framed … but any other nick-knacks from Quebec? Nope. I don't have a Quebec painting on my wall or a scenery or photos or you know." For some, even having landscape paintings of Quebec scenes on their wall seems to be even too much of a direct connection to place. Something important to consider is that Johnny acknowledges that paintings of Quebec scenes are something that Anglo-Quebecers tend to have in their home, but not him. He has different

things that remind him of Quebec.

Anglophone or francophone, people from Quebec generally support the Montreal Canadiens. The hockey games are broadcast in both languages and are iconic to the city of Montreal and the Canadian national sport of hockey. The Canadiens are one of the original six teams and have won the Stanley Cup more than any other franchise (24 times). They transcend language tensions because they transcend provincial politics to associate with a national Canadian identity and a municipal identity, rather than a provincial one.

When referring to the hockey team, Canadiens is spelled "-iens" instead of "-ians" which is the French spelling, while at the same time in most cases, Montreal is spelled with an "e" instead of an accented "é" which is the English spelling. That incorporation of spelling from both languages can be viewed as a compromise to the linguistic tensions, so that the Montreal Canadiens can be appealing to all Quebec sports fans (English and French). As Watson (2017) says, "in Canada, various actors draw on hockey as a national symbol for different purposes. Contestation over the meaning attached to sport can actually alter the form and content of nationalist narratives, towards a more inclusive relationship with others (304). Hockey is a contested symbol of Canadian national identity, both in terms of who may define the Canadian nation, and on the meaning ascribed to hockey. Rather than capturing a fixed and permanent feature of Canadian identity, the placement of hockey in Canada demonstrates that it is an ambiguous national symbol, contributing to a changing and ongoing process of constructing Canadian

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national identity" (304). The idea being that going into the future anyone can afford to play and it is something for any Canadian to be interested in.

The use of sports memorabilia from Quebec and its slippery relationship to nationalism as an identity marker allows for the collector to have flexible attachments to either the province or the country. In light of the political tensions, I described in the introduction and in the previous chapter, many of the people I interviewed held their national identity up higher than that of their provincial identity even if they were proud of Quebec as well. This is a kind of cautious pride in identity that things like sports memorabilia can reflect. It enables an attachment to an Anglo-Quebecer identity without having to directly attach to Quebec and its past.

Rob, an Anglo-Quebecer man who grew up in Montreal throughout the 1970s and 1980s on the West Island, also had an extensive sports related collection of objects. In his words he has, "a bunch of Montreal Canadiens souvenirs." He told me how his kids growing up "all had Canadiens jerseys," and that they had seen [the short film] "The Hockey Sweater" a number of times and they know the lore of the Montreal Canadiens." Rob says these items are constant reminders of his and his family's life in relation to Montreal. He keeps them around the house to keep the thought of the city present within his and his family's lives.

Similar to Johnny, even though Rob didn't express as many repressed feelings as Johnny did, Rob said that living in Quebec in the 1970s and 1980s was difficult politically. He

felt it somewhat akin to what he had heard about living in Northern Ireland and the violence and tensions brought about between England and the IRA: a very hostile, volatile, and violent environment. Rob said he didn't know what else to compare it to besides the conflict between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland — commonly referred to as "The Troubles." Rob spoke so poetically about Montreal and seemed to be so proud of being from there. For this reason, I did not expect him to compare the environment of Montreal, Quebec to Northern Ireland in the 1980s. This stark contrast of feeling and interpretation made me revisit the kinds of objects he used to mark this part of his life.

Rob also described his collection of Expo 67 memorabilia from the 1967 General Exhibition in Montreal. The Expo 67 was a very big event for Montreal at the time Expo 67 was a world's fair and was the main attraction that celebrated Canada's Centennial year in 1967 (Kenneally and Sloan 2020). Expo 67 had some of the largest turnouts of people in the history of the exhibition up until that point in time. Rob explained that since Expo 67 was such a large event in the life of the city of Montreal, the memorabilia related to the Expo are, "souvenirs that mean something" to him, they say something about him, they set him apart from others while at the same time index him as being someone who is a part of something bigger than himself.

Rob says that people know this about him (that he has this collection and that he is/was a proud Montrealer) and they bring him new pieces of memorabilia that he may like to add to his collection. In collecting these types of memorabilia (sports and event related) Rob

sets himself apart from those around him where he lives now [Los Angeles], but also with the anglophones that he used to live with in Ontario. Rob found a balance for himself with his collection of Expo 67 memorabilia because it allows him to identify as being from Montreal without indexing the negative aspects in Anglo-Quebecer ambivalence and feeling of tension with Quebec. Because he lives abroad, his Expo 67 collection, like sporting objects and paintings, serves to index him as Canadian.

Rob's Expo 67 collection evokes an attachment to the Canadian national identity in celebrating its centennial year, enabled by Expo 67, but it also evokes an attachment to the city of Montreal and a municipal identity. These are attachments that evoke positive feelings in the betwixt and ambivalent feeling of identifying as Anglo-Quebecer and they detach from the history of linguistic tensions and their experiences. Rob had a lot to say about Montreal. It was clear to me in speaking with him that the city of Montreal holds a special place in his memory and presumably also in his heart. He spoke in a way that others I interviewed did not, even when they had also clearly shown a love for the city.[14] Rob mentioned that he has considered moving back to Montreal, maybe to retire, or maybe if one of his children ends up going to McGill University, but Rob hasn't been back to Quebec in a while since he began living outside Canada.

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[14] Rob told me he went on vacation to Montreal for five days just so he and his wife could get married in one of his favourite cities in the world. He also told me about what he loves about Montreal. He said:

"I really like the geography and the architecture combination of ecclesiastical and business and of sporting options, the Townships, and the Laurentians. All the things that you are able to enjoy in Montreal that make it unique, you know? An island between two rivers with a mountain on it, it's pretty spectacular. The intensity of the seasons too you get a Winter you get a Fall you get a real nice hot Summer and the Spring is beautiful, although short lived. I think there is an intensity to life there." - Rob

Many Anglo-Quebecers enjoyed the idea of going back to Quebec and either rekindling an old part of their life or starting a new chapter with something that was once familiar. However, all those daydreams they said were admittedly viewed through "rose coloured glasses." A nostalgia for something that likely won't be again. There seems to be a longing to return to Quebec for some Anglo-Quebecers but the reality of an actual return as they described would be unlikely since thoughts and imaginings of community for Anglo-Quebecers is made uninhabitable. There are other ways to return to positive instead of negative feelings and relationships besides going to the effort of moving all the way back to Quebec.

Rob, like many of my interviewees, was hesitant to identify Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants as being a 'community' — something bigger than themselves that they share with others. There is this in-between feeling of attachment and detachment to Quebec for Anglo-Quebecers that is expressed through *objects of detachment* like sports memorabilia. It can reflect a sense of pride but under the surface there are evocations that bring up upsetting feelings, longing and the difficulty of return. This in-between feeling of simultaneous attachment and detachment to Quebec for Anglo-Quebecers, much like the tension that I explained with my ring, is crucial to understanding the Anglo-Quebecer community as an *uninhabitable community*. In discussing Rob's and Johnny's memorabilia and collections, we see these objects enable an attachment to Canadian nationalism and pride while keeping their distance from the political unrest that marked Johnny's and Rob's memories of the past. Even though Johnny and Rob talked about

negative experiences and the tense feeling about being anglophone and living in Quebec, they still have an affinity with Quebec. Their choices (sports/city memorabilia) ease the tension and ambivalence associated with identifying as being from Quebec and being anglophone.

My discussion has so far only talked about objects that eschew regional linguistic politics; however, I did encounter evocative objects that did directly index the tensions many were trying to avoid. What I describe in the next section are the ways in which detachment comes from not only what the object is (painting, sports memorabilia) but also where it is placed in (or outside) of the home. The location of the object mediates its function.

Private vs. Public: The Windsock and the ("Oui" ou "Non") Button

The most common objects of detachment across the Anglo-Quebecers that I talked to were objects that were displayed in the home, like a landscape painting or a signed photo of their favourite hockey player. As I have described, these objects tended to be "apolitical" and easily understood as 'national' objects as well as regional ones. But there were also instances of the opposite. That is, a very small set of objects that were precisely about the conflicts that preceded my participants' departure. Nevertheless, their location in (or more often outside) of the home served to help detach the political meanings and conflicts from the object's owner, where I found participants with these objects had the loosest affinity and affiliation with Quebec. The story of Pete's windsock makes this clearer.

In our interview, Pete, described how he has a windsock that he got during his time of leaving Quebec and moving to Ontario with his family. He said: "uhh [laughs] I've got a little, I don't know what you call it, wind-socky thing that somebody gave us when we left, it's got the fleur-de-lis on it and I put it up occasionally just to annoy my neighbours." From what Pete said about the fleur-de-lis windsock, it is evident that Pete assumes he knows what is indexed by flying something with a fleur-de-lis on it, on his property — in Ontario. Since the windsock is outside of Pete's home it is not something that he has to look at all the time, it is for others to see, what he wants others to associate him with being. Pete is from Quebec. The objects in Pete's home are a different story. The objects inside a home and the objects outside of a home have different functions for the various evocative relationships that people have with things.

The fleur-de-lis which is synonymous with Quebec and can also be interpreted as synonymous with French nationalism. Pete assumes he knows the reaction he will get from his Ontarian neighbours in seeing his fleur-de-lis windsock, potentially one of annoyance or scoff. Pete does this maybe as a 'joke' as he implies but it could also be a way of distinguishing himself from the rest of the anglophones with whom he has been living since he moved to Ontario. It is a way to set himself apart from the rest by drawing attention to an easily recognizable symbol of difference between Quebec and Ontario, English and French. By Pete's account the windsock is not "for him" but for his neighbours who he imagines as being antagonized by being confronted with the implied conflict of the image. What is outside is for everyone else to see, in its 'joking'

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intentions, or that the windsock flies only in 'jest,' according to Pete, can also be a way to let people know that he is from Quebec but distances himself from the seriousness he may take in identifying with Quebec, by explaining that his display of this object as just a 'joke' to annoy people passing by.

The public display of the windsock is detaching from the personal as a means of 'appropriately' interacting with the impersonal and dominant public discourse for which the icons that they depict are in association and relation to. The public opinion of the situation, the people, history, and what is socially accepted in reference to those opinions and dominant discourse(s).

Having the windsock outside for everyone else to see, the physical distance between the owner and the object, and that it is not inside the house, mediates the detachment of the relationship between object and owner, the evocation. The ambivalence and feeling of tension is not allowed inside the home with Anglo-Quebecer *objects of detachment* that are mediated by space, they remain outside and for the interpretation of others. What Anglo-Quebecers want as evocations of Quebec, what their ideal vision of it is and what they are comfortable having as reminders of their experiences with the province, are what is expressed in terms of identity in looking at how Quebec landscape paintings and Montreal/sports memorabilia function as objects of detachment. The windsock functions as a direct evocation of the ambivalence and feeling of tension that Anglo-Quebecers are trying to avoid in their identification with Quebec. These *public-objects of detachment* are expressions of identity that very clearly evoke the part of Anglo-Quebecer identity

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that they don't like being associated with. This is made all the clearer when I talked with Roger about a pin that he use to wear in high school during the first sovereignty-association referendum. He remembers lots of kids wearing these pins and that it was important to wear them. He talked about these buttons so vividly yet what is significant is that he doesn't know where the button is now. It's not something he wants to potentially display in his home anymore and he has lost track of it.

Roger grew up in a small town in Quebec. He described a button that he and his classmates used to wear in high school during the period of the first sovereignty-association referendum, around 1980. He said:

> "For me, that marks a pretty significant time in my understanding of conflict and tension, cause I of course never followed things politically [as a kid], it was just in my later adult years that I care and that I follow, but at that age you know 1980 I think I was probably 14 or something like that. I remember wearing pins in school saying 'Non,' ('Oui' or 'Non'), so there were these pins/buttons that I don't even know how we got a hold of them, but it was important to wear the 'Non' as in <u>vote no</u> for the referendum and I remember putting that pin on, most all of the kids wore that pin all through their days during that time period and I think I kept that pin for years and years and years, it was a great big white button pin and it said 'Non' and somehow it was important to us as young teens to wear that pin, this was an English school you know, if you went during that same period to a French high school all of them would probably all be wearing 'Oui' buttons… right? I don't know. So, I just remember that being a pretty significant time and I

lost friends because that summer there were two or three friends, close friends that left and moved out of the province. Their parents had 'had enough' for one reason or another and you know we went back to school in September, and it was like, 'well where is John? 'John left, his family moved.' People left particularly because of the tensions and the referendum, and there was a sense of job insecurity, I guess. If you were English only and didn't know much French, you know, you had a harder time. I don't know what the adult experience was, but you know, families picked up and left primarily because of the tensions. So that marked a not great time of being in Quebec and it's like, well, kind of questioning why is this happening. It had negative impact on many of us I think."

These buttons took the personal voting space of the referendum and turned it into a public spectacle. Even if someone disagreed with whichever button that they wore, it was likely that they wore whichever button their ethnolinguistic group deemed as the correct button for them to wear. The correct button 'coincidentally' also being the correct voting choice expressed in the dominant discourse of one's ethnolinguistic group — English or French.

Roger isn't sure if he still has this pin, but he found it important to tell me about it. He thinks it could be in a drawer or a box somewhere. The emphasis he placed on the object speaks to its significance. It's (possible) place in the home speaks to how such a politically charged object can be used as an *object of detachment* simply by keeping it out of sight. In this way, memories are there, but not there. The location in which the button was worn and is now kept mediates the form of detachment with the object. The buttons

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are both public and private objects since wearing it makes a public statement, but they

can also be kept in a private place. The form of detachment is of a public nature and the

further away it is from the owner the more detached they can be from the object's

evocations.

Figure 8 - "Non" Button - billspoliticalshoppe.com

Figure 9 - "Oui" Button - billspoliticalshoppe.com

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that *objects of detachment* are the kinds of keepsakes that Anglo-Quebecers display in their homes to semiotically circumvent the socio-linguistic and political tensions that marked their departure from Quebec. Whereas we typically consider the work of attachment to the objects we love, here I have focused on how Anglo-Quebecer *evocative objects* work to detach from possible politically charged meanings of their past. In order to substantiate these claims, I have drawn upon my research on Anglo-Quebecer *evocative objects* to elucidate how they operate as *objects of detachment*. I have focused in on the particular objects of landscape paintings and memorabilia, but I likely missed objects that I may have also analysed simply because the interviews I conducted were not in-person and at the participants home. I think a further look at jewellery and at participant's photo albums, if willing, may illuminate new data in relation to evocative objects and objects of detachment with this group. There are likely significant objects that I missed since I placed the role of identifying these kinds of objects with the participants themselves in posing my questions.

Both Quebec landscape paintings and Montreal/sports memorabilia fall into the private function of detachment as they are objects that detach from any ambivalence or negativity in identifying with Quebec. Quebec landscape paintings enable the creation of an idealized personal vision of Quebec in regard to what the province should be or could be depending on the observer — and Montreal/sports memorabilia enables the attachment to a more pronounced Canadian nationalism instead of provincial politics, while allowing for some form of identification with Quebec. Quebec landscape paintings and

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Montreal/sports memorabilia are non-linguistic and semiotic objects of detachment due to their private function of detachment, as they don't directly index the socio-linguistic tensions of Quebec.

In contrast to the private function of *objects of detachment*, the public objects are mediated by physical space. The objects directly index the language tensions in Quebec, but Anglo-Quebecers display these objects in a public place in order to detach from that ambivalence. Anglo-Quebecers do this by putting an object outside of their private space. Private *objects of detachment* have a semiotic function of detachment and public *objects of detachment* have a spatial function of detachment. Yet each function has the same goal of detachment to Anglo-Quebecer feelings of ambivalence. What is significant about these findings regarding the arbitrary relationships we have with objects and the functions of our objects, is that they enable the analysis of contradictory identity and people caught on the periphery of space and place.

Chapter Five

Conclusion

This thesis argues that in taking the concept of *uninhabitable communities* as a theoretical lens for research in multilingual environments, individual perspectives of identity and community that differ from discourse circulated by the structural systems of the nation. In thinking with this concept individual claims to authenticity from linguistic minority groups can be analysed alongside the structural systems of power that they are in tandem with throughout history. This concept further illuminates cases dealing with the politics of belonging, linguistic and cultural tensions, as well as relationships of avoidance in linguistic minorities. This thesis has taken an anthropological perspective in interviewing 19 Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants to analyse Anglo-Quebecer identity as partially representative of the 600 00 anglophones that left Quebec for other parts of Canada within the past 45 years. This project is an entry point in research in working towards analysing other perspectives and other affected groups of people. This thesis has taken into consideration important socio-economic preconditions and cultural, political, as well as linguistic shifts that have shaped modern Quebec.

I've used the case of Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants from Quebec within the past 45 years to show how this group of people neither fit cleanly in Quebec, nor Ontario and how they are made to feel as though they don't belong in either based on the harsh Quebec discourse surrounding ideas of authenticity and language. I've explained how there is an almost complete absence of an Anglo-Quebecer discourse in Ontario and other English

provinces. Anglo-Quebecers have been made to feel as though they should leave Quebec and have had their self-understanding undermined to the point where in some cases, they can't inhabit any other categorical identification, other than a national Canadian one. Anglo-Quebecers are lost in the fray of what happened in Quebec and in the memory of people in Ontario and other English-speaking provinces. This has made them a perfect example of a group of people that has shifted from the core to the periphery of hierarchical power. Anglo-Quebecers once inhabited the core of linguistic power in Quebec but have since been reduced to a periphery group that is partially denied historical and cultural claim to authenticity within their own sense of having a Quebec identity. It's an ideological roadblock in their self-identification.

To contextualize the case that I have analysed, I focused on the anglophone perspective of the century long conflict between the two colonizing powers of Canada. In its latest articulation of this relationship of tension between being an anglophone or a francophone, the case of French monolingual dominance and collective power matters to anyone in the province who is not "de souche."[15] I have only been talking about the two groups of peoples who are at the top of hierarchical power in Quebec and Canadian society, the English and French. But this research matters to other groups of people and different language speakers in the province of Quebec as well because if Anglo-Quebecers can move from the core hierarchical position of power in Quebec to the periphery in a matter of decades, then anyone else who is technically considered an allophone could experience what I have found in my research on Anglo-Quebecer out-migrants.

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[15] Anyone who can trace their ancestry back to French settlers and colonizers in Quebec.

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What I have found in analysing events like "Pastagate" are that anglophone and francophone discourses and language ideologies are opposed with one-another in a generalist sense. The communication between the two becomes a game of broken telephone, where the telephone is the media. There is a pretty plain ideological difference about language and the future of Quebec's relationship with Canada that is reified through the media. Almost everyone I interviewed complained about how the media pitted the francophones and anglophones against one another. There is simply a disconnect of ideology about language in Quebec that is preyed upon by the media. The media is not all to blame but it seems to be a common suspect accused by my participants in regard to the differences in how people really felt about what was going on in Quebec and why. There are those with an Anglo-Centric view that feed off of the negativity and the conflict but then there are those like many of my participants who expressed that the Anglo-Centric view is what they wish to disassociate themselves from. They didn't and don't want to be a part of that sort of ideological and linguistic conflict anymore.

The Anglo-Centric view and oppression is what caused the francophones to drive the anglophones out of Quebec and create a monolingual French Nation that undermines Anglo-Quebecers now already at the periphery of Quebec society. The Anglo-centric view of "Pastagate" with the opinion of ridiculousness of OQLF enforcements are not about Anglo domination, it is an unsettling annoyance at a continued strengthening of the monolingual language ideology of French in Quebec. This ideology of French in some cases is no longer the voicing of a threat to the prosperity of French in Quebec. It is the

voicing of a loss of ideological habitability, as well as perceived literal habitability in the province, in a place where Anglo-Quebecers have lived for generations.

In the case of Anglo-Quebecers there are two perspectives to consider. The enforcement of a language ideology for French that supports the idea of a monolinguistic French nation for Quebec and one of partial erasure experienced by many of the anglophones whose families lived in Quebec for generations. On the one hand the enforcement of a monolinguistic French ideology in Quebec is a form of language preservation which is understandable, but it is primarily a desire for French preservation against English and allophones, not just the preservation of French. On the other hand, it is an ideology that squeezes out and overpowers other ethnolinguistic groups who are not of the categorical francophone identity in Quebec, by creating an *uninhabitable* environment in which people have a difficult time living and operating. The people on the periphery are squeezed out. Anglo-Quebecers are the clearest example of this phenomena, but this outcome can apply to anyone who is considered an anglophone or other linguistic group because not all anglophones are ancestrally British settlers and colonisers. Moving into the future, research on this topic should focus on the experience of anglophone immigrants and other immigrant groups in general. Throughout my research I spoke to participants that knew more than one language besides English or French. A good example is an Italian participant who is basically trilingual and technically not an anglophone, but she identifies as an anglophone because it is the language, she expresses herself with the best. There is more than one trilingual person living in Montreal, in fact it's quite common. Some of them even identify as anglophone as the participant I just

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described expressed that she does.

The overextension of Bill 101 in Quebec's recent political history is used to continue to strengthen a French monolingual language ideology in Quebec, and it has produced the partial erasure of an Anglo-Quebecer sense of groupness and categorical identity both at the level of ideology and symbolism. It has set *uninhabitable* conditions for Anglo-Quebecers in how they conceptualize and understand their own self-identification. The anglophone claim to Quebec in their sense of self, as historically founding members of modern Quebec, is pressured into ambiguity.

While considering the socio-economic preconditions for this analysis, I have shown how language and space are connected in looking at the way that Montreal is segregated and spatialized by language to the effect of fracture between English and French. Anglophones and francophones lived in their own bubbles in different neighbourhoods and people understood the geography of language in terms of where they were welcome and where they were not. Montreal's neighbourhoods have been influenced by a purist discourse of French in Quebec that now supports a regionalist view of the French language in Quebec. This discourse is used to reinforce the monolingual language ideology of French in Quebec. The monolingual language ideology of French in Quebec that is mobilized through Quebec's linguistic landscape to the effect and threat of partial erasure to other ethno-linguistic groups that are exposed to that landscape. The Anglo-Quebecers that I spoke with explained that they don't have an Anglocentric view, even if they had one before, and they feel as though this characterization of them was given as a

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consequence of the actions of the powerful elite anglophones for which the Anglo-Quebecers I spoke to were not. Many of the elites were part of the 600 000 anglophone out-migrants from Quebec but the majority of them were not. The majority were middle-income families and young professionals. The Anglocentric view and the discourse that describes it, is what Anglo-Quebecers want to detach and disassociate from with their *objects of detachment.*

Anglo-Quebecers hold on to what have I explained as *objects of detachment*. These objects stand apart from conflict in two key ways. First, they tend to be 'non-linguistic' objects that can easily be co-opted into pan-Canadian identity markers, like paintings and sports memorabilia. Second, for objects that do have direct indexical links to linguistic tensions, I have shown how the spatial location of these objects allow for their function to differ but still act as an *object of detachment* by either placing the object outside the home or tucked away in a drawer, mediating the feelings associated with the political unrest that they evoke. The *objects of detachment* I have elucidated, bring clarity to how Anglo-Quebecers negotiate and construct their identity.

This thesis has focused on the betwixt nature of Anglo-Quebecer identity and concludes that Anglo-Quebecers are a periphery group whose identity and community are researchable and imaginable but are *uninhabitable* categorically. There is an ideological and perceptual roadblock to their sense of groupness and authenticity as Quebecers. Anglo-Quebecer's inability to inhabit a sense of categorical identity, an imagined community, and space in Quebec illustrates the significance of minority and majority

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status research in Quebec's multilingual environment. Besides this empirical contribution there is also a theoretical contribution from this thesis in terms of thinking about relations of linguistic minority status and power (socially and economically).

This case is an untapped field in the context of Quebec identity studies and this project contributes theoretically to a broader study that analyses the converging themes of language, identity, linguistic minority status, mobility, and political economy already being engaged with in cases like the Catalan and Spanish speakers in North-Eastern Spain, and the case of French and Flemish in Belgium (Trenchs-Parera and Newman 2015; Landry and Bourhis 1997, 24). This study contributes to the broader research on Canadian linguistic minorities in Quebec by focusing on the Anglo-Quebecers that migrated from the Montreal area to the Greater Toronto Area, where previous research has only focused on Anglophones still living in Quebec.

Anglo-Quebecers were involved in an important period of conflict and history within Canada that is seldom spoken about. Besides my academic aims in carrying out this study and wanting to contribute to other great anthropological research already done in Canada, I wanted to conduct this research for my family and other families with similar stories of migration and linguistic conflict. The more we learn about how to deal with conflict in multilingual environments and how the ideologies that arise from these conflicts impact other people in their self-identification, the better. Moving into the future these types of environments will only become more common.

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REB Approval Letter

Date: 28 April 2020

To: Dr Lindsay Bell

Project ID: 115526

Study Title: Identity Construction and Negotiation of Anglo-Quebecer Migrants to Ontario

Short Title: Anglo-Quebecer Identity

Application Type: NMREB Initial Application

Review Type: Delegated/Full Board

Meeting Date / Full Board Reporting Date:

Date Approval Issued: 28/Apr/2020 12:49

REB Approval Expiry Date: 28/Apr/2021

Dear Dr Lindsay Bell

The Western University Non-Medical Research Ethics Board (NMREB) has reviewed and approved the WREM application form for the above-mentioned study, as of the date noted above. NMREB approval for this study remains valid until the expiry date noted above, conditional to timely submission and acceptance of NMREB Continuing Ethics Review.

This research study is to be conducted by the investigator noted above. All other required institutional approvals must also be obtained prior to the conduct of the study.

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Documents Approved:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version
Question 2.17 Screening Form- Questionnaire	Screening Form/Questionnaire	18/Apr/2020	3
Question 2.5 Interview Guide	Interview Guide	18/Apr/2020	8
Question 2.5 Other Instruments	Other Data Collection Instruments	22/Mar/2020	2
Question 2.5 Participant Observation Guide	Participant Observation Guide	21/Mar/2020	3
Question 3.1.6 Email Script for Recruitment	Recruitment Materials	02/Apr/2020	6
Question 3.1.9f Verbal Recruitment Script	Oral Script	02/Apr/2020	5
Question 4.5 Letter of Information and Consent	Written Consent/Assent	20/Apr/2020	9
Question 4.5 Verbal Consent Script	Verbal Consent/Assent	18/Apr/2020	1

Documents Acknowledged:

Document Name	Document Type	Document Date	Document Version

No deviations from, or changes to the protocol should be initiated without prior written approval from the NMREB, except when necessary to eliminate immediate hazard(s) to study participants or when the change(s) involves only administrative or logistical aspects of the trial.

The Western University NMREB operates in compliance with the Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2), the Ontario Personal Health Information Protection Act (PHIPA, 2004), and the applicable laws and regulations of Ontario. Members of the NMREB who are named as Investigators in research studies do not participate in discussions related to, nor vote on such studies when they are presented to the REB. The NMREB is registered with the U.S. Department of Health & Human Services under the IRB registration number IRB 00000941.

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Curriculum Vitae

Education

2019 - 2021   **Western University: M.A., Socio-cultural Anthropology**
Supervisor(s): Dr. Lindsay Bell & Dr. Karen Pennesi

2015 – 2019   **Ryerson University**: **B.A. (Hons), Arts and Contemporary Studies – Anthropology**

Awards and Distinctions

2020   **Ontario Graduate Scholarship** (Western University)
2018/2019   **Faculty of Arts Dean's List** (Ryerson University)
2018   **Nominated for the Dean's Liberal Arts Essay Competition** (Ryerson University)
2017/2018   **Third Year Arts and Contemporary Studies Award** (Ryerson University)
2017/2018   **Faculty of Arts Dean's List** (Ryerson University)

Appointments

2020-2021   **Co-President of the Western Anthropology Graduate Society (WAGS)** (Western University)

Academic Conferences

Mar. 13, 2021   **Humanity in Transition: The 8th Annual WAGS Conference** (Western University) (Panel Discussion)
- Organizer and facilitator.

Oct. 16, 2020   **Research Strategies During the Pandemic** (Western University) (Panel Discussion)
- Invited to speak about MA research by giving a presentation and answering participant's questions.

Teaching

         Graduate Teaching Assistant, Intro. to Sociocultural and Linguistic Anthropology – 1025F (Online/In-class) (Western University)
Sept. 2020 – Dec. 2020   Instructor: Dr. Kelly Linton
Jan. 2020 – April 2020   Instructor: Dr. Greg Beckett
Sept. 2019 – Dec. 2019   Instructor: Dr. Jennifer Spinney
- Duties included: marking, assisting the professor with assessment creation, holding office hours, advising students by email, and participating in an online exam review panel.

Research and Writing Experience

Fall 2019   **[Revera Inc.] Windermere on the Mount: Independence Project**
Researcher and Contributor (Western University)
Fall 2018   **Toronto Public Library: Community Engage Research Project**
Researcher, Contributor, and Editor (Ryerson University)