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## **Multiculturalism and the State: Globalization, National Protection, and the Role of Social Policy in Québec and Canada**

Corey Allen Blad  
*University of Tennessee - Knoxville*

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To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Corey Allen Blad entitled "Multiculturalism and the State: Globalization, National Protection, and the Role of Social Policy in Québec and Canada." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in Sociology.

Jon Shefner, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

Paul Barrette, Sherry Cable, Harry Dahms, Asafa Jalata

Accepted for the Council:

Carolyn R. Hodges

Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

To the Graduate Council:

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Paul Barrette

Sherry Cable

Harry Dahms

Asafa Jalata

Acceptance for the Council:

Anne Mayhew  
Vice Chancellor and  
Dean of Graduate Studies

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)

MULTICULTURALISM AND THE STATE:  
GLOBALIZATION, NATIONAL PROTECTION, AND THE ROLE OF SOCIAL  
POLICY IN QUÉBEC AND CANADA

A Dissertation  
Presented for the  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Degree  
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Cory Allen Blad  
May 2006

## **Dedication**

This dissertation is dedicated to my family by blood, marriage, friendship, and spirit.

This one is for *all* of us.

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## **Abstract**

This dissertation is an historical comparative examination of economic globalization (i.e., global market integration) effects on state political economic capacities in Québec and Canada. The central goal of the project is to understand how global market integration has altered the policy capacities of state institutions. Specifically, this dissertation examines Canadian multiculturalism and Québec interculturalism as social policy responses to ethno-cultural diversification resulting from increased global market integration. I argue that increased global market integration decreases state capacity to enact economic protections, but not the demand for protections from national populations. The result of these changes (ethno-cultural diversification and decreased economic policy capacity) is a shift in social policy capacity toward control and management of national cultural definitions, symbols, and structures of meaning. That is, as state capacity to meet national protectionist demands through economic policy decreases as a result of global market integration, the state must seek out alternative means of meeting national protectionist demands. These means are found in the management and control of national culture. The dissertation further concludes that this political re-orientation enables national populations to increase their relative power with respect to the state. This has placed the state in a precarious position between the powerful demands of global market proponents and the increasingly powerful demands of national populations for protections from the adverse affects of market integration.

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## **Part I**

### **Methodological Framework and Theoretical Foundations**

## **Part I Introduction**

Part I, consisting of Chapters One and Two, provide methodological and theoretical frameworks that guide this dissertation project. The project itself is divided into three parts: (1) providing a conceptual framework, (2) detailing national historical backgrounds of both Canada and Québec, and (3) a comparative analysis of global market integration, demographic change, and state policy responses of Canada and Québec. The purpose of these sections is to develop a more comprehensive understanding of how economic globalization (global market integration) has impacted the contemporary nation-state with the larger goal of understanding what capacities and roles define the contemporary nation-state. The larger arguments and the development of an orienting analytical framework is the goal of Part I.

Chapter One defines specific concepts and goals of the project as well as providing the methodological framework to which the larger project must conform. The chapter provides a conceptual and methodological foundation on which larger theoretical and analytical components of the project can be built.

Chapter Two provides theoretical orientation that allows for the analysis of Part III to be properly contextualized. The state and globalization processes are theoretically examined and conceptualized in order to understand the experience of Canadian and Québec global market integration as well as the impact of this process on both respective national populations and state institutions.

The overall dissertation seeks to answer a central question: what are the contemporary capacities of the core nation-state? Part I provides the methodological and



theoretical framework to begin this analytical project. Part II offers historical background information on Canada and Québec, respectively. These chapters support the methodological contention that these two governmental entities have distinct national histories resulting in distinct state social policy goals. Part III constitutes the analytical portion of this project. Specifically, the chapters examine global market integration and the effect of economic globalization on Canada and Québec; examine one of the most dramatic effects of globalization, ethno-cultural diversification through labor and other migrations; and an examination of multicultural and intercultural policies as state social political responses to national demographic changes resulting from globalization.

The dissertation concludes with a brief chapter that discusses the theoretical conclusions of the project as well as specific methodological conclusions. The final chapter concludes with a hypothetical thought-experiment designed to promote future research directions.

## **Chapter One**

### **Conceptualizing and Analyzing the Contemporary Nation-State**

This dissertation examines the development and evolution of social policy responses by Canadian and Québec state institutions in response to pressures to national cohesion and stability brought by increasing global market integration. Specifically, I examine the roles of multicultural and intercultural policies in Canada and Québec, respectively. The main effect of economic globalization (or global market integration) that I examine is the process of ethno-cultural diversification through labor migration and other categorical immigration. In this project I view policy as an institutional form of social practice intended to reconcile national histories, stabilize national populations, and facilitate economic growth through fully global market participation. In addition, this project seeks to understand the role of culture, specifically the role and use of local (national) culture, in relation to nation-state integration within the global market economy. I will argue that the role of culture must be more sufficiently understood as a legitimation mechanism given the decreasing capacities of the nation-state to control and protect national economic interests due to increased global market economic integration.

This dissertation is intent on answering a central question: how has the advanced capitalist nation-state changed in response to the challenges posed by globalization? This question is the logical outcome of an extended debate over the continued viability of the nation-state as a focus of analysis in an era of increasing global market integration, political interdependence, international non-governmental organizations, and processes of cultural homogenization. Few state theorists would argue that the power of globalization

has not transformed the capacities of the nation-state. The central debate concerns the extent of these changes and whether or not the nation-state can still be understood as a central actor with respect to issues of economics, politics, and cultural change. While this debate is both fruitful and interesting, the contending proponents are largely concerned with large-scale change. In other words, we know that globalization has impacted the traditional nation-state, but our deeper understanding of *how* the nation-state has been impacted, and more importantly how it has adapted to meet these challenges, is relatively limited. Little attention is paid to local processes of change, which results in a limited understanding of the importance or role of nation-states in an era of globalization. This project addresses this problem through a historical-comparative analysis of nation-state formation and maintenance in response to increasing transformative pressures of global economic, political, and cultural processes.

I will argue that the nation-state has lost much of its capacity to control economic and political outcomes due to the assumption of these responsibilities by globalization vehicles (a global market economic system and international (IMF, World Bank) and supranational (G-8, European Union) non-governmental organizations, for instance). The global market economic system, however, requires stability and locations of both production and consumption. Nation-states are commonly defined by their responsibilities for ensuring stable space for productive and consumptive process to occur (Giddens 1990, 70; Panitch 1994, 75). This project the role of social policy in the process of creating national stability and facilitating global market integration. If policy is, indeed, a form of institutional social practice, what can policy analysis tell us about the

contemporary role of the state? Particularly, what can social policy tell us about the role of culture in nation-state mechanical functioning as a subordinate economic entity?

This chapter provides a conceptual and methodological framework to examine the transformation of the modern nation-state as a result of the growing power and capacities of political and economic globalization processes. The project is a comparative-historical study examining the evolution of the federal government in Canada and the provincial government in Québec. This dissertation examines the changing role of the nation-state through the mechanism of social policy, specifically analyzing the emergence, motivations, and changes of Canadian multicultural policy and Québec intercultural policy. The chapter consists of four parts: (1) establishing necessary preliminary assumptions, (2) conceptualizing and defining the concepts of nationalism and cultural structure, (3) a justification and description of the comparative methodological approach and resolving possible comparative problems in the study of Canada and Québec, and (4) a brief overview of the chapter content comprising the remainder of the dissertation.

### ***1. Founding Assumptions***

As previously stated, I examine social policy development and evolution in political economic and historical context as a mechanism to observe and measure the actions of the state as an institutional social actor. I believe that the observation of state actions will be telling in terms of understanding the contemporary role and capacities of the contemporary core nation-state. In order to begin the process of answering these central questions I must begin with a series of orienting assumptions.

First, the state has, historically, served as the locus of political and economic institutional power. The institutional capacities of the state are reflected in the political

actions taken by institutional representatives and can be understood through such mechanisms as the construction and alteration of policies intended to steer the political economic direction of a respective nation-state.

Second, the nation serves as the power base for each respective state providing legitimation and granting authority to state institutions. In return for this legitimation of authority the state is responsible for providing national social protections. These protections can be as overt as military defense or as intangible as the provision of moral support to the nation or groups within the nation. In sum, the maintenance of state authority and power is contingent on its ability to provide adequate social protections for national populations. Any breakdown in the capacity to protect the social welfare of the nation can result in a withdrawal of legitimating authority and thus threaten the continued capacity of the state to control established political economic mechanisms.

Third, the policies that direct political economic action are not static and are regularly altered, maintained, or discarded as their perceived utility is compromised or if political economic conditions shift to further reduce the effectiveness of respective policies. This process of alteration, maintenance, or rejection can be used as a methodological window to historically observe the political responses of a respective state to larger socio-economic motivations for change. This assumption implies that the nation-state is not supreme in its ability to motivate large-scale social, political, or economic change.

Fourth, the state alters policies and actions in response to external socio-economic structures that motivate political change within the nation-state. These socio-economic structures are not conscious manipulators of human action. Instead, they can themselves

be altered as understanding of the structures and mechanics governing them is developed by social actors. In other words, the relationship between social structures and social actors, in this sense, has the potential to be reciprocal. That is, once an actor has sufficient knowledge of how structures manipulate and control, that same actor then has the potential to influence those structures for specific purposes. Given the power and capacities of state institutions the ability to understand and subsequently influence structural controls is much greater than that of the individual social actor in any given society. Alternatively, the effects of such state influence over structural controls can have adverse effects. In this case state attempts to influence or manipulate external socio-economic structures in a liberal capitalist society generate a national reaction that must, in turn, be recognized by the state. As shown in the previous second assumption, the necessity of national pacification is required to impart a level of legitimate authority to the state in order for power relationships to be maintained<sup>1</sup>.

This process of political economic change and nation/state interaction can be viewed through an historical exemplar. The period of European exploration and capitalist expansion was largely governed by the political economic structure of mercantile trade relationships. Briefly, each colonial possession was beholden to trade only with the parent state and under conditions imposed by the parent state. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia promoted the emergence and growth of the modern nation-state as an institutional protector and caretaker of national economic interests. Thus the nation-state

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<sup>1</sup> This dissertation does not understand this relationship to be egalitarian in any way. The process of state negotiation with the nation is predicated on hierarchical authority. Only when macro-level socio-economic structures and state complicity cause broadly negative social outcomes will the possibility of national resistance threaten the maintenance capacities of the state. My understanding of this nation-state relationship is based on maintenance of elite position, authority, and control at the expense of the greater national population.

achieved a level of supremacy with respect to political economic controls and constructed policies to support these existing relationships. It should be noted that this period of autocratic state rule is not indicative of the above assumed relationships between state and nation. The power of the nation in support of autocratic or despotic rule is, understandably, limited.

The rise of liberal ideology following the French Revolution in 1789 threatened the traditional political power structures that, in turn, supported the systemic structure of mercantilist capitalism. As political power shifted from autocratic to limited forms of liberal democratic governance, so too did the understanding of the current capitalist socio-economic structure. The injection of liberal political ideology into systemic economic understanding shifted the capitalist economic structure away from mercantilism and toward the promotion of liberal market economic “free trade.” State institutions and institutional actors as well as non-state actors who stood to profit from reorientation promoted this shift in political economic ideology (Friedrich Hayek, David Ricardo, and Adam Smith to name but a few influential proponents). The emergent relationship of institutional state actors and non-governmental economic actors would continue through a later period of corporatist change that solidified the dominance of the liberal capitalist structure over the state.

In sum, the state has, since 1648, been the primary institution of national economic control. The emergence of liberalism as a viable political economic ideology to both pacify growing national dissent and (arguably more importantly) increase the growth potential of capitalist production led to a new relationship between state institutions and national populations. The emergence of liberal democratic states now

required a level of granted legitimacy from national populations. Liberal economic strategies resulted in increased economic growth but required new forms of promoting legitimate authority as a result of the extension of liberal (i.e., democratic) ideology to the national population through national political processes.

As this process of liberal and capitalist integration was completed, the previously mentioned assumptions became apparent. That is, state control over respective economic spheres (in the case of mercantile capitalism) was supplanted by the marriage of liberalism and capitalism (in the case of *laissez-faire* market capitalism). States were required to play a larger role in the social welfare protection of the nation, even as corporatist relationships ensured the acceleration of liberal capitalism at the expense of the nation. In fact, it was the rapid acceleration of liberal capitalism and its excessively negative impacts on respective national populations that led to various ideological reactions, for example Marxism and its political manifestation, communism. While Marxism and communism provide simply one example of articulated resistance to the expansion of unrestrained liberal capitalism it is illustrative of resistive national responses to lack of state social protections. It could be argued that the imposition of Keynesian economic reforms following the Second World War represented the Western capitalist alternative to these national demands for increased social protections. This increase in state involvement in economic policy indisputably demonstrates yet another shift in state reaction to liberal capitalism.

Respective states attempted to restrain the structure of liberal capitalism to counter the threat of communist and socialist alternatives to liberal capitalist structures through the enactment of social welfare provisions and increased domestic industrial



production. The expanded social protections inherent in Keynes' economic strategies accomplished their intended goal, but at the expense of the unrestrained growth of liberal capitalism. The decline of the Soviet Union and the increasingly obvious failure of the Soviet communist socio-economic model in the late 1970s worked in concert with the successful exportation of capitalist ideology to the developing world accompanied by massive foreign direct investment. Increased ability to promote industrial capitalist development in the developing world was coupled with a resurgence of liberal democratic ideology that served specific political purposes for respective state leaders, but also provided ideological justification for the ubiquitous application of liberalism across political and economic spheres.

These conditions resulted in respective states dismantling the social protections of the Keynesian period and rapidly expanding liberal market economics on an increasingly global scale. This historical process formed the current era of globalization and provides the structural backdrop for this dissertation project.

The purpose of this excursus is to provide an illustration of the relationship between state and nation. Clearly, this relationship shows a level of power inherent in state controls and capacities as well as national power largely through the process of granting legitimate authority to the state. This relationship indicates an ebb and flow with respect to state capacities and controls as well as an adaptive ability on the part of the state to both facilitate economic growth as well as pacify national economic concerns. This state role, as facilitator of market integration and promoter of pacific domestic conditions, is the conceptual definition of the state used in this study.

### *1a. A Polanyian Perspective*

The role of the state, based on the above assumptions and exemplar, serves as the mechanism through which liberal capitalism is facilitated and national social protections assured. This framework is established in Karl Polanyi's masterwork, *The Great Transformation* (2001 [1957]). Specifically, his conceptualization of a *double movement* explains the contradictory responsibilities of the contemporary nation-state: to facilitate liberal capitalism and to provide a level of social protection for its national population. For Polanyi, the mechanism of human agency is important in understanding the nature of the double movement through the process of national demands for protection from the adverse effects of liberal capitalism. The complicity of the state in facilitating liberal capitalism can be viewed through the political (i.e., policy) actions of institutional agents and non-governmental proponents<sup>2</sup>. In fact, the structure of laissez-faire liberal capitalism is an obvious human construction that requires constant maintenance and political manipulation to ensure its continued "success" (Polanyi 2001, 145). Thus the structure of liberal capitalism, while possessing clear levels of transformative ability, is reliant on a level of state support for its mechanical maintenance.

Conversely, the national protectionism necessary for the state to maintain its legitimated authority within a liberal democratic political system is relatively organic.

While laissez-faire economy was the product of deliberate State action, subsequent restrictions on laissez-faire started in a spontaneous way. Laissez-faire was planned; planning was not (Polanyi 2001, 147).

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<sup>2</sup> In Polanyi's view the emergence of economists such as Hayek and Smith as well as liberal theorists such as Spencer and Sumner provided intellectual and scientific legitimacy for the expansion of liberal capitalism after the 1930s. This expansion is viewed through the mechanism of policy actions on the part of Pitt and Peel in England during the mid-Nineteenth Century (Polanyi 2001, 143-144).

Thus, a Polanyian understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the modern nation-state would be that it is primarily concerned with facilitating the growth and expansion of the liberal market economic system. These efforts cannot be undertaken and accomplished without restraint as demands of the national population require that the state engage in some form of protective or pacific behavior to regain the legitimate authority granted by the national population. This is a modern historical condition that is completely reliant on the ideological and practical requirements demanded by the synthesis of liberalism and capitalism.

## ***2. Conceptualization and Preliminary Definitions***

The purpose of this introduction is to provide a conceptual foundation based on consistent definitions. My stated assumptions and Polanyian orientation work to conceptualize the modern nation-state as a location of interaction and conflict between those profiting from liberal capitalist social structure and those adversely affected by these same structural conditions and demands. This is not to establish a false dichotomy, but to orient the reader to my understanding of the agency inherent in the process of structural alteration. Two issues arise from this series of assumptions and orienting statements: (1) the concept of the nation-state includes a necessary division between national populations and state institutions of elite control and (2) that social structure must be understood as a mutable concept that both motivates human agency as well as being subject to the desires and alterations of resourceful agents.

### ***2a. Nationalism***

The division between the nation and the state is a relatively new conceptualization of a much longer tradition of subsuming the nation under the auspice of the state

exemplified in the work of Hobsbawm (1990), Kedourie (1960), Smith (1971), and many others. The conceptual division between nation and state is largely derived from two sources: studies of civil society and the premise of Anderson's (1983) "imagined communities."

The development of civil society is commensurate with the emergence of liberal democracy. As political rights expand, so to do political responsibilities. Sociological examinations of civil society engaged in several intellectual projects including Gramsci's (1999) attempt at understanding the hegemonic processes that subjugated civil society to the whims and desires of the capitalist class, Ferguson's (1966 [1767]) efforts to understand civil society as complementary institutions that provided protectionist services in support of liberal capitalism, and the current understanding of a more autonomous civil society that is able to challenge existing state authority (Alvarez et al. 1998; Kaldor 2003; Waisman 1999).

The nationalist interpretation of the civil society distinction has largely relied on the work of Anderson (1983), Gellner (1983), and Renan (1882). These theories rely on subjectivist understandings of the nation as being a largely reactive and nativist response to external challenges or the internal manipulations of charismatic actors. These "imagined communities" are reliant on common meanings and symbolic interpretation often disseminated through communications technologies and thus able to be controlled and manipulated by resourceful agents. This susceptibility to manipulation is evident in the work of Hobsbawm (1990, 1992) and Gellner (1983) and has contributed to a negative view of nationalism as a "top-down" effort on the part of interested elites to ensure systemic maintenance or engage in a process of power consolidation.

This negative view of nationalism and national projects in general has prompted a critical response from those who view the purely ideological orientation of Anderson and Gellner as being analytically impotent. Castells (2004), for one questions the utility of a theoretical orientation that relies solely on ideology and a subjectivist view of culture:

But if the meaning of the statement is, as it is explicit in Gellner's theory, that nations are pure ideological artifacts, constructed through arbitrary manipulation of historical myths by intellectuals for the interests of the social and economic elites, then the historical record seems to belie such an excessive deconstructionism (Castells 2004, 32).

Indeed, it is the twin dangers of assumed manipulation and pure subjective existence that scholars such as Castells, Keating (1995), and Renault (1991) argue against. Through traditional perspectives on nationalism, we find very little evidence of active agency on the part of the nation to resist these manipulative efforts on the part of elites. Any cursory glance at the history of social movements and subaltern resistance would lead most to question the assumption that nationalism is neither tangible nor devoid of independent agency. Indeed, many movements of colonial liberation and revolts against autocratic rule have utilized a nationalist context and rhetoric to mobilize effective resources and support. Aside from embracing a critique of traditional theories of nationalism, this project is concerned with establishing justification for the analytical division between the *nation* and the *state*. Recent work on the nation as a viable social actor with the power to influence and motivate state action has been a central feature of the research performed by the previously mentioned Castells, Keating, and Renault along with others such as Brubaker (1992) and Pincus (1999).

This analytical distinction between the nation and state, as well as the understanding that the nation is not simply an amorphous mass responding to the

commands of elite masters, provides important conceptual support for the remainder of the project. A Polanyian perspective of the nation-state implies this type of reciprocal relationship between nation and state. The use of the “double movement” as a methodological tool or framework enables state analyses to transcend the divisions among theorists of nationalism. Therefore, this project recognizes the contributions of the debate on nationalism, but circumvents the issue methodologically by incorporating an established Polanyian concept, the “double movement.” Using this concept to inform a primary conceptual framework also enables the analysis to extend beyond the traditional view of the nation-state as an autonomous or insular entity. This is particularly important as economic globalization processes become dominant in their ability to dictate national economic production and capacities for economic controls. This point will be discussed at length in the following chapter.

### ***2a<sub>1</sub>. A Note on the Comparability of Québec and Canada***

A brief note on the use of Québec as a comparative example of a nation-state is required. A cursory glance would show a methodological level of analysis problem that works to undermine any theoretical conclusions before the analysis has even taken place. This need not be a problem either on an empirical level or in terms of generating a theoretical understanding of nation-state construction and transformation. I argue that the unique history of Québec, including the cultural process of nation-building that has occurred concurrently with the Canadian nationalist project, as well as the development of autonomous governmental controls and authority make it relatively simple to show that Québec operates as a limited but functional nation-state both domestically and internationally. Castells makes a similar conceptual leap with his term “national quasi-

state” to describe the experience of Québec as exemplary of “the development of nations that stop at the threshold of statehood, but force their parent state to adapt, and cede sovereignty...” (Castells 2004, 55). While this articulation of Québec as a limited nation-state is helpful, his understanding that the province “stop[ped] at the threshold of statehood” is limiting but not surprising. Castells’ project is clearly focused on an understanding of the nation as a concept of increasing importance. His project is centered on the proposition that nations have increased in importance while states have simultaneously declined in their capacity as institutions of power. This proposition is supported by the established understanding that the nation is implicitly distinct from the state and thus enables the dual motions of national ascendancy and state decline in this contemporary era.

This perspective ignores the historic increase in autonomous state authority granted to Québec by the Canadian government in the fields of education, diplomacy, immigration, and trade. Granted, this autonomy is limited and any statement that understands Québec as a fully autonomous nation-state would be erroneous. Analytically, however, the increase in Québec state autonomy is undeniable and has created a situation in which the authority of Québec supersedes that of the Canadian federal government in many situations. Of course, the converse is true as Québec must defer to Canadian authority in many more instances. I would argue that the autonomy of the Québec state, particularly with respect to immigration and culture, in conjunction with a strong nationalist project creates a situation in which the nation-state designation can be analytically applied to both Canada and Québec. As I will show in subsequent historical background chapters, both Canada and Québec have struggled to construct viable nation-

states since the mid-1700s and a superficial assumption that Québec cannot be defined as a form of nation-state due to its subsumed provincial position within Canada is incorrect and belies a limited view of both nation and state.

I would argue that the realities of global interdependence weaken full and complete autonomy on the part of a respective state and can no longer be used as a definition of a nation-state. Between nation-states, power and influence play significant roles in establishing state hierarchies, but more to the point the global market economic system has assumed a larger role in dictating economic and social policies in all nation-states. The ability of a nation-state to adapt and survive in this accelerating era of globalization becomes a more useful definitional tool. I will show that Québec has performed on par with Canada in its response to the challenge of globalization and thus must be considered, at some level, a nation-state.

In addition to previous arguments for the comparability of Canada and Québec as nation-states, this analysis raises the possibility that conventional definitions of the “state” and “nation-state” may be inadequate. Recent discussion of the demise of the nation will be elaborated in the following chapter; however, shifting state capacities raise the possibility that defining the state has become a much more ambiguous process. My general definition of a state-*as a social institution that is able to function with some level of political autonomy in decision-making and policy-construction through the process of national legitimation*-must include exemplars such as Québec that previously would not be formally defined as nation-states. The question of level of political autonomy must also be considered a weak criterion in defining what is and is not a state. The simple fact that globalization institutions and processes have usurped many of the political economic



capacities that were traditionally the responsibility of respective states requires a more broad understanding of “autonomy” with respect to the policy-making process.

For example, Canada is subject to the judgments of the NAFTA Binational Adjudication Panel as well as the WTO Dispute Settlement Body with respect to national economic protections such as tariffs and subsidies. Does this reduction of political autonomy make Canada less of a state? Does the fact that Québec has been able to establish state-owned utilities (Hydro-Québec, for example) and enact autonomous immigration and cultural policies, often against the wishes of Ottawa, make Québec more of a state? Clearly, my definition of the state is inclusive of both realities due to its focus on autonomous policy-making and not on a higher-level of overall political autonomy.

### ***3. Culture, Structure, and the Methodological Utility of Social Policy***

This project argues that culture must play a much more central role in analytical studies of the interaction between the state, globalization processes, and national populations. As such we must engage in a brief discussion of how culture has been understood, particularly with respect to its epistemological foundations. Debates over these epistemological assumptions have engendered a useful literature that attempts to integrate conflicting epistemological views of culture and make the concept more sociologically useful.

Recently, scholars have shown considerable interest in examining the concepts of social structure and human agency. While most of these analyses have been in the form of isolated examinations of one or the other exemplary work has been done on the interactive relationship *between* structure and agency. The work of Bourdieu, Giddens, and Habermas has generated relatively complementary approaches to the theoretical

integration of structure and agency. Common to these (and other) integrative approaches is an analysis of culture as a significant force shaping human interaction.

The fact that culture surfaces so commonly in integrative theories of structure and agency should surprise few. A common (but by no means conclusive) definition of culture as “systems of meaning and the practices in which they are embedded” (Steinmetz 1999, 7) shows the ability of the concept to incorporate systemic or structural elements that possess ability to pattern human action. Conversely, the subjective elements inherent in the word “meaning” attribute some level of individual control over the definition and understanding of such “meanings.” Clarity has never been a term used to describe any conceptual understanding of culture. What is clear though is that investigations of culture show a level of disagreement over the ontological location of culture. Does our definition of culture empower the individual human agent or attribute causal authority to structures that undergird systems of meaning? This is particularly important in understanding the potential role of culture with respect to national social policy. That is, in order to view culture as having the potential to be used to influence or facilitate larger structural conditions, we must be able to move beyond traditional (strict) subjectivist approaches to the concept.

The purpose of this section is to articulate an understanding of culture that will be useful in establishing a defensible position in the debate concerning the interaction of social structure and human agency. The goal of clarifying these concepts is to establish a clear methodological framework that is able to incorporate the dynamic nature of culture as both enabling and constraining human action. In other words, can culture motivate human action as well as be influenced or manipulated by human agents?

### ***3a. Culture: A Structure/Agency Approach***

The concept of culture succeeds in deflecting any effort toward developing a consensus definition. The oft-cited Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) classic, *Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*, identifies more than 150 distinct definitions and uses of the concept. Given their efforts were published in the early 1950s, one can safely assume that the remainder of the Twentieth Century added more than a few definitions and applications to the list. This project is not interested in contributing to culture's problem of over-definition (however, defining an operational variable is unavoidable), nor is the purpose to clarify one of the myriad conceptualizations of culture. This project is concerned with the implications of how culture has been used in the process of nation-building and in the process of nation-state reaction to encroaching globalization forces. Thus, the empirical and theoretical "how" of culture is much more important to this work than any definitional or conceptual "what."

In order to answer the question of how culture relates to the contemporary nation-building process I must first state a definition then operationalize that definition within some sort of methodological framework. The former is the task of this section, and the latter will be accomplished in the following section.

This project views culture as the active and passive manifestation of collective understandings of norms and beliefs. In other terms, culture can be viewed through normative behavior and actions. In addition, the concept of culture must itself incorporate an element of action as cumulative norms pattern present and future human action through their very being. Thus, an operational definition of culture can be stated as *a collective systemic understanding of normative behavior that relies on human agents for*

*dissemination and maintenance*. This definition is heavily reliant on the understanding that ideology and culture are inexorably connected. In a practical sense, the promotion of a dominant ideology, in this case Canadian and Québécois nationalism, is linked with cultural symbols and structures of meaning. In the words of Sutton, “ideology is the patterned reaction to the patterned strains of a social role (1956, 307-308).” In this sense we can understand the process of nation-building as partly a process of ideological conditioning (patterned reaction) through the construction and manipulation of national cultural symbols and definitions. Nationalism is a monolithic project, which is reflected in the promotion of a singular culture through ideological means. In other words, the ideology of nationalism drives the manifestation of national cultural symbols and definitions.

Culture itself cannot be understood as a social actor – for instance, in the same way that an economic market can retain no level of human agency – however, the human manipulation or maintenance of culture attributes the appearance of action on the part of culture.

This definition does sublimate culture to a position of subservience to human agents, however the definition also attributes a level of causal efficacy to culture – it also patterns human action – and thus, must be understood as a dynamic and dialectical concept. Clearly, this definition of culture incorporates conventional understandings of normative, ideological human agency. It also understands culture as being inherently structural in its ability to guide human action. Traditional sociological and philosophical approaches to the study of culture have largely recognized both conceptual positions, but have also shown a tendency to pick one position over the other. These tendencies are

reflected in the historical rise and fall of subjectivist and positivist approaches in the social sciences. This cyclical pattern of intellectual inquiry is eloquently described in Thomas McCarthy's exhaustive introduction to the English edition of *The Theory of Communicative Action* (Habermas 1984, ix-xiv).

Briefly, the initial Cartesian empowerment of the individual served the Enlightenment ideal of empowering individual human agency and ability over the empirically constraining forces of political and cultural structures of oppression (i.e., Church, monarchical political systems, etc...). The dominance of the subjectivist approach to understanding human nature was challenged by more structuralist and positivist approaches to social scientific inquiry. From Marx's historical materialism to Comte and Durkheim's positivism provided structured critiques of the impact of both the Enlightenment and subjectivist idealism on traditional social conditions. In dialectical fashion, the dominance of structural approaches to social theory took an antithetical turn with the emergence of phenomenological and existential approaches in the Twentieth Century. McCarthy argues that social scientific inquiry has reacted yet again to this subjectivist turn with increased emphasis on structural variables and a structuralist bias in social theoretical development.

The purpose of this discussion is two-fold. First, a look at the intellectual history of subjectivist and structural dominance in social theory shows a larger problem of dichotomous reasoning that ultimately endangers the theoretical utility of any perspective that fails to incorporate *both* in understanding the interactive dynamics of the social world. In addition, the theoretical promotion of either subjectivist or structuralist perspectives may be more indicative of the historically temporal world from which the

theory emerged which in turn complicates theoretical utility. This is commonly illustrated in the historical development of sociology as an academic discipline. The subjective ideals of the Enlightenment found their most dramatic personification in the French Revolution. The conservative reaction to such wholesale social change resulted in an epistemological shift in social scientific inquiry.

Second, the attempt to link individual agency with social structure requires a common denominator. In this study that denominator is, of course, culture. Culture is a conceptual common thread throughout the historical cycle of subjectivist and structuralist theories. All general social theorists are required to address the role of traditions, common language, religion, symbols (both material and ideological), and systems of belief in order to provide a full understanding of how society functions. The concepts of alienation and anomie are, in fact, attempts to address the problem of culture in the emergence of a modern liberal capitalist society. More specifically, as material conditions and structural shifts impact the occupational and material lives of individual actors, those actors will seek alternative means of social comprehension, largely through the development of common meaning and group identification. In other words, as individuals become more alienated their desire for social interdependence increases. This search for meaning and cohesive membership is a largely cultural process.

My conceptual use of culture in this project is as a vehicle to understand how the nation-state has changed in response to the emergence of a global market political economic system. This conceptualization is clearly centered on incorporating a structurally-sensitive understanding of culture. My position is informed by the work of Robert Wuthnow (1987; Wuthnow *et al.* 1984). I am particularly indebted to Wuthnow's

methodological approach examining observable practice as distinct from a purely subjectivist conceptualization of culture:

Rather than it consisting of attitudes, beliefs, and values, it is characterized by boundaries, categories, and elements. In the structural approach, culture is portrayed as an object amenable to observation. It consists of discourse that can be heard or read or other kinds of gestures, objects, acts, and events that can be seen, recorded, classified, and so forth. It does not consist of or ultimately reflect subjective states of the individual (Wuthnow 1987, 12).

Wuthnow's major contribution is the justification for analyzing culture through patterned action, or structure. This position assumes that culture is able to structure human action as well as be shaped and altered by a variety of social actors, both subjectivist and structural qualities that will be integrated into this project. The theoretical implication of this position will be examined later in this project. What is required now is the provision of a methodological mechanism that will allow this dynamic definition to be applied to empirical cases.

### ***3b. Methodological Precedent and Framework***

As I have consistently stated, this project is built on the work of others. My reliance on a Polanyian understanding of state and national interaction, my embrace of the subjectivist-structuralist philosophical debate, and the problems inherent in incorporating a dynamic view of culture all rely on existing concepts, interactive understandings, and theoretical frameworks. Methodologically, this project is no different.

This project utilizes social policy as a methodological mechanism to observe and illustrate the historical change that has occurred with respect to (1) the state's capacity to control economic, political, and cultural processes and (2) to illustrate the double

movement between the state's promotion of the global market economic system and the nation's demand for social protections from that same economic system. The work of Giddens (1984), Habermas (1998; 1984), and Bourdieu (1977) will be most helpful in achieving these ends, however my use of each of the theorists will be purely methodological, as the point of this project is not to resolve the structure/agency debate, but to gain a more clear understanding of the contemporary nation-state. I will briefly illustrate the utility of each before stating my methodological position.

### ***3b<sub>1</sub>. Structuration, Habitus/Field, and Communicative Action***

While the theoretical positions of Giddens, Bourdieu, and Habermas are unique in their details, they all utilize a common methodological position. In all three theories, *social practice* is used as a tool to observe and measure the level of social action and influence on the part of social structures and human agents. This position is entirely consistent with Wuthnow's (1987) requirement that culture must be observed in order to be analytically viable. I argue that social policy will tell us how the state mediates between global political economic forces and national social protections. The medium of social practice is the methodological tool that makes this type of analysis possible. Specifically, I will examine multicultural policy in Canada and intercultural policy in Québec as indications of state *practice*. That is, the development and evolution of social policy, specifically multicultural and intercultural policies, is indicative of actions taken by the state as an institutional actor. We can observe and analyze the actions and abilities of the Canadian and Québec states through their promotion, adaptation, and reduction of these social policies. More to the point, I argue that examination of these policies will tell us a great deal about how the Canadian and Québec states have adapted to the emerging



global market economic system. The previously stated emphasis on the work of Giddens, Bourdieu, and Habermas is detailed here in support of my connection between social policy and social practice.

Giddens' theory of structuration understands practice as being the observable reality of human societies. Analytical approaches that locate causal authority to either structures or agents are missing the reality of interactive processes.

The basic domain of the study of the social sciences, according to the theory of structuration, is neither the experience of the individual actor, nor the existence of any form of social totality, but social practices ordered across time and space (Giddens 1984, 2).

Giddens attributes a high level of power to agency and human agents in his work (too much power some, such as Craib (1993), have argued), but the basic intent of his position is to emphasize the duality of social structure as having the power to both constrain and enable human action. That Giddens seems to often favor agency in his analyses is a critique better suited to a theoretical discussion of structuration. Of specific importance here is the dual nature of structure and agency in Giddens' methodology. The methodological utility of structure is viewed as offering opportunity as well as oppression while human agency is able to manipulate structural controls as well as be controlled by those same structures. This methodological position offers a dynamic framework on which to build a larger study of interaction between the nation, state, and globalization.

The emphasis on practice as an analytical mechanism allowing for the observation of social interaction is echoed in Bourdieu's work. If possible, Bourdieu seems even more adamant about dismissing the division between structure and agency than Giddens. His extensive reviews of structuralist and subjectivist excesses ensure that the only

logical outcome of his work is a methodological position focused on a dynamic relationship between structures and agents. This position shapes his approach to practice as being central to an empirically-informed understanding of human society (Bourdieu 1977; 1990).

Bourdieu believes that practice is the empirical result of the interaction between social structures and human agency and thus becomes the logical methodological lens to observe this interactive process. This position is quite similar to Giddens' and aids in the contribution of a useful methodological framework for the current study. Major differences between Bourdieu and Giddens become apparent if one moves beyond the limited methodological similarity of practice as an analytical tool. While Giddens emphasized the importance of human action, Bourdieu's twin concepts of *habitus* and *field* show a structuralist tendency. Superficially, *habitus* can be understood as the conceptualization of human agency, while *field* represents more traditionally understood social structures. A deeper look, however, highlights structural tendencies in Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Bourdieu implies a latent subordination of agency due to *habitus* being "the product of the internalization of the structures [represented by his concept of fields]" (Bourdieu 1989, 18). This is simply an observation of Bourdieu's differing theoretical conclusions and biases when compared to those of Giddens. His understanding of *habitus* and *field* is informed by a study of social practice, which again shows its methodological utility in transcending the problems of structure and agency and particularly as a methodological tool useful in the investigation of the dynamic relationship between actors and structures of control.

Habermas views the problem of structure and agency as a similar analytical problem, but does more than either Giddens or Bourdieu in putting his theory to an empirical test. The theory of communicative action is best summed up by Habermas:

If we assume that the human species maintains itself through the socially coordinated activities of its members and that this coordination is established through communication-and in certain central spheres through communication aimed at reaching agreement-then the reproduction of the species *also* requires satisfying the conditions of rationality that is inherent in communicative action (Habermas 1984, 397).

We see, again, twin concepts being used to conceptualize human agency and social structure: the *lifeworld* and the *social system*. Both work to shape the social world and both maintain a level of autonomy and causal efficacy. As was the case with Bourdieu however, Habermas attributes a level of supremacy to social structure with his extended discussion of the process of social system colonization of the lifeworld in which human agency is becoming increasingly controlled by the formal rationality of the social system (Habermas 1987).

The methodological approach that Habermas uses to understand the lifeworld and social system is discourse, or communication. Discursive interaction between actors and groups patterned by the social system becomes the lens through which these processes of colonization and integration can be observed. As a methodological framework, this is nearly identical to the approach used by Giddens and Bourdieu – albeit in the construction of divergent theoretical conclusions. Habermas attempts an application of his communicative action theory in *Between Facts and Norms: Contribution to a Discourse Theory of Law and Democracy* (1998).

In this work, Habermas seeks to bridge the structural system (facts) and the subjective lifeworld (norms) by analyzing the discursive process of negotiating, creating, and altering law and the political process of democracy. He agrees with the common contention that the structure/agency divide is useless, but also implies that this is not only a theoretical evolution but also historical:

...modern societies have become so complex that these two conceptual motifs-that of a society concentrated in the state and that of a society made up of individuals-can no longer be applied unproblematically (Habermas 1998, 1-2).

The premise of the text is, in part, an examination of the dual nature of law in modern societies. One could argue that Habermas makes the case that law serves dual purposes by enforcing central authority (of the state, for instance) through retributive punishment and also gleaning legitimate authority from those over whom it maintains control. For Habermas, this process of “Law as Social Mediation between Facts and Norms” occurs through communication and, if participating groups have sufficient power, negotiation. The issue at hand is Habermas’ utilization of law as a methodological tool to examine the process of political adaptation and change (as implied in the previous quote on the increasing complexity of modern societies).

Habermas views law as the logical outcome of the process of discursive interaction between the state and the nation. In this way, his methodological approach is consistent with the methodological responsibility Giddens and Bourdieu place on social practice, albeit in a more explicit and applied manner. These approaches assist in the construction of a methodological framework that will be incorporated into this examination of the contemporary nation-state.

### ***3b<sub>2</sub>. Methodological Framework***

This project seeks to understand the capacities and role of the contemporary nation-state and how those capacities and roles have changed as a result of accelerating globalization processes. I will argue that the modern nation-state has, in fact, reduced abilities to affect economic policy or substantive political change. Its reconceptualized role is to maintain stable social conditions to ensure productive and consumptive growth in accordance with market economic requirements. The modern nation-state must rely on its ability to manufacture, control, and maintain structures of culture in order to ensure such stability. Culture has become the focal arena of state control efforts due to the reduction in authoritative capacity with respect to economic and large-scale political policies.

I propose to examine the validity of these claims through a comparative-historical analysis of changes in state capacities, ultimately resulting social policy outcomes, from 1944 through the present. I will compare the nation-states of Canada and Québec relying on the previously stated justification on comparability. My specific focus on social policy, in this case federal multicultural and provincial intercultural policy emergence, development, and change, serves as the methodological tool allowing the project to illustrate the dynamic relationship between national actors, state institutions, and global political economic structures. In other words, this project utilizes policy as a mechanism that illuminates the active interaction and mediating processes of the state in accordance with the Polanyian concept of the double movement between market economic predation and national social protection.

This project will be able to show not only the current capacities and abilities of the state to maintain effective legitimate authority, but more importantly *how* these capacities have changed through the examination of general political economic change over time and the use of social policy evolution as a tool to view state action in response to those general political economic changes. Changes in state policies over time are juxtaposed with the emergence and rise of globalization processes to show the process of change and the transitioning of power from the nation-state to global institutions and processes. An historical approach allows for the application of the study of social practice as exemplified in the work of Giddens, Bourdieu, and Habermas. By combining historical-comparative and social practice methodological approaches the mechanism of social policy is able to be used to illustrate and understand the dialectical relationship between globalization processes and national populations – with the express intent of understanding the mediating role of the state and developing a more precise theoretical understanding of how the nation-state has been affected by expanding and empowered globalization institutions and processes.

### ***3b3. Data Collection and Sources***

This project is a large-scale comparative policy analysis that requires significant contextual understanding with respect to economic and demographic development. In addition to multicultural and intercultural policy development analyses, the project required an understanding of historical national development/experience in relation to increasing global market integration of both Canada and Québec.

Data for this project are from two primary sources: policy development documents and statistical economic and demographic data. Policy development materials

are largely research studies, inter-departmental correspondence, and evaluation information concerning economic development strategies, international trade, domestic economic protection, demographic change, and social policy responses to both economic and demographic change. Much of this historical policy development information was obtained at the National Archives of Canada in Ottawa as well as the Archives nationales du Québec in Montréal.

More contemporary information was obtained at federal government institutions such as the Canada Economic Development for Québec Regions, Heritage Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, International Trade Canada, and Foreign Affairs Canada. Provincial government sources of information included the Ministère de la Culture et des communications; Développement économique, Innovation et Exportation; Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles; Investissement Québec; Hydro-Québec; and the Ministère des Relations internationales.

Statistical data on economic and demographic conditions and change was obtained from Statistics Canada and Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Additional secondary data and analyses were obtained from researchers at McGill University, Université de Montréal, Université de Québec à Montréal, the University of Ottawa, and Carleton University.

#### ***4. Dissertation Structure***

The present chapter is designed to offer a brief introduction to the intent of the study and to offer operational definitions of concepts and positions taken by the author. The extended discussion of methodology is also intended to provide a conceptual foundation upon which a cumulative theoretical position can be built.

Chapter Two offers that cumulative theoretical position as well as providing a review of relevant theories of the state and globalization processes. This theoretical review is designed to both support the presented hypothetical theory of the author and also to point out weaknesses in existing perspectives on the state and globalization. This chapter also focuses on the debate concerning multiculturalism and its conflict with the liberal democratic ideology that supports both nation-states and globalization processes.

Chapters Three and Four offer brief historical background information on both Canada and Québec, respectively. Both histories are designed to highlight the nation-building process in each example and thus are written from a more subjectively-informed nationalist perspective. The narrative of both Canadian and Québec national development and state formation depict a process of continual adaptation and struggle to construct and maintain cohesive national identities as well as construct state institutions that adequately reflect national impulses and requirements of each respective nationalist project.

Chapter Five describes the development and emergence of a global market economic system beginning with the Bretton Woods Agreements in 1944 and continuing through the post-NAFTA present. The chapter deals exclusively with the impact of globalization's acceleration on both Canada and Québec, but also must address larger macro socio-economic developments that drive nation-state level conditions and change.

Chapter Six adds a level of specificity in discussing the ethnic diversification of Canada (as an exemplar of the Western World) as a result of accelerating globalization processes and the solidification of liberal market economics as the dominant political economic paradigm throughout the latter half of the Twentieth Century. The diversification of socio-cultural national demography plays a significant role in



determining the state's response to the requirements of globalization and works toward understanding the impact of globalization processes on the nation-state, particular with respect to culture.

Chapter Seven is the analytical culmination of the dissertation. This chapter chronicles the development and evolution of multicultural and intercultural policies in Canada and Québec, respectively. The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate the interactive role of policy in the state's current responsibilities within the global political economic system as well as illuminating the capacities of the contemporary nation-state in both promoting the globalization project and maintaining the stability and complicity of national populations.

Chapter Eight provides a conclusion intended to complete the theoretical project of developing a more empirically-informed theory of how modern democratic nation-states have changed as a result of globalization processes as well as clarifying the current capacities of the nation-state with respect to ensuring legitimate authority over respective national populations. This chapter also addresses future possibilities with respect to the relationship of the state to globalization and the future roles of the nation-state in an increasingly global world.

## Chapter Two

### Toward an Embedded Analysis of the Nation and State in Globalization Studies

The current historical epoch is conventionally understood as a shrinking world in which communications, production, conflict, and even culture are being brought closer and closer to a singular norm. Phrases such as “globalism,” “global community,” and of course “globalization” imply some sense of a singular and interdependent world. These notions are continually challenged by instances of ethno-national conflict, inter-national conflict, and the persisting reality that the nation-state remains a singular institution capable of autonomous action that does not always conform to dominant global political economic demands. The ascendance of socialist and ethno-nationalist political parties in Latin America and the election of Hamas in Palestine are just two of many contemporary examples demonstrating the continued importance of the nation-state as a local institution of power.

The purpose of this chapter is to understand the effect of economic globalization on the Western, advanced capitalist nation-state. This chapter examines various perspectives attempting to understand the nation-state and how this institution has adapted to the apparent rise of global economic processes and forces of political economic dominance. Before the process of answering the overall question can begin, the project must first establish a basic theoretical understanding of (1) the nation-state and (2) the nature of economic globalization and its complementary projects of ideological and cultural integration.

In order to answer these questions two main issues must be resolved. First, it is assumed that a change in the capacities of the nation-state has already occurred due, in some part, to the many processes defined as “globalization.” Any relevant discussion of the contemporary nation-state or globalization must first address these shifts in power. If we claim to be looking at a new form of nation-state as an evolved form of state institutions, a component of an emerging global system of social authority, or even some combination of other less apparent changes we must first demonstrate that the nation-state has, in fact undergone substantial change.

Second, an understanding of *how* the nation-state has changed due to increasing globalization forces is required. Any observation on socio-political, socio-economic, or socio-cultural change that simply demonstrates the occurrence of change without analyzing the (multiple) causal motivations and outcomes of said change is doomed to remain superficial in its analytical utility. This chapter will address the question of *what*, in terms of nation-state capacities and roles, has changed as a result of globalization processes. The chapter will also provide further justification for the positions taken and concepts formulated in this dissertation project. The question of *how* the state is impacted and altered by globalization processes and how the state, in turn, adapts to these changing conditions is the analytical project of Part Three.

Specifically, this chapter will (1) propose a theoretical position with respect to the role of culture in the contemporary nation-state; (2) justify this theoretical position through the use of existing studies of (a) state theory and (b) globalization theories; (3) provide an exemplar that illustrates the conflictual nature of the “double movement,”

specifically focusing on the problems of implementing multiculturalism in a liberal society.

### ***1. Theoretical Foundation***

As stated in the previous chapter, this project uses policy development and evolution as a mechanism for observing and analyzing state adaptive processes. This project is designed to examine the questions of: (1) how economic globalization impacts the political economic capacities of the Western, advanced capitalist (core) nation-state, (2) how global market integration impacts and affects national populations of core nation-states, and (3) how states respond to the dual requirements of global market integration and maintaining national social cohesion and stability.

The argument put forth in this project is that the process of global market integration is desirable for core states, yet requires a level of labor migration that is increasingly diverse in its ethno-cultural composition. This requirement of an ethno-culturally diverse labor pool contributes to rapid ethno-cultural diversification of core national populations. The challenge of diverse cultural norms and traditions to pre-existing cultural and social institutions of control (nationalist culture, religious hegemony, etc...) creates strain and the potential for social destabilization. States must respond to dual pressures of systemic global economic integration and national population demands for stability.

Specifically, this project compares the global market integration experiences of Canada and Québec. Both states desire global market integration, both states have experienced commensurate ethno-cultural diversification as a result of this integrative process, and both have responded to these changes through social policy solutions

advocating multicultural and intercultural (Canada and Québec, respectively) solutions to these challenges motivated by economic globalization.

### ***1a. Culture as a Mechanism of State Control***

The original purpose for nation-state organization in a traditional Westphalian context was for national economic protection and inter-national trade support. As many scholars have stated, and as we will see shortly, globalization processes have reduced the ability of the nation-state to fulfill its traditional purpose. The nation-state, however, continues to maintain a significant role as an institutional of legal, political, and *cultural* authority. I argue that the decline of state capacity to control or protect nation economic interests has resulted in a commensurate shift in political attention to the control and management of national cultural symbols, ideology, and structures. Specifically, the state must now rely on the management of cultural structures in order to pacify national populations. The work of Ulf Hannerz contributes to this perspective:

The second framework of cultural process is that of the state, not as a bounded physical area but as organizational form. The state is engaged in the management of meaning in various ways. To gain legitimate authority state apparatuses nowadays tend to reach out with different degrees of credibility and success toward their subjects to foster the idea that the state is a nation, and to construct them culturally as citizens. This involves a degree of homogenization as a goal of cultural engineering. On the other hand, the state also takes an interest in shaping such differences among people as are desirable for the purpose of fitting categories of individuals into different slots in the structure of production and reproduction (Hannerz 1997, 112-113).

This statement raises several interesting points, the first being an apparent compatibility with this perspective and Wuthnow's integration of structure and culture through the production of meaning (see the previous chapter). "The management of meaning" for Hannerz is a primary goal for the contemporary state and thus implies a capacity to

construct and alter structures of control - at least to the extent that these structures are defined as cultural. For both Hannerz and Wuthnow, “meaning” serves as a method to investigate these structures; in other words, normative meaning and symbols are the outcome of the process of structural construction on the part of concerted social actors (for Hannerz, the organizational state). In understanding “meaning” as a construct of larger cultural structures, we are able to move beyond limited subjectivist determinations of culture and understand the potential of culture to be used as an institutional mechanism of larger control structures.

By examining structures or systems of meaning as causal *outcomes*, we are able to view the process of this construction or investigate the (potentially) multi-causal processes that led to this process in the first place. The examination of practice, in this case through the construction of social policies designed to construct or alter structures of culture, illuminates the process of meaning creation, including the motivations and purposes of such political action. It is here that Hannerz’ comments can be most effectively tied to the methodological focus on *practice*.

Hannerz comments that homogenization and diversity are twin requirements of the construction of social controls and labor market management. In effect, by focusing on the issue of cultural homogenization or targeted diversification for labor purposes we are left with a very focused view of the state’s relationship with structures defining meaning (read: culture), however that is all we are able to discern. By ignoring the motivations of state manufacturing and maintenance of cultural structures, Hannerz is unable to fully integrate his analysis with larger political economic and structural processes. To be fair, his analysis is intended to do exactly this and provides an excellent

theoretical overview of the processes of cultural change that drives the process of creolization of peripheral culture that informs better-known theories of “glocalization” (Escobar 2001; Robertson 1995; Roudometof 2003). I would argue that Hannerz offers a very interesting and potentially promising beginning, but his interests lead him away from exploring this contention that states are active in the construction of cultural structures of control. I believe that investigating the question further is essential in understanding the contemporary role of the nation-state.

An older conceptualization of state control over culture and meaning can be found in the work of Louis Althusser. His concept of an *ideological state apparatus* (ISA) serves as the structural mechanism that enables the Gramscian concept of hegemony. Gramsci (1999) developed the concept in order to understand the process of consensual domination, or why those being exploited by the same system so readily reproduce the social conditions of capitalist class domination. The two concepts were meant to be complementary, however a significant methodological difference can be identified.

For Gramsci, the centers of societal reproduction and hegemonic maintenance were located within the confines of civil society and distinct from that of “‘political society’ or ‘the State’” (Gramsci 1999, 12). Althusser, while implicitly agreeing with the concept of hegemony and the process of hegemonic authority, differed with Gramsci on the mechanical nature of social reproduction necessary for the continuation of a systemic capitalist project. For Althusser, both Marx and Gramsci underestimated the ability of the state to control *ideology* for the purpose of reproducing conditions favorable to capitalist production (Althusser 2001).

Althusser's description of state control over cultural institutions of control is, for the purposes of this project, overly focused on state structures. There is relatively little motivation for agent centered change in Althusser's thinking and therefore an incompatibility with the central framework of this essay; namely, the national protectionist impulse inherent in the "double movement." Critics of structuralism in general and Althusser in particular have made similar critical claims that his perspective suffered from both structural determinism and ahistoricity (Schmidt 1981; Thompson 1978).

This project focuses on the dual responsibilities of the contemporary nation-state: to facilitate globalization (or global market integration) and to ensure domestic stability by responding to national protectionist demands resulting primarily from this process of global market integration. Theoretical perspectives that limit themselves to isolated issues of structural control or subjectivist conceptualization of "meaning" are incapable of generating the holistic perspective optimal for answering the question of how the contemporary nation-state has changed as a result of global market integration.

This project is designed to understand the role of culture in a contemporary state impacted by globalization processes. There exists a scholarly tradition examining the role of culture as constitutive of state controls over nation populations. This dissertation seeks to understand the contemporary nature and role of culture in nation states that are increasingly subordinated to global political economic interests.

The following section focuses on the state as a socially embedded institution requiring attention to national social concerns/demands and global economic demands. The review of both state theory and theories of globalization will illustrate the necessity



for a more dynamic approach to understanding the nation-state as an institution that is increasingly subjected to dual pressures of external global economic demands and internal national population demands. The issue of culture will also be examined with respect to its complementary position as a facilitator of economic globalization processes.

## ***2. Theories of the State and Globalization***

Theories of the Western, advanced capitalist state have largely adhered to two dominant perspectives: Marxian state theory and Weberian-inspired, state-centered theories. This dissertation employs a variant of state-centered approaches, social embeddedness, in conceptualizing the contemporary nation-state. This approach is superior in its ability to incorporate national population demands into a theoretical understanding of the state. A more detailed explanation of the theoretical affinity of a social embedded approach to this project follows, but first a brief discussion on the development of state theory is required.

### ***2a. Marxist and State-centered Theories of the State***

Contemporary Marxian theories of the state emerged during the same period (1960s and 1970s) that saw the rise of conflict theory as a response to the dominance of structural-functionalist theorizing. In fact, variants of Marxian state theory largely emerged as a response to the dominance of pluralism as a theory of political society in democratic states. The acquiescent position of the repressed and exploited in Western capitalist society was, in the view of pluralist theories, a function of the “basic idea of normative consensus” (Vincent 1987, 182). This consent was managed through a diversity of groups that were accorded the ability to negotiate for power and resource allocation through the institutions of modern democratic processes. The ideal of political

pluralism, particularly with respect to the state, is similar to that of ethnic or cultural variants of pluralist thought as “political pluralism recognizes the existence of diversity in social, institutional and ideological practices, and values that diversity” (Dunleavy and O’Leary 1987, 13). In fact, the development of pluralist political theory occurred as a result of elite theorizing that was seen as leading “to the systematic misreporting of facts and the formulation of vague, ambiguous, unrealistic, and unprovable assertions about community power” (Polsby 1960, 475; see also Dahl 1961; 1958; Long 1958; Long and Belknap 1956). The apparent reactionary position of pluralist theory in the defense of the status quo was consistent with *some* functionalist analyses of the time and served as a theoretical alternative to the “stratification” approach of radical elite theorists such as Hunter (1953), Mills (1956), and Warner (1943).

The seemingly benign ideals of plural democracy hid, in the eyes of many critics, a conservative bias that was designed to hide conditions of domination and exploitation through the promotion of a pluralistic façade. The pluralist proposition that has proven most contentious is that the *potential* influence (monopolistic or unified group control, as emphasized in elite theory) of a single group over the interests of others is negated by the diversity of intra-group interests thus resulting in minimal *net* influence. This system of empirical checks has been called into question by those who examine influence and oligarchical control (Clawson, Neustadt, and Weller 1998; Domhoff 1967; Dye 2002). These debates between elite and pluralist theorists partly motivated the development of a more explicit Marxist response to these theories of the state.

Marxist state theory is understood as having a single methodological division between those who view the state as an instrument of a dominant capitalist class

(instrumentalist) and those who view the state as providing a structural function in support of the system of capitalism (structuralist). Both view the state as a subordinate of larger class interests and not capable of manufacturing large-scale social change contrary to capitalist class interests.

The instrumentalist critique of the state examines the relationship between the capitalist class and state institutions. In simplest terms, the state is the “instrument” being played or controlled by an active and resourceful capitalist class (Miliband 1968; Barrow 1993; Domhoff 1987). This condition of complete control is weakened by an historical record that illustrates dissent and conflict that does not seem to support a thesis of instrumental control by a single class. The relationship between state institutions (administration, military, judicial, executive, etc...) does allow for some forms of state power to be diversified, thus creating limited autonomy within the state due to competing or conflicting institutional interrelationships. The dominant class must ensure these relationships, as well as the reproduction of positive conditions for capitalism, through active mechanisms of control.

This view is countered by structuralists who understand the state as having limited or “relative autonomy” from the capitalist class that allows for a state that is institutionally responsible for addressing two major problems with any capitalist system: 1) economic crises and 2) labor insurgency. Thus the state is required to periodically maintain the primacy of the capitalist class and socioeconomic system, but is not implicitly tied to the class in any instrumental manner. Systemic maintenance is essential due to the “contradictory class practices, dislocations, and crisis tendencies” of the

capitalist mode of production and thus requires a functional requisite in order to maintain itself (Poulantzas 1978; Abraham 1977; Jessop 1990).

State-centered theories of the state emerged in response to a perceived inability of Marxist state theories to adequately explain state actions in contradiction to dominant capitalist class interests. Dissenting scholars found support for an alternative thesis in the larger work of Max Weber, specifically his conceptual understanding of bureaucratic institutions and emphasis on interpretive methodology.

Weberian state theorists base their assumptions of the state on the concept of a rational bureaucracy that acts in a manner, at times, *fully* autonomous of any class controls. The perception that the state is autonomous serves to explain state actions that may be counter to capitalist class interests thus providing a powerful corrective to a major perceived weakness in Marxian analyses. In fact, it is this criticism of Marxian state theory concerning the perceived autonomy of the state that forms the crux of Weberian state-centered approaches:

...virtually all neo-Marxist writers on the state have retained deeply embedded society-centered assumptions, not allowing themselves to doubt that, at base, states are inherently shaped by classes or class struggles and function to preserve and expand modes of production. Many possible forms of autonomous state action are thus ruled out by definitional fiat (Skocpol 1985, 5).

This “orthodox” state-centered view of the state provided an immediate corrective to weaknesses in existing Marxist state theories. The corrective was, in turn, subjected to increased scrutiny as some of its original proponents began to retreat from the proposition that states maintain full bureaucratic autonomy from capitalist class controls.

The concept of *embedded autonomy* is an attempt to transcend the limitations of an “isolated autonomy” approach to state theory. The foundational work of Peter Evans (1995; 1989) is most applicable to this discussion. His original formulation of the concept was designed to highlight the necessity of bureaucratic autonomy *in conjunction with* complementary levels of embeddedness within strategically identified institutions within any respective social systems. Thus, states are both autonomous in the sense that their bureaucratic functions and decision-making are relatively isolated from any special interests of the national population and “embedded in a concrete set of social ties that binds the state to society and provides institutionalized channels for the continual negotiation and renegotiation of goals and policies (1995, 12).”

The incorporation of an embedded approach to the state is welcome; however, with respect to this project it is also problematic. The focus of Evans (and later, Weiss 1998) is to explain the economic interdependence necessary to create “developmental states.” As Seabrooke (2002) states “the key point here-and one that produces a clear common ground between Weiss and Evans-is the notion that embeddedness must occur between the state and the dominant economic class, specifically, the capitalist class (p. 12-13).” A critic of the embedded autonomy approach could make the claim that, outside of serious methodological differences, proponents of this neo-Weberian approach provide some level of affirmation for the relative autonomy thesis of structural Marxian state theory.

For the purposes of this project, however, this observation is extraneous. While the issue of autonomy forms a link between Marxian and Weberian variants of state theory, neither is able to adequately understand how national populations play a role in

motivating state actions and policies. Taking a “vulgar” look at both perspectives would yield the conclusion that national populations have either no, or relatively little, impact on the functions of the state, exclusive of a vast minority of powerful capitalists. To this point, it seems that the only perspectives allowing for any sensitivity to the role of national populations have been pluralist in nature. Given the serious theoretical problems with pluralist approaches already mentioned, it seems that an alternative conceptualization is necessary if we are to grant any social power to general populations.

### ***2b. Social Embeddedness and the Polanyian Link***

My criticism of orthodox approaches to state theory is echoed by those that advocate a *social embeddedness* approach to the study of the state. This perspective questions the theoretical limitations imposed by simply viewing state power and capacity as being controlled by a dominant capitalist class. Proponents of social embeddedness offer evidence that such class reductionism (ironic for Weberian theorists) ignores an obvious and important relationship between the state and inclusive national populations (Hobson 2000; 1997; Ikenberry 1986; Migdal 1988). For Hobson particularly, the main issue ignored by state-centered theories is that national populations grant state legitimacy and that this process of legitimation must be continually reproduced to maintain stability. This process creates a condition of interdependence between state and nation that is not addressed in existing Marxian or Weberian theories of the state (Hobson 1997, 237).

The perspective of the social embeddedness approach illustrates the dangers of a simple focus on autonomy or social class in theories of the state. Original state-centered approaches engage in a sort of “political reductionism” by focusing on the ‘full’ bureaucratic autonomy of the state to refute class reductionism in Marxian theories of the

state. Weberian state theorists are correct in that Marxian state theory is unable to adequately explain state action contrary to capitalist class interests. Conversely, Weberian state theorists have neglected the external (to the state) influence of national populations on state policy and the importance of national populations on state composition itself. Social embeddedness proponents would argue that both “orthodox” state-centered theory and embedded autonomy approaches to state theory incorporate an inherent functionalist bias (Seabrooke 2002, 18). This bias is the main reason that such approaches are unable to move beyond either issues of autonomy (in the case of Skocpol) or issues of class reductionism (in the case of Evans) (Hobson 2000, 174-175). Social embedded perspectives offer the opportunity to examine the interactive relationship between nation and state in a way not always possible using more traditional state-centered approaches.

Hobson is much more concerned with establishing an understanding of power relationships in his theory of social embeddedness:

In order to maximize their capacity, states need to gain insulation from private demands (institutional autonomy) and simultaneously engage in competitive-cooperation with key social actors (interactive embeddedness) (Hobson 1997, 240).

Interestingly, we again are confronted with the lingering impact of pluralist thought in that the evolution of state theory is increasingly concerned with understanding levels of *national* autonomy from the state. In other words, national populations retain a level of power that is exclusive of state control. This question of national political capacity, however, is rarely addressed even in social embeddedness approaches due to the manifest focus on the state. Hobson has been the most adamant in addressing this problem, particularly with his structuration-inspired theory of the state in which he attempts to

blend state-centered and society-centered approaches in order to transcend the theoretical limitations of both (Hobson 2000, 217-218).

Hobson (and other scholars focused on the issue of social embeddedness<sup>3</sup>) understands the central purpose of the state as managing economic relationships and setting policy that is nearly exclusive in its emphasis on economic issues. This view of the state as being an institution designed to control and manage a national economy is one rooted in history. A question that must be raised, however, is also an historical one: has the state changed in its role and specific responsibilities in stabilizing national populations? I would argue that social embeddedness, while useful in resolving a number of significant theoretical problems, should be focused on answering this question. It would seem that attention to the mechanical relationship between state and society singularly based on economics is premature given the large-scale historical changes wrought by the acceleration of globalization following World War II. In this sense, the current project does not refute social embeddedness approaches to state theory, but seeks to provide a deeper historical analysis of the nature and role of the nation-state that could augment such holistic attempts at developing a theory of the state.

Understanding the mechanics and capacities of the state is clearly important; however state theory has been criticized for its limited ability to locate the state in an increasingly dominant global market economy. Hobson's (2000) synthetic approach illustrates the fact that theories of the state and even the concept of the state itself are increasingly questioned in light of the emergence of a global socio-economic system.

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<sup>3</sup>For example see Hobson and Seabrooke 2001; Block 1990; and Granovetter 1985 for orienting examples of this perspective that seeks to view economic relations through a socially embedded lens.



While state theorists are acutely aware of the influence of globalization and its ability to restructure and reorient state capacities, their response has been largely to retrench arguments in defense of the state as an analytical concept (Hobson 1997; 2000; Levi 1988; Weiss 2003, 1998).

This response has resulted in two general outcomes: (1) a reactionary state-centrism and (2) a return to economic determinism. The issue of state-centrism is not necessarily fatal to state-theory; however I would advocate an approach that is more responsive to issues and conditions of globalization. Globalization has affected the structure and capabilities of the nation-state, but the nation-state remains an empirical institution of social power. How can we reconcile a seemingly contradictory process of adaptation that sees a decline in economic capacity and a retention or even growth of other powers and authorities?

The second issue of economic determinism is largely due to the massive number of analyses focused on the trans-nationalization of capital, internationalization of production, and dominance of global financial institutions. In other words, the emphasis on processes and mechanics of economic globalization has predictably generated a like response from state theorists who seek to defend the theoretical and empirical concept of the nation-state. This project seeks to move beyond these debates and develop a more historically informed view of *how* the nation-state has responded to the challenge of globalization, *how* its maintaining structures have been adapted to maintain power, and *how* to understand the contemporary role and nature of the nation-state in proper historical context, not necessarily contingent on economic capacities.

As a general theoretical framework, the social embeddedness approach is complementary to this project. It is possible to utilize this approach in a way that will illuminate historical changes in economic structures, but caution is needed to avoid becoming overly deterministic. Take for example the work of Fred Block. His socially embedded analysis of postindustrial theory and societies “rests on the claim that the international economy represents a less important constraint on the structure of the domestic U.S. economy than is generally believed” (Block 1990, 19).

Block understands this claim to be true due to the postindustrial shift in the U.S. to a service-based economic system. Thus, while industrial production has undergone massive transnationalization, service industries have replaced them as domestic bases for consumption. In addition, this decrease in demand for manufactured goods has created stronger domestic economies that are less dependent on international trade as commonly thought (Block 1990). He uses this foundation to build a general critique of neo-classical economics and advocate an approach that is sensitive to the social costs of economic growth and capitalist expansion<sup>4</sup>.

Despite the desire to socially embed economic analysis, Block and other theorists remain staunchly focused on the realm of economic relations. I believe social embedded approaches should have the ability to go further in their investigation of historical social change. This, of course, includes economic change, but cannot ignore the fact that to be

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<sup>4</sup> This understanding that national economic interests are not qualitatively constrained by the global economy is increasingly problematic given the institutionalization of both regional and global economic controls. For example, trade agreements such as NAFTA and international institutions such as the World Trade Organization have emerged in the 1990s as significant constraints on state capacities to protect national economic interests. I would argue that in light of contemporary global economic expansion and institutionalization the claim that respective states can protect national economic interests is greatly weakened.

truly embedded in a Polanyian sense we must also embed economic analyses in a more holistic social contextual framework. This is a difficult line to walk and Block's work shows us why. While social embeddedness is the goal, empirical evidence and analyses point to the primacy of economics in contemporary social relations. Giddens (1990) even points to the disembedding of the economic from the social world as being one of the defining conditions of modernity. We cannot escape this fact, but we can be cognizant of its problematic nature.

This project recognizes the dominant position of economic relations in contemporary Western society. It also argues, however, that national populations have the ability to affect pressures on state institutions and policy development processes. This emphasis on national populations is directly derived from the Polanyian "double movement." For Polanyi, the double movement represented an explicit process:

For a century the dynamics of modern society was governed by a double movement: the market expanded continuously but this movement was met by a countermovement checking the expansion in definite directions. Vital though to such a movement was for the protection of society, in the last analysis it was incompatible with the self-regulation of the market, and thus with the market system itself (Polanyi 2001, 136).

It is this explicit definition of the "double movement" that this dissertation calls into question, although not in a way critical of the concept itself. If, in fact, we are seeing an adapted state – a state subordinate to an institutionally governed global economic system – then the concept of the double movement must be similarly adapted to provide any analytical viability.

The project of adapting the "double movement" to a new conceptualization of nation-state capacity is best saved for the conclusion, however it is important to note,

once again, the methodological framework focusing on the reciprocal relationship between the state and *both* liberal economic forces and national protectionist forces. It is the “movement” that is important at this point, particularly in its ability to provide methodological orientation with respect to the state. Without legitimating processes occurring between the nation and the state as well as between the global economic system and the state, the potential for state destabilization increases. This basic theoretical understanding is consistent with a social embedded approach to the state. The project now must turn to a review of globalization theories, particularly of an economic and cultural nature, in order to fully understand current perspectives on how the state is understood within the context of a globalized world.

### ***3. Theories of Globalization***

Theoretical perspectives on the complex and diverse processes that form the process of globalization are generally broken down into three general categories: economic, political, and cultural. Economic globalization is generally viewed as an expansion of liberal capitalism. As such the theoretical orientation of this project focuses on theories of trans-national capitalism (TNC). The founding assumptions of world-system theory play an important role in the development of TNC, however the ability of TNC to adequately explain current trends in economic globalization and its impact of individual nation-states is most appropriate for this project.

This project also seeks to address the role of culture in the contemporary nation-state. This section will also examine cultural globalization theory as a complementary project in support of the global market economy. Cultural globalization theories are dominated by the question of cultural homogeneity. The process of ideological

“colonization” has prompted several perspectives that examine (1) the process of homogenization and its many alternative possibilities and (2) a theoretical shift toward theories of consumption that seek to understand why cultural homogenization is a desirable goal. These perspectives typify macro-sociological analyses of cultural globalization, although the bulk of work examines the effects of globalization on identity formation in micro-level analyses. As this project is focused on explaining macro-level change the previously stated bias should be self-explanatory.

Perspectives on political globalization largely center on the twin process of democratization and liberalization, primarily on their ability to both create a common political discourse and to facilitate processes of economic globalization. This project understands political globalization processes as also complementing the larger project of global market integration. That is, the project of neoliberalism, as a political ideology with tangible political economic demands (reduced state spending and tariff reduction being most apparent), actively facilitates global market integration by providing “rules” to which participating states must adhere.

Polanyi argued, “economic liberalism was the organizing principle of society engaged in creating a market system” (Polanyi 2001, 141). It is difficult to argue that Western societies are “creating” a market system, but economic globalization theorists do tell us that the expansion of market (read: liberal) capitalism is the quintessential feature of globalization. I agree with this point. As such, this project views cultural homogenization and liberalization processes as similar complementary processes intended to facilitate economic globalization. I will return to the issue of liberalism as a

tool for ideological organization, but I will apply it specifically to the debates over the compatibility of liberal economic and multicultural ideologies.

It should be noted that these theoretical divisions are not viewed as an entirely positive project. Scholte (2000) argues for a more general definition of globalization following the conceptualization of Giddens (1990) and Held *et al.* (1999) that focuses on the territorial breakdown that the process of globalization engenders. A focus on the breakdown of territorial affinity encompasses economic, political, and cultural spheres, which allows analyses to focus on the process of interconnectedness and linkages that form as a result of globalization processes (Scholte 2000, 46). This process would be congruent with Castells' (1996) larger emphasis on network development as a methodological vehicle for his theory of globalization.

The danger of such an approach lies in the tendency to view globalization as a consistent and universal process. It is difficult to argue against the deterritorialization and linking definitions of globalization, however we cannot assume that globalization is either applied or felt in any sort of similar fashion. Instead of critiquing the universalization/deterritorialization perspective, this project seeks to develop a deeper analytical understanding of how globalization has impacted national populations with distinct histories. This can be more effectively accomplished by viewing globalization as made up of component parts and projects.

Empirically, evidence has been elusive in showing that the active and intentional promotion of liberal market economics is connected with similar intentional efforts to transform traditional cultures. It does seem likely that these processes are happening simultaneously regardless of intent. How are we then to understand the multifaceted

nature of these economic, political, and cultural processes as a comprehensive whole? This project will show that while definite trends toward increased global linkages and networks are obvious, divergent histories require finite focus and specificity. Declarative attempts to identify some form of dialectical (in the Hegelian sense) globalization seem premature before we completely understand the transformative ability of these intricate processes. It is through the power of comparative methodology that the ground-level effects of this seemingly ubiquitous process of globalization are made apparent and clear.

### *3a. Economic Globalization*

The focus on globalization as a primarily economic phenomenon should not be surprising. Political economic analyses of global capitalism inform and inspire many contemporary critical examinations of globalization. Beginning with Marx's (1855) belief that capitalism would eventually develop into a truly global system before its inevitable demise, economic functions and systemic mechanics provided the primary focus of analysis. Lenin's (1917) understanding that capitalist expansion through imperialism gave new life to a doomed system and staved its eventual demise provided an additional political component to orthodox Marxism, but retained the centrality of Marx's capitalist critique. Both world-system and transnational capitalist theories are built on these central Marxian tenets of capitalist critique and thus necessitate a focus on economic systems exclusive of other social spheres.

This section describes the development of a dominant global market economy. Globalization theorists generally view the state as a limited unit of analysis given the systemic nature of a global (not international) market economic system. With respect to this dissertation, we must understand the systemic nature and position of the global

economy and particularly its impact on state capacities to protect national economic interests and in promoting global political economic interdependence. The central question of this project is centered on the state, namely on the contemporary capacities of the nation-state. If we can assume (given the following theories of economic globalization) that the state is a subordinate *economic* entity, what are its contemporary capacities? Of course, answering this question requires attention to the economic subordination process itself, which is the purpose of this section.

Immanuel Wallerstein developed world-system theory as a systemic approach to understanding Marx's global capitalism thesis. The development of a capitalist world-system was, for world-system theorists, as realization of the historical-materialist requirements of persistent capitalist logic. Specifically, that the requisite growth of capitalism required an ever expanding scope of both material resources and production. In this way, world-system theory can be largely considered the first sociological theory of economic globalization. World-system theory provides an understanding that there has existed, since approximately 1500, a global capitalist system that links nation-states and provides the structure necessary to pattern the action of those same nation-states.

The debate over the relative "newness" of globalization in our contemporary era is, for world-system theorists, incorrect. Globalization is not a novelty for world-system proponents due to the transitional requirements of capitalism. In other words, for capitalism to continue to function and grow, systemic adaptation has become the historical norm. Therefore the current period of "globalization" can be understood as yet another in a long line of systemic adaptations. This is a point of significant contention between world-system proponents and other supporters (Frank 1998; Hirst and



Thompson 1996; Sen 2002; Wallerstein 1999) and those who argue that the current era is fundamentally distinct (Albrow 1997; Robertson 1992; Robinson 2004; 1996).

World-system theory, particularly the use of systems theory to understand capitalist expansion, provides the foundation on which theories of economic globalization rest. One of several approaches that could be considered significant in the study of a global economic system is that of transnational capitalism.

### ***3a1. Transnational Capitalism***

Theories of transnational capitalism (TNC) rest on a critical point: while we can understand globalization as another “stage” of capitalist development, the economic conditions of globalization constitute a distinct era. This belief is hardly the exclusive domain of TNC theorists. Other analysts of globalization are often forced to reconcile (at one level or another) this debate in their own work – to maintain a world-system approach focused on the *Longue durée* or recognize a distinct and novel set of conditions and structures defining a new political economic age of global capitalism. Many that believe that the current era of globalization is at some level a distinct historical era have come to be termed globalization theorists. Weiss (2003) provides a succinct categorization of these globalization theorists as being either radical “hyper-globalists” or members of a more moderate “constraints school.”

“Hyper-globalists” can best be described as those who understand globalization processes as being so powerful and transformative that even entrenched socio-political institutions such as the nation-state cannot survive its surge (Guéhenno 1995; Horsman and Marshall 1994; Ohmae 1990). Predictably, these scholars have come to be associated with this “end of the state” predictive capacity and are largely dismissed by both

moderate globalists and obviously state theorists. I would argue that while the conclusions of “hyper-globalists” are often quite extreme, maintaining a simple focus on a single declaration that the nation-state is “dead” allows state theorists to dismiss the larger arguments for the development of regional economies and the possibility of “borderless” economic systems. For example, regional liberal economic cooperative efforts have led to a reduction in ability of respective states to enact trade restrictions to protect national economic sectors – a point that is endangered by a cursory dismissal of the “hyper-globalist” perspective.

The “constraints school” is largely defined as being those remaining globalization theorists who do not hold such an extreme view with respect to the irrelevance of the modern nation-state.

This constraints view of globalization has many adherents, and although they disagree about many things, they are united in the view that changes in the international political economy have radically restricted policy choice and forced policy shifts that play to the preferences of global investors and mobile corporations, rather than to the needs of the domestic political economy and its citizenry (Weiss 2003, 3).

TNC theory can safely be located within the broad confines of the “constraints school” and shares the common belief that the state, while not irrelevant, is diminished in its decision-making capacity. It should be noted that this is a theory of economic globalization and thus is vulnerable to charges of reductionism. Interestingly, it is the economic reductionism that unites “hyper-globalists” and the “constraints school” much more than their disagreement on the nature of the modern nation-state divides them. This perspective (TNC), while not indicative of any unified theory of economic globalization,

is fairly representative of the perspectives and approaches taken by other scholars of economic globalization (for example Cerny 1996; 1994; Cox 1997; Falk 1999).

The idea of international economic co-operation and transnational business practice is not new. Outside of the copious material produced by world-system scholars, other historical evidence of international economic co-operation is found from the ancient world through the modern era. The significance and uniqueness of the contemporary era of globalization is defined, according to TNC theory, by the active and intentional character of global capitalism based on the interconnected action of a transnational capitalist class. Robinson refers to this situation with specific reference to the intentionality of this capitalist class:

TNCs supply “domestic” markets around the world through a growing web of local factories and offices rather than through exporting from home countries, which suggests that much of world trade is in fact planned trade. Contrary to mainstream economic theory, the global economy is decidedly not a free-market economy...but a planned oligopolist economy (Robinson 2004, 28).

This view of super-national class co-operation is supported by many scholars who not only view the contemporary era of globalization as distinct, but also argue that its distinctive nature is entirely manufactured through economic market and production relationships (Cox 1987; Gill 1990; Sklair 2001; 1995).

The work of Sklair and Robinson does much to specify distinct political processes that both motivate and support the globalization process. Their work adds a specific class component to the study of international business/economic cooperation; namely, that a transnational capitalist class actively influences the direction of globalization or the global capitalist system. There are differences between these two leading theorists of

TNC. Sklair (1995) makes a concerted effort to understand the larger political process of transnationalist class formation and interaction. He intentionally integrates the sociological trinity of economics, political, and culture in his understanding of the holistic nature of transnational class formation. To the obvious economic leadership of a transnational corporate elite, Sklair adds a global political elite focused on the promotion of democratization and an accompanying liberal ideology that supports larger economic goals. His cultural component of the transnational capitalist class is made up of a “consumerist elite” that uses telecommunications technologies to promote the ideology of consumption that defines cultural homogenization processes of globalization (see the later section on cultural globalization).

Robinson begins his development of TNC theory in a similar fashion, specifically focusing on the political actions and functioning of the transnational capitalist class. He understands the political mechanics of the larger economic system and the necessity of fusing political and economic analysis:

The logics of local and global accumulation increasingly coincide. The central concern of this study is to show how new instruments of political intervention, originally developed in the United States and then applied around the world in the name of “democracy promotion,” are aimed at suppressing the demands of popular sectors in the [Global] South” (Robinson 1996, 34).

This emphasis on political processes has shifted in recent years to comprise a more explicitly economic theory of global capitalism. Robinson’s most recent theoretical project returns to TNC’s Marxist roots, particularly with his emphasis on production as a response to market-centered critiques of globalization (Robinson 2004, 22).

TNC theory can be safely categorized as the most currently significant theory of global capitalism, or economic globalization. Unfortunately, in answering the question of “what now the nation-state?” TNC theory leaves us wanting. First, the increasingly economic deterministic position of TNC creates limitations that are not as obvious with a more inclusive approach, such as Sklair. Even so the focus on issues of economics, while comprising a significant empirical portion of the social composition of nation-states, tells only part of the story. Clearly, the state has taken a subordinate role in controlling national economic capacities. This conclusion, however, returns us to the original question of what the “globalized state” actually *does* control. We can see that a process of economic subordination has occurred but we are still left without an understanding of how the nation-state has adapted.

The second criticism of TNC is one that is less easily resolved. Robinson and Sklair, while differing on minor conceptual and methodological issues, are united in their belief that “state-centric” analyses are misguided and incorrect.

Here we can anticipate the argument I develop in subsequent chapters regarding the pitfall of what I refer to as nation-state centrism, or the tendency to take the nation-state as an autonomous unit of analysis and to gather and interpret data on the basis of this tendency...The problem here is the use of data collected and registered in nation-state terms to measure phenomena that are transnational (Robinson 2004, 29).

This concern is methodologically appropriate but stands on the assumption that all analyses must now focus on the global capitalist system as a primary social organizational mechanism. Historical and geographic specificity are disregarded in the face of a reified global capitalist system that functionally imposes structure throughout

the world. Many have argued that the conclusive and final tone of TNC theory limits analysis in both theoretical and ontological manners (Block 2001; Went 2001-2002).

The central point of contention is, again, the issue of whether the nation-state remains a viable unit of analysis. The existence of increasing transnational production, capital flows, and foreign direct investment cannot be discounted and provide a strong level of empirical evidence to the claims of TNC theorists. Yet the nation-state serves as a very real mechanism for social organization throughout the world. The importance of including economic globalization in any analysis of super-national social change is obvious. The real question for this project is how to develop an understanding of the contemporary nation-state that is sensitive to the effects of globalization. Clearly, a focus on TNC or another theory of globalization is as inadequate as a “nation-state centric” theoretical foundation. A dynamic alternative is needed.

The remainder of this chapter will begin to build a case for such an alternative by showing the interconnected nature of global political and ideological processes and promoting an interactive model that is able to adequately examine the state as a locus of interaction between global and national-level processes.

### ***3b. Political Globalization***

Political globalization can be understood as the promotion of the specific ideology of liberal democracy in support of liberal economic integration. I would argue that the promotion of democracy is consistent with the logic of capitalism that undergirds Marxian analyses of capitalist expansion. In short, the ideological marriage of liberalism and capitalism are manifested politically in the form of modern democratic institutions. As liberalism provided necessary ideological legitimation for initial capitalist

accumulation and expansion (Polanyi 2001; Thompson 1968), so to does the expansion of capitalism to a global economic system require the ideological structures to generate conditions for social reproduction.

This contemporary realization is interesting in light of the fact that democratization was initially threatening to the growth and expansion of capitalism. The “danger” of liberalism and democracy run amok was clear to elite observers of the French Revolution (Burke, Maury), yet the necessity of liberalism to classical economic theory was undeniable. How then to promote the ubiquitous ideology of liberalism while still maintaining the authority necessary for labor market stability? The solution was the synthesis of economic, political, and cultural processes forming the socio-political realities of the modern Western world in the post-Enlightenment era. Wood offers an excellent description of this historical process and illustrates the modern synthesis of democracy and capitalism through the process of artificial public division:

The achievement of formal democracy and universal suffrage certainly represented tremendous historic advances, but it turned out that capitalism offered a new solution to the age-old problem of rulers and producers. It was no longer necessary to embody the division between privilege and labour in a political division between appropriating rulers and labouring subjects, now that democracy could be confined to a formally separate ‘political’ sphere while the ‘economy’ followed rules of its own. If the extent of the citizen body could no longer be restricted, the scope of citizenship could now be narrowly contained, even without constitutional limits (Wood 1995, 203).

Robinson’s (1996) concept of *polyarchy* complements Wood’s analysis and represents the synthetic interrelationship between the political and economic. In fact, the concept of *polyarchy* is an active description of the process of political globalization through an imperialist process greatly inspired by Lenin’s original critique. Specifically, Robinson

identifies the inherent difficulties of reconciling liberal economic organization with autocratic political organization. Polyarchy emerged as a political alternative in the promotion of global market integration while at the same time promoting political and economic liberalism as ubiquitous ideologies.

We can end this brief discussion of political globalization (i.e., democratization or the promotion of liberal ideology) with the understanding that an exemplary description of this process would be more instructive than an extended literature review. Following a similarly brief discussion of cultural globalization, I will illustrate the interrelated process of political and cultural processes through a discussion of the debate among political philosophers on the conflict between liberalism/liberal ideology and multiculturalism. This exemplar serves the dual purpose of illustrating the necessity for similarly synthetic/holistic analysis as well as providing valuable theoretical background on the subject of multiculturalism and debates over its practical application through state policy.

### ***3c. Cultural Globalization***

Theories of cultural globalization are dominated by either macro- or micro-level approaches. Contributions to larger discussions of (1) large-scale processes of cultural homogenization (Barber 1995; Hamelink 1994; Ritzer 1993) or (2) subjectivist studies of how these large-scale processes have impacted individual and small group populations (Tomlinson 2003; Wassman 1998) define this theoretical subfield. Both perspectives are necessary yet the lack of meso-level analyses is telling in the sense that focus has been on the globalization of culture and not necessarily on the management of said processes.

It should be noted that many subjectivist studies of globalization's impact on identity construction show that this process is often channeled through national identity



formation. This project mirrors this contention in a certain respect. These studies of identity construction<sup>5</sup> view these nationalist processes as being inherently social in nature and representative of an organic reactionary process in response to globalization. I argue that while this may be the case, the actions of the state in promoting a *specific* national identity must not be ignored. In this sense, I agree with the subjectivist conclusions, but argue that a more structural process (the state) assists in the promotion of national identity construction.

### ***3c1. Cultural Homogenization***

The increasingly familiar surroundings in seemingly disparate global locations have led many to believe that one accompanying feature of economic globalization is the cultural homogenization, or Americanization (to use a more active term), of the world (Schiller 1992; 1976; Hamelink 1994). This process of homogenization is intended to promote a universal culture of consumption designed to match increases in global production.

Cultural homogenization is the product of the global capitalist system (Ritzer 1999; 1993; Robinson 2004). Logically the expansion of global production and the fact that most countries are largely moving toward an export-orientation requires a simultaneous expansion of consumers. The focus of traditional societies, particularly in the developing world, has not been overly concerned with materialism and more general issues of consumption. In fact, the very persistent poverty of the developing world serves as a significant structural reality making materialism irrelevant in the face of more pressing subsistence needs. As anthropological studies of cultural development have

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<sup>5</sup> This perspective is best illustrated by the excellent work of Ailon-Souday and Kunda 2003.

shown, cultural norms and belief systems are largely dependent on material conditions and practical needs<sup>6</sup>. It is logically concluded then that institutions of authority (such as religion) and resource control (for example political and military institutions) are constructed in conjunction with local cultural norms and beliefs. Therefore, if a local population has no history of materialism or need for non-subsistence consumptive desire the chances for capitalist development in these regions is limited.

The process of cultural homogenization, however, is able to reduce the influence and importance of these traditional cultural objections to materialist consumption. Through the promotion of political liberalism (democratization) and global market integration, local culture is confronted with the images and realities of material wealth and active promotion of material acquisition (consumption) through popular culture and media. Media influence is exponentially increased as the Internet and accompanying telecommunications technologies are integrated into formerly traditional societies. The networking potential and exposure to dominant (i.e., American) popular culture furthers the project of cultural homogenization (Ess 2002; Lovink 2002) and thus facilitates the expansion of global capitalism.

The criticism of this approach, of course, is due to the lack of local agency or resistive capacity granted to respective national populations. In other words, we find again the inability of a theory of globalization to explain local level anomalies or change

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<sup>6</sup> Early anthropological perspectives on cultural development were divided between diffusionist approaches that stressed the similarities of cultural development (Steward 1955; Lévi-Strauss 1963) and those who stressed a more independent and locally-dependant development of culture (Malinowski 1960; Boas 1940). In short, cultural anthropology has largely agreed on the fact that both processes can and have occurred – perhaps best understood as the similarities of human subsistence needs (food, shelter, clothing, etc...) being driven by the available resources to any respective group. Thus, cultural development can be quite similar while at the same time producing different material cultures due to environmental, geographic, or other material conditions.

outside of change motivated by the global system itself. This criticism has resulted in a large number of alternatives to the homogenization thesis. These alternatives are more sensitive to local realities and experiences, but maintain the conventional argument that cultural homogenization, or at least the motivation for homogeneity, is occurring at some level. The commonality between homogenization and locally sensitive approaches is the underlying globalist belief that both processes describe individuals and groups coming to terms with their own identities in an increasingly integrated world (Robertson 1992, 29).

### ***3c2. Glocalization and Identity Construction***

The cultural homogenization thesis was viewed by some as being both structurally dependent and empirically incorrect. Local resistance to homogenization processes or even simple local cultural differences in interpretation of dominant cultural norms showed many researchers that the universal wave of “Americanization” of the globe was at best uneven (Hannerz 1997). The popular concept of *glocalization* is one of many attempts to explain the ability of local populations to either resist or reinterpret encroaching cultural norms that commonly differ from traditional norms (Robertson 1995; 1992; Meyer 2000).

Briefly, the process of glocalization describes the creolization of a dominant culture as local groups integrate new cultural norms and symbols with existing traditional beliefs and symbols. The result is a sort of hybrid local culture that contains elements of the dominant “colonizing” culture but made palatable to local populations through a traditional cultural “filter.” Thus, the process of global cultural homogenization is not nearly as ubiquitous and complete as many have posited.

The clear debate within “world-culture theory” is centered on the question of local communities, or national populations. Homogenization proponents argue that the spread of capitalism and its accompanying rationalization processes quickly usurp traditional cultural controls and replace them with a set of norms based on materialism and consumption. This perspective provides a clear and direct link with the expansion of the global capitalist system by creating new foreign markets for exporting states.

On the other hand, locally sensitive proponents of glocalization (and many other variants of *limited* global heterogeneity) theories view the process of cultural colonization as being an interpretive process that relies on local populations for its dissemination. The apparent dependence on local populations is limited in that the creolization process is uneven with respect to the level of promotion of materialism and consumption. In other words, hybrid culture in one region may embrace materialism and consumption at a higher level than another hybrid culture in another region.

The distinction between the two is obviously the level of power attributed to local, or national, populations. I would argue that both do an excellent job of showing how globalization processes change local realities, but neither adequately address the ability of the state to shape the form of globalized change and play an active role in determining the pace of globalization. I would argue that both homogenization and glocalization theories inherently embrace the “state is dead” ethos by presenting a view of globalization that is exclusive of state mediation. The problem, it would seem, lies in the level of analysis. We seem to be back to the desire to construct dichotomies in order to prove our respective points. In this case “the local versus the global” defines an analytical debate that ultimately proves limiting in its application.

Examining the global system, or globalization processes as “autonomous processes” requires a “specifically global point of view” (Appadurai 1990; Featherstone 1990; Robertson 1992). These statements are accurate, yet however powerful this approach has proven in illuminating the realities of globalization processes it has been equally derelict in its ability to explain how national populations and state institutions have interacted in response to these same processes.

The similarities between political and cultural globalization processes are striking. Many observers have noted that these processes seem to work in a complementary fashion with economic globalization by promoting and creating conditions favorable to global capitalist expansion. The outcome of this process has been viewed as problematic and inherently contradictory by motivating national populations to seek non-liberal protections from the liberal market system. These contradictions are reflected in political debates centered on how to ensure national cooperation for global integration, particularly in reconciling liberal market ideology with non-liberal social protections. The following case examines, in limited detail, the debate between political philosophers concerning the difficulty in reconciling the necessary ideology of liberalism with the necessity to protect national populations through cultural policy<sup>7</sup>. This case offers an excellent view of the conflict inherent in the “double movement” as national populations seek protection and stability in the face of changes motivated by globalization processes and states attempt to facilitate the liberal ideology of laissez-faire/free-market economics.

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<sup>7</sup> The term “policy” is used here in a very loose sense. The official multiculturalism of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (to name a few) can be viewed as “official multiculturalism” and thus conforms to a more traditional definition of policy. Kurien (2004) comments on the “unofficial multiculturalism” of the United States as promoting an ideological multiculturalism without the explicit support of the state. Both however function in similar manners by promoting ethno-cultural diversity as a positive aspect of modern society.

#### ***4. “The Liberal Myth” and Multiculturalism: The Bumpy Process of Ideological Conditioning***

Polanyi contended that the integration of liberalism with capitalism resulted in a market system that adversely affects national populations. Essential to this process was the ideological support of liberalism by intellectuals and state institutions. Thus the project of liberal market capitalism could not succeed without the active support of “knowledgeable” actors. This point is revived in Richard Falk’s *Predatory Globalization* (1999) in which he views the process of global market capitalism as “globalization from above.” In other words, the active management and promotion of a liberal capitalist goal is a necessary component for systemic success. Liberalism, however, is not specifically economic in nature. Its purest definition rests on the ideals of individual liberty and freedoms – natural rights in their more pristine Lockean understanding. Many would argue that there is very little that can be termed “natural” or organic in liberal ideology, particularly in its marriage to capitalism. This section illustrates the double movement of liberal market promotion with demands for national protection through the analytical example of multiculturalism.

Polanyi’s critique of liberalism rests solidly on the belief that laissez-faire market self-regulation is not, and has never been, a reality. Instead, the idea (a self-regulating capitalist market) is a “liberal myth” perpetuated to privilege an ideological justification for market capitalism on a global scale. In fact, one could interpret Polanyi’s historical analysis of the development of this liberal mythology as constructing the ideological foundations for contemporary neo-liberal hegemonic structures and processes typically referred to as globalization.

There was nothing natural about laissez-faire, free markets could never have come into being merely by allowing things to take their course. Just as cotton manufactures – the leading free trade industry – were created by the help of protective tariffs, export bounties, and indirect wage subsidies, laissez-faire itself was enforced by the state (Polanyi 2001, 144).

Polanyi's observation can easily be updated to reflect the globalization-state debates through the substitution of international, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) for the state, however some would argue that the state also remains a facilitating agent for transnational capital and thus retains some power in the face of the global neo-liberal economic system (Jessop 2002; Poulantzas 1978). Our focus here, however, is the supposed conflict between liberalism and multiculturalism and the fact that regardless of its intentional origins, liberal ideology defines modern capitalist societies.

Liberalism, as is the case with all ideological manifestations, can be defined and understood in several different ways. In this case we can assume that liberalism, as a tool of social organization, can be understood as a social ideology that embraces the Lockean ideal of natural rights, particularly (as noted by Giddens 1990) the right to private property. This social ideology is then transferred to political and economic spheres in the form of democratization, which leads invariably to the laissez-faire tenets of market capitalism embodied in classical economic theory. This is an old story, but the most recent expansion and exportation of liberalism after the Second World War resulted in the rapid ethnic diversification of core states, or the Western World<sup>8</sup>. This diversification of national populations in countries such as Canada and the United States resulted in various attempts to manage the diversification process and maintain national stability.

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<sup>8</sup> This process of ethnic diversification as a function of globalization processes will be explained in detail in Chapter Six.

One strategy embraced by states such as Canada, Australia, Sweden, and the Netherlands was the recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity through state policies of multiculturalism. This was an alternative to the assimilationist models promoted by (among others) the “melting pot” model of American diversity management. Multiculturalism not only recognized difference, but also promoted the belief that cultural enclaves were essential to the survival of traditional cultures. Thus, the active promotion and celebration of ethno-cultural differences became a trademark of multiculturalism.

The ideology of multiculturalism has been under attack from its inception. Criticisms from the political right are obvious and range from racist to assimilationist. Of concern here is the critique of liberals from the political center and left that view multiculturalism as an unnecessary intrusion of the state into the realm of cultural management and control. Thus the ideological conflict concerns states that are oriented and, in fact, organized by liberal political ideology yet incorporate pressures to recognize disadvantaged minority groups within increasingly diverse nation-states. These states must reconcile their liberal political economic structures with the desire to manage and facilitate ethnic diversification in arguably non-liberal fashions. Of primary concern in this debate is the idea that classical liberalism advantages the individual and values individual rights over all else. Of course, multiculturalism is the special recognition of ethnic and cultural groups for the sake of ensuring their protection. The contradictions are obvious.

The debate over multiculturalism within liberal democratic societies has forced some to reconcile the ideological predominance of liberalism with the desire to ensure cultural survival of certain groups. Charles Taylor’s (1994; 1992; 1989a) contributions



focus on the desire to protect cultural authenticity as opposed to the individual autonomy inherent in what he calls “procedural liberalism” (1994, 56). This “procedural liberalism” can be used to define the socio-political ideology that defines Western democracies. Taylor views this political ideology as being individualistic to the point of destroying cultural and traditional distinctions (particularly among immigrant groups) in societies defined by this type of liberalism. His alternative is a “politics of difference” that seeks to recognize the differences between ethno-cultural groups in order to ensure that individual identity construction can continue without interference from the social or cultural norms of the dominant nation.

Taylor’s conceptualization has been called liberal *and* communitarian by supporters and critics of the “politics of difference.” Taylor attempted to critique the limitations of liberalism and prompted many to classify his work as communitarian (1989b). This designation has colored many criticisms of Taylor’s work as well as his later promotion of the politics of difference through official multicultural policies. He does not dismiss liberalism out of hand, rather Taylor promotes a liberal viewpoint, albeit a “fighting creed” that seems to promote an active version of liberal democracy that may or may not “involve substituting some individual freedoms for the collective goal of maintaining authentic cultural identities” (Seglow 1998, 974). The conflict for Taylor, and other scholars concerned with social protections, is concerned with reconciling social protections that may be non-liberal with the liberal democratic and capitalist environment in which these conditions of cultural degradation exist. While Taylor is specifically concerned with the effects of ideological liberalism on the ability of minority ethno-cultural groups to survive, his difficulty in articulating a viable adaptation of “procedural

liberalism” is indicative of the challenge facing those tasked with managing the double movement-how to ensure social continuity in a liberal society while protecting those victimized by the same liberal structures. His promotion of an active liberalism with clear protections is quite different from the laissez-faire tradition and is a clear attempt to inject social protections for those, in Taylor’s view, most vulnerable to liberalism’s effects.

Other scholars have attempted to revise contemporary conceptualizations of liberalism to further their multicultural aims. Most notably, Will Kymlicka’s (1995; 1989) research attempts to establish a “hierarchy of differential minority rights.” In this hierarchy, certain ethnic and cultural groups are granted a level of autonomy and legal rights. Certain groups, such as indigenous peoples are at the top of the hierarchy due to the common historical experience of colonial domination, while immigrants are afforded no rights due to their conscious and voluntary decision to immigrate (Kymlicka 1989, 170). All groups, however, are required to adhere to the principles of liberalism and those that seek to subvert those fundamental tenets are likely to be made to conform. Kymlicka’s understanding of the inherent contradictions between liberalism and multiculturalism can be overcome (in his analysis) through a process of liberal hegemonic dominance thus subverting any inherent social contradictions (Kymlicka 1989, 167).

In this conceptualization we see a “front-loaded” liberalism in which the hierarchy of rights is established prior to any institutional liberal framework being enforced. In fact it is this enforcement of liberalism that defines Kymlicka’s attempt at reconciliation. This environment requires a strong liberal framework of nation-state cohesion, but within this framework exists a pre-established hierarchy of rights that are

based on cultural group membership, but largely subservient to national membership.

Again, the difficulty lies in reconciling the liberal nation-state system with the ability to protect minority groups from the homogenizing effects of liberalism.

Neither Taylor nor Kymlicka satisfactorily reconciles the contradictions between an unrestrained liberalism and multicultural protections in this debate. Both seek to redefine (or at least, revise) liberalism to suit their end goals, yet neither is able to ensure that their rearticulation will be undertaken nor even supported. The work of Chandran Kukathas returns to traditional liberalism by arguing that the promotion of individual rights inherent in liberalism is enough to ensure cultural survival of minority groups:

The reason why liberalism does not have a problem with multiculturalism is that liberalism is itself, fundamentally, a theory of multiculturalism. This is because liberalism is essentially a theory about pluralism; and multiculturalism is, in the end, a species of pluralism (Kukathas 1998, 690).

His basic statements in support of liberalism refer to the fact that true liberalism does not promote any group over the rights of an individual. Thus, individuals are free to associate and congregate with groups of their choice as long as those groups do not disrupt the stability of the society. This view, although quite utopian, counters the assertions of Taylor and Kymlicka that liberalism, understood in its traditional form, is incompatible with multicultural goals. The problem with this view, however, is that it continues with the assumption that liberalism is something of an “end goal” of sociopolitical development. Parekh’s critique of Kymlicka makes a similar comment:

He [Kymlicka] expects Amer-Indians, Inuits, and other non-liberal communities to take a liberal view of themselves, that is, to view and relate to their cultures in a way that the liberal does to his, and he defends them only to the extent that they behave as respectable liberals (Parekh 1997, 59).

Parekh goes further to comment of the dangers to a universal assumption of liberalism that seems to typify the liberal/multicultural debate partly illustrated here:

While rightly stressing its [liberalism's] great values, he nowhere acknowledges that they do not represent the last word in human wisdom and that they might greatly benefit from a dialog with nonliberal ways of life (Parekh 1997, 62).

The conceptual preoccupation with the nature of liberalism and its (apparently) inexorable connection to democratic governance ignores the history of liberalism and its artificiality. The emphasis on the tension and conflict between multiculturalism and liberalism lose much of their relevance when a Polanyian approach is incorporated. The contradiction being resolved in this debate is directly related to the Polanyian double movement of liberal market predation and the demands of a national population for protection. This cursory illustration of the difficulties surrounding the reconciliation of liberalism and social protections is an excellent example of how political economic conditions can be translated into issues of identity construction and culture.

This debate on integrating liberalism and multiculturalism provides a useful conceptual exemplar for this project. We know that there has been a change that now requires states to actively reconcile the liberal foundation of contemporary Western democracies with the need to protect national populations, including vulnerable groups within respective national populations. The previous example focused on multiculturalism as a protectionist strategy-a position that the remainder of this dissertation will emulate.

The fact that liberalism and multiculturalism require reconciliation points to the existence of an ideological “double movement” at work. The dominant ideology of

political economic liberalism, particularly in core nation-states is not questioned in the above debate. The issue at hand is how to reconcile a (arguably) non-liberal ideology that has been politically implemented as a result of national ethno-cultural diversity. The questions not asked in the previous excursus are the mechanical processes analyzed in this dissertation. Specifically, if the dominant political economic ideology is being challenged by non-liberal ideologies and policies, how did this conflict come into being? What is required of nation-states as they enter into this global liberal market economy? How are states and national populations changed by this process? How do states respond to these changes and challenges that are the direct result of globalization processes?

This project examines the post-World War II political economic and demographic histories of Canada and Québec to understand what state capacities exist in an era of globalization. Economic globalization has limited the policy capacities of contemporary nation-states with respect to national economic protection, but the importance of the nation-state has not experienced commensurate political demise. The remainder of the project is designed to understand what capacities are available to the nation-state and how this process of economic globalization has played a role in qualitatively changing how we understand the nation-state. Part II provides necessary historical background information for both Canada and Québec to further justify the methodological comparison of two distinct nation-states. Part III will provide empirical evidence in support of the project as conceptualized in Chapters One and Two.

## **Part II**

### **The Historical Development of National Culture in Canada and Québec**

## **Part II Introduction**

Part II, consisting of Chapters Three and Four, contains historical background information for Canada and Québec, respectively. Contemporary divisions in Canada between English-Canadian, French-Canadians, and First Nations populations are deeply rooted in the colonial histories of each respective group and the shared history of Canadian national development. These two chapters are essential to the overall dissertation in that they allow the reader to better understand the associated yet autonomous nature of national history in Canada. History is, in its most political form, a nationalist project. The nationalist project of Canada is distinct from the nationalist project in Québec. National histories must reflect this important social, cultural, and political distinction. These chapters literally conform to this political reality and attempt to tell two sides of the same story.

Part II is, by necessity, repetitive to a certain degree. Québec history is the history of Canada with the converse being equally true. Similar organization and chronological patterns allow for significant overlap. On the other hand, each national history contains perspectives and events that vary in their significance in relation to a respective nationalist project. In the effort to maintain and illustrate the autonomous nature of each nationalist project each national history is told with attention to each nationalist project.

Chapter Three is the national history of Canada that intentionally minimizes the divisions and problems of nation-building with the persistence of two European colonial legacies. Chapter Four is the national history of Québec with particular attention to the conflict between Anglo- and Franco-Canadian cultures and political economic realities.

Both histories are defined by their interdependence yet both support an insular nationalist project. Part II is designed to illustrate the functional interdependence and insular nationalism of both histories.



## Chapter Three

### Canada: History and Nationalist Project

The history of Canada tells both a unique and common story. It is unique in that its history of conquest, expansion, and legislative management are centered on the reality of bilingualism and the presence of at least three (broadly defined) founding peoples: those of English, French, and Aboriginal ancestry. Canadian history is common with respect to its story as a British colonial possession. One can find common experiences, patterns of action, and strains of governance in British post-colonial societies such as Australia and New Zealand to name a few.

This chapter chronicles the general history of Canada with specific attention to the project of creating a singular Canadian nation-state. With at least three ethno-cultural groups claiming status as “founding peoples” defining a distinct nationalism is essential in the fight for political capital (not to mention the social and economic benefits of cultural dominance). The history of Canada, from a Canadian nationalist perspective, is distinct from indigenous, Québec, or any other ethno-cultural national history. The purpose of this chapter is to tell this national story, but also to illustrate the struggles to promote a singular Canadian nationalism, particularly from a singularly English-Canadian perspective.

#### *1. Prehistory, First Contact, and the Colonization of New France*<sup>9</sup>

The archeological evidence of Canadian pre-history has identified two migrations of native peoples. The first migration is believed to have occurred in successive waves

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<sup>9</sup> This section was compiled from several narrative historical sources including Dickason (1997), Eccles (1972; 1969), Parkman (1983; 1962), and See (2001).

from anywhere between 20,000 and 10,000 BCE. Archeological evidence supports the “land bridge theory” of Asiatic migration of Native American peoples. This theory and evidence is, in turn, supported by recent genetic evidence that links Native Americans with Asian (particularly Siberian) ancestry (Lell *et al.* 2002; Santos *et al.* 1999; Bonatto and Salzano 1997). A second migration is thought to have taken place between 8,000 and 3,000 BCE and explains the linguistic differences apparent between Inuit and Aleut arctic cultures and southern native peoples (Brace *et al.* 2001; McGhee 1978, 1996; See 2001)<sup>10</sup>.

These Native Canadians comprised a population that arguably reached 500,000 or more prior to European contact. Geography and linguistics traditionally separated these peoples into several distinct groups from the Chinook and Salish of the Pacific Northwest to the Blackfoot and Chipewyan of the Plains to the James Bay Cree and Huron of the Eastern Woodlands to the Beothuk and Penobscot of the Atlantic Maritimes to the Inuit and Dene of the Arctic. Prehistoric Canada was clearly a land of great demographic diversity. The European “Age of Discovery,” as was the case in the entirety of the hemisphere, brought about the end of indigenous predominance in North America. The continued (to this day) centrality of native peoples to the history and culture of Canada cannot be discounted. Politically, however, the establishment of New France would sound the beginning of European dominance over the region.

Norse sagas make mention of contact with Native Canadians at or before 1000 CE, but sustained contact between Native Canadians and Europeans was not to occur

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<sup>10</sup> It should be noted that traditional Native Canadian beliefs reject these scientific theories of migration on the basis that they contradict First Nations religious beliefs that respective tribes have lived on what is now Canadian soil from the beginning of time. These scientific theories are viewed as being political tools to discount First Nations claims of sovereignty and autonomy.

until the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Explorations by John Cabot (1497) and Giovanni de Verrazano (1524-1528) were two of the many who began to explore the Atlantic coast of what would become Canada. Verrazano was of particular importance as he sailed under the French flag (commission by King François I) and proclaimed the land *Nova Francia*. The common story of exploration was told again in “New France” as commercial opportunity drove the first settlements. Fishermen eager to take advantage of fishing stocks off the shallows near Nova Scotia and Newfoundland established the first temporary settlements, while Basque fishermen and whalers did the same.

Jacques Cartier’s three voyages in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century did little to encourage French settlement but did develop an improved cartographic knowledge of the St. Lawrence River including visits to what would be Québec and Montréal. For years, informal fishing settlements constituted the European population of New France. These settlements established trading relationships between European groups (French, English, Portuguese, and Basque) and Native Canadian groups.

French interest in Canada rose in conjunction with demand for beaver furs in Europe. Samuel de Champlain succeeded in establishing the colony of Québec in 1608 after a failed attempt in Nova Scotia four years earlier. Champlain’s retention of the Algonquin name *Québec* reflects a relationship with the local Algonquin peoples that would enable the settlement to survive. This was a relatively reciprocal relationship as the French engaged in Algonquin-Iroquois conflicts on behalf of their allies for years. Of course, disease and sporadic French-Algonquin conflict would ultimately decimate the once populous group.

As the settlement of Québec began to show that a permanent French settlement was possible and as the trade in beaver fur remained lucrative, more settlers began to arrive to settle the St. Lawrence region. However, tenuous support from the French government and the failure to discover alternative sources of income (other than furs) ensured that the colony would remain small in comparison with English, Dutch, and Spanish possessions to the south.

New France did succeed in cultivating enough land in the St. Lawrence region to stabilize their population. The French settlers had another series of advantages over larger colonies; the geography of the region was especially conducive to the fur trade as well as providing transportation infrastructure for future commercial endeavors. The St. Lawrence River System provided a series of inland ports and protected harbors that served the French well. The fur trade provided ample financial incentive to invest and travel to New France, if only as a temporary resident. The consequence of this expansion of the fur trade and settlement in the Mississippi River Valley as well as in the Great Lakes region was that conflict with the also expanding British colonies would be inevitable.

King William's War (1690-1697) represented the first of many violent conflicts between the French-Algonquin alliance and the British colonials. These conflicts ebbed and flowed with the currents of war blowing from Europe, but the conflicts in New France and the American colonies took on a regular pattern of coordinated raids on towns and ports from the late 1600s through 1763. A series of European treaties (Utrecht in 1713 and Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748) ensured that the political map of North America was in constant flux. Both the British and French used colonial possessions as bargaining

chips throughout the treaty process. Settlers seemed to be constantly in a state of raid-preparedness and uncertainty over claims to forts, lands, and strategic geography. This state of constant contact and conflict culminated in the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) and effectively ended French political and economic participation in the settlement of North America.

***1a. The Seven Years' War and the Conquest of French Canada***

The Seven Years' War began as prior colonial conflicts had – as both extensions of European continental conflict and local conflict between groups seeking the same material resources. In 1754 colonial British and French forces met near Fort Duquesne at what would become the city of Pittsburgh. This relatively minor conflict illustrated the fact that French dominance of the Mississippi River Valley was increasingly challenged by British-American colonists crossing west over the Appalachian Mountains. As colonial settlers battled for territory and resources, their European masters continued the long history of French and British warfare. The colonial conflict soon escalated from frontier skirmishes to a full-scale war culminating with British victories at Québec and Montréal. The particulars of the protracted War have been chronicled to the point of mythology, especially the battle at the Plains of Abraham in which both Generals Montcalm and Wolfe died<sup>11</sup>. The eventual defeat of French forces in North America effectively ensured British and American control of the northeastern portion of the continent.

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<sup>11</sup> Full and detailed accounts of both the Seven Years' War as well as the legendary status of the battle for Québec on the Plains of Abraham have been eloquently written by Fred Anderson (2001), Francis Parkman (1962), and Francis Jennings (1988).

With the fall of Québec in 1759 and Montréal in 1760, New France was officially captured territory in the hands of the British. The 1763 Treaty of Paris officially granted the lands of New France to the British ensuring that, for the time being, territory stretching from the Atlantic seaboard to the Mississippi River Valley and from Georgia to the Arctic Circle was British. In the same year a Royal Proclamation created the colony of Québec and set the conditions for French assimilation. The Catholic Church was ignored by the new colonial administration, as was the feudal land-grant system of *seigneurial* control. English criminal and civil law replaced the dominant authority of both the French colonial administration and the Catholic Church. Clearly, the goal of the 1763 Proclamation was to assimilate the French population as quickly as possible. The British colonial authorities underestimated the desire of French-Canadians to retain their language and culture. In addition, the dominance of the Catholic Church in the life of the average *Canadien*<sup>12</sup> was unquestionable. English efforts to eliminate Catholicism from Québec were met with staunch resistance. The population and culture of French Canada was too entrenched for any comprehensive assimilationist policy to be effective.

Anglophone immigration was limited to “mostly administrators, merchants, and military leaders” (Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen 1993, 249) and could not counter the population and solidarity of the Francophone *Canadiens*. The British responded to the failed policy (1763 Royal Proclamation) with the Québec Act in 1774. This act restored French civil law, including recognition of the Catholic Church, while maintaining British

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<sup>12</sup> The term *Canadien* refers to Francophone citizens of Canada. This is a cultural distinction made by French-Canadians that implies a distinct history and lineage of a colonial founding people. The term can be compared to *habitant*, which is an original French-Canadian farmer that worked under the seigneurial system of land tenure in early Québec history. The *habitants* are a specific rural group with strong ties to the rural, agricultural history of Québec, while *Canadien* is a term that can be applied to Francophone citizens of the larger Canadian nation-state.

criminal law and political authority. This Act served the dual purpose of pacifying *Canadien* dissent and bolstering British colonial authority on the eve of the American Revolution. Unlike the Royal Proclamation of 1763, the Québec Act was successful in quelling any potential Francophone revolt and keeping Québec out of the American Revolution.

The issue of the American Revolution is significant in its impact on Canadian history. British loyalists (Tories) migrated en masse during the War as a result of American discriminatory measures and their desire to maintain ties to the British Empire. A first migration of Tories moved to Nova Scotia and petitioned the British to create a new colony that would become New Brunswick. There was also a later movement to the border region between the St. Lawrence River and Detroit (Lanctôt 1967). This second migration of English-speaking British loyalists would also petition the British government for political autonomy due to the conditions of the Québec Act, which denied them the right to British civil law. The British responded to this request with the 1791 Constitutional Act that divided Québec into two: Upper (English) and Lower (French) Canada. The Act allowed respective legal, religious, and civil systems to exist in each region while maintaining British political control.

The division of Canada allowed local cultural and civic institutions to function. To say that this was a concession to the Francophone *Canadiens* would be an overstatement. The British instituted a mercantile trade relationship with Canada thus facilitating Anglophone control of trade. Trade and merchant relationships with Britain were of supreme importance and thus much of the fur trade commercial management fell into the hands of the English, particularly in Montréal. This shift in control of commercial

centers would create an historical condition of economic stratification that will be discussed in the next chapter. By the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, the political and economic face of Canada was increasingly English.

## ***2. Post-conquest and Confederation, 1800-1870<sup>13</sup>***

Canada in the first half of the Nineteenth Century would be defined by intermittent rebellious sentiment, an evolving relationship with the United States to the south, and the persistent problem of the “French Fact.” Each of these conditions contributed to the environment that spawned the first of Canada’s multi-act constitutional documents: the Constitution Act of 1867.

A series of rebellions against British colonial authorities began in 1837 due to the effects of an economic downturn earlier in the decade caused by poor harvest and political reform in Britain that did not extend to the Canadian colonies. These conditions created a certain level of anti-authoritarian sentiment on the part of both French and English Canadians and were directed squarely at the British colonial authorities, including their local representatives in both Upper and Lower Canada. The ideological influence of the United States on Canada during this period cannot be ignored. The combination of lethargic British colonial administrative reforms and the example of liberal capitalist governance to the south created quite a strong desire among Canadians for change.

These rebellions were poorly organized and relatively sporadic in both Upper and Lower Canada. The level of British colonial control and the languid pace of political and

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<sup>13</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Buckner (1985); Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen (1997); Hallowell (2005); and See (2001).



economic reforms provided ample motivation for reform oriented leaders whose message of change was eagerly absorbed by impoverished farmers. In terms of generating large scale change or even wide-spread revolutionary action, these rebellions were failures. The outbreak of violent insurrection in Canada so soon after the American Revolution greatly alarmed both conservative (Tory) Canadians and the British government.

The motivations for these rebellions in Lower Canada and Upper Canada were reflective of the larger transitions from a mercantilist to liberal economic relationship with the United Kingdom. The British government was resistant to reforms, particularly in its established colonies that provided the bulk of England's raw material resources. While the rebellions could easily be classified as a "middle-class" reaction to the British refusal to reform economic structures, the rebellions in Lower Canada also contained a level of ethnic mobilization and included many lower-class farmers. This difference is entirely consistent with the economic inequalities present between Upper and Lower Canada at this time. The free-holding agricultural system of Upper Canada was more amenable to capital accumulation and thus a greater middle-class agricultural population. In Lower Canada, the *seigneurial* system was based on a quasi-feudal relationship between a landed *seigneur* and a tenant farmer. The lack of property ownership and the rent requirements of this relationship ensured that the *habitants* remained landless and poor.

While these resistive activities did little to affect immediate administrative change, they did pressure the British to establish an inquiry led by Lord Durham in 1838. The subsequent Durham Report suggested establishing a unique level of Canadian governmental autonomy while remaining within the British Commonwealth. The intent

was to effectively address the causes of the rebellions but also maintain supreme authority in matters of political and economic relations between Canada and Great Britain.

The Durham Report is significant for two historical reasons. The first was the promotion of a confederation model of governance that would shape the future of Canadian federal-provincial relationships for years to come. The second issue of significance was the resurgence of anti-French sentiment through the Report's insistence on French assimilation in Canada. The legislative importance of the Durham Report is of primary importance in this chapter. The cultural legacy of the Durham Report will be revisited in the following chapter.

The emergence of an autonomous government in Canada began with the 1841 Act of Union that united Upper and Lower Canada into the single colonial entity of Canada, while maintaining the legislative distinction of Canada West and Canada East, respectively. Both entities were allowed legislatures of equal numbers but firm executive power resided with the Governor who was the Crown's official representative in Canada, thus maintaining British political authority. These political organizational changes were reflective of the larger economic shifts away from mercantilist empires to a more open liberal market economy. Domestically, the colonial divisions of Canada were viewed by colonial authorities as an impediment to civic improvements projects and economic development, particularly westward expansion. Liberal economic reforms were viewed as the solution to economic stagnation, particularly agrarian reforms that allowed both land ownership and the ability to accumulate reinvestable capital by Canadian farmers with the goal of expanding the agricultural production capacities of the colony.

These reform impulses motivated the Confederation Debates between all British-Canadian colonial entities at the 1864 Québec Conference. The most contentious and historically persistent issue of federal and provincial relations was that of autonomy under the aegis of a confederated Canada. In short, the proposed federalist system of governance included a level of centralized control that was disconcerting for some colonies. These issues were enough to keep Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland from participating in the confederation project. The novel concept of an autonomous state within the British colonial system became a reality with the British North America Act (BNA) in 1867.

### ***2a. The British North America Act***

The BNA reflected the conflicts and conditions that originally motivated the Durham Report. International relationships, with the United States and the United Kingdom played a significant role in the shaping of the BNA with respect to federalism and national identity construction. In the case of federalism, the recent American Civil War motivated the Canadian framers to attribute more power to the federal government of Canada than to individual provinces. The mechanics of the document promoted the three ideals of “peace, order, and good government” in an obvious departure from the language of the American Declaration of Independence. This attempt to differentiate Canadian and American histories, societies, cultures, and identities is the first legislative effort to create a unique Canadian national identity. This would be a difficult and prolonged effort that continues to this day and serves as one of the single most important challenges to Canadian government as will be shown in subsequent chapters.

The Act established a House of Commons and a Senate with legislative powers. The British monarchy retained executive powers with the appointed Governor-General serving as the Crown's proxy. The BNAA did allow room for legislative interpretation with respect to authority granted to the central Canadian government and that of provincial authorities. This ambiguity concerning federal and provincial authority was largely responsible for nonparticipation by Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland in 1867 and continued to color Canadian history with respect to the numerous debates concerning federal and provincial authority. The federal government was granted powers of taxation and veto with respect to provincial legislation, while the provinces were granted autonomy over educational policies and issues of civil rights.

The BNAA also granted the legal status of two official languages in the country: French and English. This provision again shows the persistence of the "French Fact" in the face of considerable English pressure for the assimilation of the *Canadiens*. The legislative recognition of linguistic equality in conjunction with the federal-provincial balance of powers that was established by the BNAA would create significant platforms for issues of political autonomy and control. The issue of federal-provincial relations undergirds the previously mentioned issues of culture and national identity in Canada. These relationships will be discussed at length but bear mention here for the fact that their origins lie with the British North America Act. It should be noted that the BNAA, while providing the necessary political autonomy for a national-state foundation, was motivated in large part by the British government. The BNAA was instrumental in providing a framework on which a Canadian national project could be built, but should

not be understood as a distinctly Canadian product. Rather the BNAA reflects the growing political economic potential of a British colony in a time of declining empire.

## ***2b. Westward Expansion and the Beginning of the Canadian Nation-State***

With the (partial) unification of Canada completed, the newly elected federal government under the leadership of Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, undertook the massive project of westward expansion. This was seen as an economic imperative as the vast plains of Manitoba and Saskatchewan presented vast agricultural potential and the newly established province of British Columbia (1871) offered a Pacific port for future trade with Asia. The project of expansion carried with it the same issues and conflicts as in the American experience. Specifically, Native Canadian assimilation and land appropriation resulted in resistance, rebellion, and conflict in the Red and Saskatchewan River regions in the interior of the new country. The combination of the encroaching Canadian Pacific Railway and a massive government effort to settle and exploit the interior plains pressured the indigenous peoples and Métis<sup>14</sup> to respond. The Red River conflict of 1869 saw a period of sporadic violence between settlers and the Métis provisional government. This provisional government was designed to protect the culture and land of indigenous and Métis inhabitants of the region in response to Canadian encroachment. The conflict and outcry over the actions of these Catholic, Francophone, and mixed-race Métis pressured the

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<sup>14</sup> The Métis are the children of French and English fur traders and members of the Cree, Ojibway, and Saulteaux tribes. The Métis played a significant leadership role in the history and governance of Manitoba. In fact, the entrance of Manitoba into the Canadian confederation in 1870 illustrates the influence of the Métis. The Manitoba Act (1870) ensured separate educational institutions based on linguistic preference as well as recognizing English and French as official provincial languages. The 1873 "Half Breed Land Grant Protection Act" was only partly successful in protecting the land claims of the Métis settlers of the province, but it does serve an historical purpose in exposing the power of the Métis people to motivate provincial protectionist legislation on their behalf.

Macdonald government to diffuse the situation. The federal response was to establish the province of Manitoba in 1870 while maintaining many of the local protectionist policies of the provisional government.

This compromise was not to last as rapid settlement and frequent treaty violations, commonly in the form of land acquisition pushed many Métis west to the Saskatchewan River region. Conditions continued to deteriorate as several treaties claimed former Native Canadian land for federal government use. The 1876 Indian Act, designed to encourage assimilation of Native Canadians, also inflamed already tenuous relations between the Métis and settlers. The resulting North-West Rebellion resulted in the execution of several indigenous combatants including the leader of both the Red River and Northwest rebellious actions, Louis Riel. This was the last organized resistance to Canadian westward expansion.

The repression of indigenous resistance in the West allowed the nationalist expansion project to continue. Under the Macdonald “National Policy” the shape of Canada drastically changed. British Columbia became a province in 1871, the Canadian Pacific Railway was completed in 1881, and the late Nineteenth Century saw Canada’s first massive recruitment effort to populate and exploit the vast natural resources of the country. It was clear very early in the colonial Canadian project that the resources and land-spaces of Canada were far too vast for the small population of French and English settlers to productively exploit. New sources of labor were needed if westward expansion was to be successful. The federal government actively promoted the Canadian as a place of amazing agricultural potential.

### ***3. Immigration and the Peopling of Canada***<sup>15</sup>

The organizational and deliberate promotion of selective immigration in order to encourage agricultural growth in Canada was led by the Minister of the Department of the Interior, Clifford Sifton<sup>16</sup>. The Department's Immigration Branch began to distribute promotional materials in strategic locations such as the United States and Great Britain. The emphasis on recruitment in the United States was quite successful with an estimated 750,000 Americans emigrating between 1901 and 1914 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2000). The provincial creation of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1905 further emphasized the managed growth and dominion claims of the Canadian government. Encouraged by the success of the American and British recruitment efforts, Sifton continued to expand his efforts into Central and Eastern Europe. His goals for peopling the interior of the country were colored by desires for a specific type of immigrant, the "stalwart peasants" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2000). The most numerous of these people agreeing to Canada's offer of settlement were from the Ukraine. The Ukrainian example is an historically important one as this was an ethnic group that actively strove to maintain its cultural and linguistic heritage in an adopted land. In 1905 the province of Manitoba financed a teacher education program in the Ukrainian language, enacting arguably Canada's first multicultural policy outside of the traditional triad of Indigenous, French and English peoples. The years preceding the First World

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<sup>15</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Brown and Cook (1974), Cameron (2004), Halli and Driedger (1999), Owrarn (1992), See (2001), and Waite (1971).

<sup>16</sup> Sifton served as Minister for the Department of the Interior from 1896 to 1905 under the Liberal government of Wilfrid Laurier. Information pertaining to his ministerial career and policies was obtained from Citizenship and Immigration Canada's *Forging Our Legacy* project, <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/legacy/>.

War were characterized by massive recruitment and immigration to Canada. Ukrainian settlers were followed by Germans and Italians who settled both in urban and rural areas. An example of this massive growth is Saskatchewan, which saw its population explode from approximately 91,000 in 1901 to 500,000 in 1911 (Bitner and Newman 2005).

The active recruitment of immigrants led to a populist political backlash. Public sentiment against non-Northern and Western European immigration was palpable, particularly against the expansion of Chinese immigration in British Columbia. As early as 1885 (and again in 1900 and 1903), financial disincentives were established to reduce Chinese immigration into the country. When Sifton resigned his post in 1905 he was replaced by Frank Oliver, whose approach to immigration was focused much more on public sentiment and political opinion. One year later the federal government passed the first of several laws regulating immigration into Canada. The Immigration Act of 1906 established definitions for “immigrant” and established restrictions on acceptable individuals (denying the mentally disabled and incompetent, criminals, those “afflicted with a loathsome disease” and the very poor) and occupations (criminals and prostitutes). The real impact of this Act, however, was in the federal codification of immigration regulations with standardized procedures and penalties for non-compliance<sup>17</sup>.

The 1906 Act provided the legislative precedent for further restrictions in 1910. The Immigration Act of 1910 was much more explicit in its prohibitions (adding the blind, deaf, and dumb to its existing list of physical and mental maladies) and allowing

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<sup>17</sup> The Immigration Act of 1906 is a watershed legislative moment in Canadian history. In just one year the official stance of the federal government went from promoting Canada as an opportunity to restricting landings and legislating discriminatory policies. The text of the Act can be found at the Canadian National Library at [http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/9\\_07188](http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/9_07188). Of particular note are the stated restricted peoples listed and defined in sections 26-29.



more subjective leeway for immigration officers, particularly with respect to race and ethnicity. For example, Section 38 of the Act states that immigrants of “any race deemed unsuited to the climate and requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation, or character<sup>18</sup>”. Clearly, the welcome for non-Western European immigration had been rescinded in Canada. These measures would serve to pacify public outcry against increasing ethnic diversification due to liberal immigration policies – a common theme in North America at the turn of the century.

#### ***4. World Wars and Political Autonomy<sup>19</sup>***

By the time of the First World War, Canada had expanded its industrial capacities, thanks in part to protective tariffs and a concerted effort to expand the pool of available labor through immigration. The coming of the First World War brought the realization that Canadian isolation, or at least its status as a subordinate British colonial possession, had come to an end. Prior to 1914 many Canadian economists and business leaders began calling for the commencement of reciprocal trade with the United States and the removal of nationalist trade protections. Their reasoning was reflective of the growing sense of Canadian autonomy and a desire to realign economically from a fading global power to a more geographically convenient emergent power. The defeat of the Liberal party platform of trade reciprocity with the U.S. in 1911 quelled this argument for a time, but Canadian involvement in World War I would usher in an era of greater

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<sup>18</sup> The Immigration Act of 1910 is viewed as the logical outcome of its 1906 predecessor. While racially-specific immigration policies regulating Asian migration had been in effect since the 1860s, this was the first federal regulatory measure applied to immigrants with *general* racist criteria. The text of the Act can be found at the Canadian National Library at [http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/9\\_07184](http://www.canadiana.org/ECO/ItemRecord/9_07184).

<sup>19</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Bothwell, Drummond, and English (1989; 1987); Brown and Cook (1974); Granatstein (1975); See (2001); and Thompson and Seager (1985).

political economic autonomy for Canada and shift the dominant international economic relationship from the United Kingdom to the United States.

In a sense, Canada was drawn into World War I at the behest of the British. General public support for England and France in Canada was not in serious question; however it was Canada's position within the British Empire that created a de facto position of military support. Ironically, this support and Canadian political actions after 1918 would further distance the country from its colonial past and work to create a modern nation apart from the constraints of the British Empire.

Canadian contributions to the war effort included increased industrial production, support services (including medical and transportation services), and a significant military contribution. These military contributions, specifically conscription which was instituted by the Military Service Act of 1917, served as the most contentious issue on the Canadian home-front. Resistance to conscription was widespread throughout the country but remained a minority position outside of Québec. This popular position (in Québec) was indicative of the French-Canadian argument against European imperialism. Why, it was argued, should French-Canadians support a war on the grounds of saving the British Empire when Québec was a victim of British imperialism? The fact that France was under attack was of little consequence as many French-Canadians viewed France as having abandoned their kin to the British. Both the military effort in general and the Military Service Act went unsupported in Québec and resulted in anti-conscription riots throughout the province. These events further illustrated the divergent attitudes and opinions that belied a Canadian national identity. For the federal government however, these domestic conflicts and disagreements were secondary to the process of building a

sovereign nation-state. Independent participation in the war effort was an important step in this nation-building process.

The level of Canadian participation in World War I accelerated its emancipation from Britain. The inter-war period illustrates the level of this emancipation on both positive and negative tracks. Immediately following the war, Canada participated in the short-lived League of Nations as an independent member. This political autonomy was further exemplified with the negotiation of the 1923 Halibut Treaty that codified Pacific Northwest fisheries. This treaty was negotiated and enacted between the United States and Canada without participation of the British government. In 1926 Lord Balfour advocated a level of political sovereignty of countries within the British Commonwealth. This support from Balfour was essential in promoting the 1931 Westminster Statute that officially created the British Commonwealth including the recognition of independence with respect to domestic and foreign policy but retaining British legislative authority.

#### ***4a. Economic Interdependence***

In terms of trade and economic issues, the decade of the 1920s saw the emergence of the United States as Canada's single greatest trading partner. This economic relationship would motivate a decrease in national protective tariffs, particularly on the part of Canada and drastically increase the level of economic interdependence between the two North American countries. No experience is more telling of this relationship than the nearly identical experiences of Canadians and Americans during the Great Depression.

The expansion of liberal market economics in the latter half of the 1800s pushed individual nations toward increasing their export capabilities. This reorientation would

prove disastrous for most Western countries during the Depression Era. The immediate and persisting effects of economic depression ensured that foreign orders would decrease – in most cases drastically. In turn, decreased domestic income due to the collapse of export income would allow no viable avenues for short-term recovery. These conditions were exacerbated in a situation of massive economic interdependence like that of Canada and the United States. The resulting “Dirty Thirties” saw matching industrial and urban poverty levels rise dramatically. Agricultural regions and sectors were heavily impacted as drought and a decline in market demand combined to create conditions of abject destitution. The “Dust Bowl” conditions so passionately captured in photographs ran from Mexico to the northern reaches of agricultural production in Saskatchewan and Manitoba.

Political responses to the Depression era were also quite similar. The Conservative government of Richard Bennett attempted to replicate the relative successes of Roosevelt’s “New Deal” by providing programs such as unemployment insurance, industrial oversight, and permanent economic planning. These efforts were unsuccessful and resulted in the defeat of the Conservative government in 1935. The result of these collective experiences was a nearly universal belief that the federal Canadian government was not doing nearly enough for its citizens, particularly in times of crisis. The post-Depression period would see a desire to establish clear social responsibilities of the federal government. This desire to strengthen the state was reflected in the 1940 Rowell-Sirois commission report. The Rowell-Sirois Commission pointed to the increase in provincial power due to judicial decisions as a serious problem for welfare provision. The report advocated a resumption of the federal authority established by the 1867 British

North America Act. Much of the Rowell-Sirois report was supported by the inability of provincial governments to address the massive social and economic welfare crisis of the Great Depression. This era would see the legitimation and practical expansion of the Canadian state that would play an essential role in the post-World War II history of the nation.

#### ***4b. The Expansion of the Canadian Welfare State***

The Second World War again saw Canada enter a major international conflict and provide significant human and material resources on behalf of the Allied powers. The typical Canadian story during World War II told of support for the Allied effort, particularly on behalf of a besieged Britain. There were exceptions particularly in Québec where the resurgent criticism of British support ensured that the Canadian effort would not be universally supported. Conscription again emerged as a contentious issue with Québec in opposition to a reestablished draft. The majority of Canada, however, supported conscription and welcomed the massive increase in industrial production that accompanied the war years.

The post-war devastation of Europe created a significant opportunity for Canada. The industrial and economic infrastructures that supported the war effort remained intact and Canada's position as a growing power to the north of the Western Superpower of the United States ensured increased international visibility. The country was a major participant in the founding of the United Nations in 1945 and an early leader in humanitarian efforts within the organization.

Domestically the post-war period continued massive increases in industrial production and economic growth. This period of economic growth was extended by

Canada's participation in the Korean War, but would come to an end in 1957, as the global trends of economic growth would slide into recession. The classic Canadian problem of manpower again served as a significant post-war problem. Increases in immigration provided essential labor to fuel Canada's economic boom. This situation of economic growth hampered by persistent labor demand would play a significant role in the development of contemporary Canada and will be addressed in subsequent chapters. In brief, the period from 1945 through 1960 saw increases in state responsibility for social welfare, a massive rise in immigration through the late 1950s, and a growth in Canada's international status as a central political and economic power. The major outcome of this period would be centered on an old but intensifying Canadian problem: national unity.

The Diefenbaker government of 1957-1963 offers several illustrations of these dynamic yet ominous times. First, Diefenbaker clearly understood the dangers and threats to national unity posed by rapid economic growth and accompanying increases in immigration. His government promoted two efforts to stem the liberal notion of individual ethnic identity and encourage an assimilationist Canadian nationalism. The first was a general emphasis on national unity called "One Canada." This policy was designed to deemphasize racial, ethnic, and cultural identification and promote a singular nationalistic ideal of personal identity. The second effort was the 1960 Bill of Rights that provided legislative justification for the ideological positions of the "One Canada" policy. This was the first of many legislative efforts to promote and define Canadian nationalism as a singularity. Diefenbaker should be credited as one of the first to legislate a definition of "Canadian."

Both the ideological and legislative nationalism of the Diefenbaker government seemed the final straw for Québec. In 1960, the long-standing conservative provincial government of Maurice Duplessis (1936-1939 and 1944-1959) was defeated by Jean Lesage's Liberals who immediately began a project of Keynesian economic and governmental reforms intended to modernize the province. These reforms would evolve into a political and cultural period of empowering change known as *La Révolution tranquille* (Quiet Revolution). The consequence of this period in Québec would be the motivation of a more inclusive nationalism and the strengthening of the Canadian nation-state.

### ***5. The Quiet Revolution and Ethnic Challenges to Pan-Canadian Nationalism***<sup>20</sup>

In brief, the Quiet Revolution was a period of political and economic modernization in conjunction with an urban cultural nationalism centered on the uniqueness of Québec. The “revolutionary” aspects of this period describe the incredible speed with which the province shifted from an agrarian rural society that was largely defined by its Catholic faith and social institutions. Following the Quiet Revolution, we find a Québec that is urban, industrial, and increasingly secular in its worldview. For English Canada, the Quiet Revolution represented a significant acceleration of the demands and volume of French-Canadian nationalism. The emergence of an articulated Québécois identity in conjunction with the persistent call for Québec sovereignty led many in English Canada to begin to question whether Canada could, in fact, survive this challenge to its national-state framework.

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<sup>20</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Bashevkin (1991); Bothwell, Drummond, and English (1989); Fitzmaurice (1985); See (2001); and Thomson (1985).

Briefly, the Quiet Revolution was a period of political change that instituted liberal economic reforms (within a socially democratic context) and ethno-nationalist social and cultural reforms. The “Revolution” formally ended traditional structures of socio-political control in the form of the Catholic Church and Anglophone economic dominance in Québec commercial centers. The provincial state quickly replaced the Church in providing social services to the Québec population through the expansion of state control over education, health care, and other social services. The state also increased its role in economic sectors with the nationalization of power and water utilities (Hydro-Québec) and gaining control over a provincial pension plan that also had the ability to protect specifically Francophone businesses. The goals, and in fact the actual outcomes, of the Quiet Revolution were to reassert the Francophone, Québécois nature of Québec society while at the same time expanding economic sectors and productive capacities to harness the growth potential of liberal (economic) market integration.

The full impact of the Quiet Revolution will be discussed in the following chapter. Its importance to the development of a French-Canadian identity and culture that was neither Canadian nor French but *Québécois* cannot be understated; however its role in the history of Canada is of primary importance here. The “revolutionary” aspects of this period are debatable and will be further discussed. The extended nature of this process of change does connote some level of significant change; however the sentiment of French-Canadian or *Québécois* nationalism was neither new nor revolutionary. The significance of this change was the provision of a secular state support structure that allowed *Québécois* nationalism the opportunity to thrive as a progressive alternative to stagnant isolationism. The Quiet Revolution period was complex with divergent attitudes



and directions yet served as a focal point for a people who generally felt repressed by the power of Anglophone Canada.

During the same period, Canada was faced with yet another problem – that of a resurgent economy (following the recession years of 1957-1961) and a dwindling source of labor migrants. As Europe began to recover and promote intra-continental labor migration, Canada saw a precipitous decline in its traditional sources of immigration. Labor from alternative source countries was needed if Canada was to continue its long-term project of economic growth. As a result Canada passed a series of legislative acts designed to reduce racial and ethnic restrictions on possible immigrants. In 1962 the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration announced the de-racialization of Canadian immigration by emphasizing educational attainment and vocational skills as entry criteria. In 1966 the Assisted Passage Loan Scheme (a program of loans to desired immigrants) ended its European-only policy and was amended to include migrants from the Caribbean. Finally, in 1967 Canadian immigration policy completely eliminated race and country of origin from its selection criteria with the implementation of the Points System, which evaluated vocational and language skills, education, and other aspects of potential immigrants.

The result of this economically driven shift in immigration policy was the rapid diversification of Canadian immigration and the increasing diversification of Canadian urban areas. For example, prior to 1962 the top three origins of Canadian immigrants were the United Kingdom, Italy, and Germany. By the year 2000, the top three origins were China, India, and Pakistan (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2000). Changes in

Canadian immigration policy in the 1960s would forever change the face of metropolitan Canada and pose additional challenges to the idea of a pan-Canadian nationalism.

### *5a. Managing Ethnic Diversity*

The pressures of the Quiet Revolution on Canadian federalism prompted the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism in 1963. Their work was intended to solidify Canadian nationalism through the recognition and inclusion of Francophones as “founding peoples.” The ethno-cultural dichotomy assumed by the Commission led to discontent and protest from Canadians of neither English nor French ancestry. This so-called “Third Force” rejected any bicultural definition of the country and motivated the addition of Book IV to the Commission’s final report chronicling the “The Cultural Contributions of Other Ethnic Groups” in 1970. The Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism Report (B&B Report) would serve as an important tool for one of the most controversial Prime Ministers in Canadian history, Pierre Eliot Trudeau.

Trudeau came to power in 1968 and immediately resumed Diefenbaker’s project of creating pan-Canadian nationalism. It is unclear whether Trudeau originally agreed with Diefenbaker’s singular or mono-cultural view of Canada, but a resurgent Québec and a labor migrant population that was increasingly ethnically diverse motivated a shift in the federal position in defending and defining Canadian nationalism. The B&B Report allowed Trudeau to sponsor a series of cultural policies designed to define Canadian nationalism and acknowledge the changing face of the Canadian nation. The 1969 Official Languages Act recognized both English and French as national languages and in 1971 Trudeau laid the groundwork for a federal multicultural policy. These actions countered the ethnic nationalist message of the Quiet Revolution in Québec through their

message of inclusion and the recognition of diversity throughout the country. In other words, through the official embrace of ethno-cultural diversity, the multiculturalism of the Trudeau administration effectively recognized the distinctive *Québécois* culture while recognizing this diversity as being of equal status to that of other non-Anglo groups in Canada. Québec was, in the eyes of the federal government, distinct but equal, and above all a *Canadian* province like all the others.

The Multicultural Policy of 1971 had yet another nationalistic purpose in its ability to distinguish Canadian diversity policy from that of the United States, thus further distinguishing a distinctly Canadian national culture. By promoting the “cultural mosaic” model over the American “melting pot” strategy, Canada could distinguish itself internationally as an increasingly distinct and independent society. This was further exemplified by the federal government’s continuing concern over foreign economic investment and ownership of Canadian production facilities. Trudeau’s lack of support for increased “free-trade” between the United States and Canada, as well as his unwillingness to fully support US actions in Vietnam and the Cuba trade embargo, further distanced the two countries politically while maintaining the status of mutual primary trading partners.

The question of national unity, which was a continuing priority for the Trudeau government, suffered a significant blow in 1976 with the election of René Lévesque and the Parti Québécois (PQ) in the province of Québec. The PQ wrested provincial power from the traditional liberal party (Parti libéral du Québec) on the platform of sovereignty through a renegotiated relationship with the Canadian federal government. The PQ was successful in bringing about cultural policies intended to codify the cultural goals of the

Quiet Revolution. Among the most significant legislative achievements of the Levesque administration was the passage of Bill 101 (Charter of the French Language) that officially enforced French as the language of major business and government as well as requiring that new immigrants to Québec send their children to French-language schools. In 1980, the PQ brought about a public referendum on that they termed “sovereignty-association.” If successful the referendum would grant authority to the provincial government to negotiate the extent and level of provincial autonomy leading toward increased sovereignty. The referendum failed as sixty percent of provincial voters rejected the proposal. The failure of the 1980 Québec referendum was a significant victory for the Trudeau administration that had dedicated tremendous resources to the defeat of the referendum. This failure for the Parti Québécois led Levesque to approach an emboldened Trudeau and work with him on a standing promise to revise the relationship between federal and provincial authorities.

### ***6. Constitutional Repatriation and an Autonomous Canada<sup>21</sup>***

These promised revisions to the British North America Act prompted Trudeau to bring provincial leaders together in the hopes that a new constitutional agreement could be reached that would replace the British North America Act. This process would grant Canada a domestic tradition of self-governance and officially remove the British legislative legacy from a political system that was practically free of British influence by this time. In November 1981 all but one of the provincial ministers signed the revised constitution (Constitution Act), which was passed as the Canada Act by the British

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<sup>21</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Bothwell, Drummond, and English (1989); Clarkson and McCall (1994; 1990); Hart, Dymond, and Robertson (1994); and See (2001).

Parliament in 1982. Québec abstained from signing the document and joined with several Native Canadian nations in rejecting the language and process of constitutional repatriation.

The Constitution Act is a significant document that articulates Canada's final entry into sovereign statehood, however also reflects the tradition of compromise in Canadian politics. The most significant point of ambiguity was the "notwithstanding clause" that allows provinces to ignore certain aspects of the Constitution that infringe on local authority. The potential invocation of this clause is particularly problematic when the Charter of Rights and Freedoms is taken into account. The Charter is an inclusive legal statement defining and protecting liberal equality making the Charter "one of the most progressive constitutional documents in the world..." (See 2001, 178). Section 15 clearly exemplifies the inclusive nature of the document:

Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability<sup>22</sup>.

The Constitution Act finally defined Canada as a fully autonomous country with a functioning constitutional foundation. Many have pointed to this document as an ultimate success for Trudeau and his projects of nation-building and pan-Canadian nationalism. However the persisting domestic thorn in Trudeau's side was Québec. Despite his tireless efforts to include the province within a unique nation-state, the province continued to be

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<sup>22</sup> This statement is a general definition of equality rights. The entirety of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms continues to include groups as protected Canadians on the basis of race, ethnicity, language, culture, sex, religion, and disabilities with significant legal protections for all Canadians. The document also shows the imprint of provincial negotiations in its specific language. For example, in Section 16 on Official Languages, subsection two clearly identifies New Brunswick as the only officially bilingual province in a bilingual Canada. The entire Charter of Rights and Freedoms is included in the 1982 Constitution Act, which can be found at [http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/annex\\_e.html#I](http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/const/annex_e.html#I).

dissatisfied with the lack of recognition and authority granted by the federal government on a number of issues.

The Constitution Act is a significant illustration of this disparity due to the continuing absence of a Québec signature. To date, the province of Québec has not signed the Constitution Act yet functions within the federal Canadian system as if it had. Again, the legislative ambiguity of federal-provincial relationships serves as a double-edged sword in the quest for a united Canadian nation-state. Although the challenges posed by the Quiet Revolution and the 1980 Québec Referendum resulted in a stronger federal Canadian state, the nation continued to be increasingly fragmented.

#### ***6a. The Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords***

The problems of national fragmentation and unequal state participation were addressed by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Québec Premier Robert Bourassa in the 1987 Meech Lake Accords. Provincial ministers agreed to modify the existing Constitution Act to recognize Québec as a uniquely distinctive society within Canada, reinforce the federal commitment to bilingualism, allow provinces additional authority in matters of immigration, and give greater authority to provincial constitutional veto powers. Clearly, the federal government was willing to give Québec and other provinces increased authority in exchange for national unity. The Manitoba Legislative Assembly, however, did not agree and refused to sign the Accord. Newfoundland then followed the Manitoban example and rejected the Accord as well. Objections were raised over the significance of Québec society and federal recognition of uniqueness over all other Canadian provinces, cultures, and concerns. The First Nations also objected

that their concerns were not addressed and that their level of participation was not acceptable. With passage in only eight of the required ten provinces, the Meech Lake Accord failed to resolve the lingering constitutional non-participation of Québec.

The 1992 Charlottetown Accord again attempted to reconcile Québec's concerns with the 1982 Constitution Act. A group of provincial, federal, First Nations, and Métis representatives reached an agreement designed to encourage national unity and promote a singular Canadian nation-state. The Accord limited federal powers over provincial statutes; guaranteed federal funding of social services such as health care and education while limiting provisional requirements for funding; included a "Canada Clause" that recognized certain values as being officially "Canadian" such as equality, diversity, and again recognizing the distinct nature of the Québec province, culture, and society; and interestingly included a statement on liberalizing trade through the abolition of protective tariffs between provinces. The Charlottetown Accord, unlike the failed Meech Lake Accord, was to be put to a national vote through the referendum process, although unanimous approval was again required for ratification. Only five of the twelve Canadian provinces approved the Accord with Québec rejecting the proposal 57 to 43 percent.

The failure of the Charlottetown Accord to resolve Québec constitutional non-participation led to the defeat of Bourassa's Liberal government in Québec. The Parti Québécois again gained power in 1994 led by Jacques Parizeau and held another referendum the following year. The 1995 referendum was supported by

the PQ, a new federal separatist party, the Bloc Québécois, led by Lucien Bouchard, and popular dissatisfaction with federal efforts to resolve Québec's objections to the Constitution Act. The 1995 referendum was only narrowly defeated (50.6 percent to 49.4 percent) and continued the legacy of ambiguous cooperation in a Canada that continues to struggle with issues of domestic unity.

### ***7. Economic Growth and the Shift to "Free-Trade"***

The 1970s saw a continual rise in Canadian economic growth as well as international political status. The federal government further clarified immigration definitions through the 1978 Immigration Act that created categories for refugees and other humanitarian immigration cases as well as further reducing discriminatory measures targeting medical problems and sexual orientation. The process of urbanization and ethnic diversification continued throughout Canada creating a country that could be defined as primarily urban with 76 percent of all Canadians living in urban areas in 1980 (Statistics Canada 1996). Canadian economic growth and geographic proximity to the United States led to inclusion in the 1976 G7 economic summit and subsequent participation in the group's meetings and operational agreements. Some have pointed to this inclusion as being somewhat artificial as mid-1970s Canadian economic performance was not necessarily on par with that of other G7 countries and perhaps promoted Canada to international prominence before the state was prepared to assume such a role (Hawkins 1988, 12). This premature promotion to the global political economic elite continued Canadian global market integration, particularly with respect to liberal "free trade."

The election of the Conservative Mulroney government in 1984 ushered in the end of large-scale trade protectionism, even though the official Conservative party



platform was against expanding Canadian “free trade” agreements. In fact, the issue of “free-trade” was, by this time, already in practice between Canada and the United States with the most notable liberal trade policy being the Canada-United State Automotive Agreement of 1965. There were significant trade protections remaining that were effectively demolished by the Canada-United State Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA) in 1987. Political opposition to this liberal trade agreement and the fears that this would usher in the fall of Canadian economic and cultural independence made CUFTA the central issue of the 1988 federal elections. Mulroney’s Conservatives won, but the two parties (New Democratic Party and the Liberal Party) in opposition to CUFTA received the majority of total votes. Liberal opposition was short-lived as the 1993 election of Jean Chretien’s Liberal government saw the expansion of CUFTA to include Mexico with the enactment of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994.

Liberal trade agreements remain an issue in Canadian politics, but opposition to liberal trade and globalization has been marginalized. The only remaining political party in opposition to “free-trade” agreements remains the New Democratic Party. However public opposition to NAFTA has been resurgent in the past few years largely due to the United States’ failure to adhere to the trade agreements<sup>23</sup>.

Present-day Canada is by most accounts a successful nation-state despite the failure to resolve several key national problems. Canadian economic growth has outperformed its fellow G8 countries for the past several years and fiscal solvency projects have resulted in federal surplus revenues for the past six years. This economic growth has

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<sup>23</sup> The continuing dispute over softwood lumber sales to the United States has been a significant obstacle. The US position on applying tariffs to Canadian softwood timber was ruled illegal by the NAFTA adjudication body on several occasions. A recent World Trade Organization ruling was more amenable to the US position, but the situation has yet to be resolved.

not been without cost. The federally funded health care system (Health Canada) is facing increased financial difficulty after years of reduced funding. Education and cultural programs, including the vaunted Multicultural Program have experienced years of reduced funding. In addition, increased regional dissatisfaction with federal appropriations and intrusion on perceived provincial matters has continued to mar federal and provincial relationships. The ever-increasingly close economic relationship with the United States continues to serve as a thorn in the side of Canadian nationalists as they often lament the loss of distinctive Canadian culture to American symbols and affinities. The combined threat of external influence and internal dissatisfaction poses a major problem for future Canadian leaders, particularly with respect to promoting an acceptable national identity. The recent “Adscam”<sup>24</sup> scandal illustrates the immediacy and problematic nature of promoting a pan-Canadian national identity. For the Canadian government, this is a necessary project if Canada is to survive.

Despite these simultaneous successes and failures, the issue of most significance is the persistence of the “French Fact.” The solidification of Québec as an autonomous and culturally distinct province within Canada continues to be problematic for the federal government and its project of pan-Canadian nationalism. The following chapter adds more detail to the history of this “French Fact” and juxtaposes Québec history and nationalism with that of Canada.

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<sup>24</sup> “Adscam” is the informal moniker given to the scandal that has brought about the recent fall of the Martin Liberal government. Briefly, the Chretien Administration authorized the payment of millions of dollars to several Québec marketing firms for the purpose of promoting Canadian nationalism in the province. The intent was to encourage Québécois voters to support Canada as opposed to the PQ and its project of sovereignty. In reality, this support of Canadian nationalism took the form of illegal financial contributions to the Québec provincial wing of the Liberal party (the PLQ). The money meant for marketing purposes was, in effect, laundered through these marketing firms and used for political purposes in support of the PLQ and defeat of the PQ.

The goal of Chapter Three, however, is to establish a clear, yet problematic, nationalist project in Canada. Economic under-population, dual European colonial heritage, indigenous autonomy and sovereignty claims, and increasing ethno-cultural diversification are just a sample of the challenges to articulating a singular Canadian nationalism. This has not stopped the federal government and other supporting groups from attempting to define what in fact a Canadian actually is. This challenge is increasingly important as the national population of Canada becomes more diverse as a result of shifting immigration sources. This project argues that culture is becoming increasingly important in maintaining nation-state stability. The history of Canada implies that culture is a continually problematic notion, but also that the state has continually worked to define Canadian nationalism in various attempts to maintain a singular national cultural ideal. The remainder of the dissertation examines the changes that have occurred in the post-World War II era and argues that the challenges facing the Canadian state with respect to defining a national culture and maintaining national stability are increasingly complex and problematic. The dissertation also argues that control over cultural definitions and symbols is increasingly important and necessary for core states such as Canada. Chapter Four will examine the same process of Québec national cultural definition in historical context.

## Chapter Four

### Québec: History and Nationalist Project

This chapter illustrates the interdependent history of Québec as a Canadian province. It also tells the story of Québec national cultural development as a process and project independent of Canadian nationalism. In this way the history of Québec is the history of Canada; however, the nationalist history of Québec retains significant autonomy from that of Canadian nationalist history. The persistence of this duality, a shared yet distinct history, is problematic for both Canadian and Québec nationalist projects. Chapter Four examines this shared history with particular attention to distinctive events, conditions, and occurrences that have defined Québécois nationalism and enabled a distinct Québec national history to develop alongside Canadian national history. The existence of dual nationalist histories is important in support of methodological comparative efforts as well as understanding divergent approaches to global market integration that will be shown in Part III.

The persistence of this duality is has historically provided the most significant obstacle for a singular Canadian nationalism. The “French Fact<sup>25</sup>” of a Francophone founding people is a reality that Canada is continually forced to reconcile. Any discussion of one must include a substantial discussion of the other. However, the unique and

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<sup>25</sup> The “French Fact” is a term describing the reality of bilingualism in Canada. This is a phrase that is used mainly in an Anglophone and federalist context. The 1774 Québec Act was the first official recognition of the “French Fact” in an otherwise Anglo colony. This attitude of resignation has given way to the official incorporation of the “French Fact” into state policies of bilingualism. As stated by the Canadian Heritage Department, “Recognizing the importance of the French fact at home, as well as its international dimension, the Canadian government joined La Francophonie [this refers to the international cooperative entity consisting of Francophone countries] very early on and was involved in establishing and developing its many institutions.”

relatively insular creation of culture in both Québec and in Anglophone Canada raises serious questions concerning the development of a homogenous historical narrative<sup>26</sup>. The question of autonomy is very real when discussing both Canadian and Québec histories. The reality of history necessitates a dual telling of the Canadian story. The historical reality of the “French Fact” in Canada is that Québec has created a culture and society that is national in its actions and composition. This chapter will also show that the relative successes of Québécois nationalism present equally challenging conditions as Québec integrates into the global market economy.

As previously stated, this chapter takes the position that it is not only possible, but also historically necessary to understand Québec as a semi-autonomous nation-state in a political, economic, and cultural sense. In support of this methodological definition, a brief telling of the Québec provincial story is necessary.

### ***1. Settlement to Conquest***<sup>27</sup>

The French were the first European group to actively colonize what would become Canada. Of course this was a project of appropriation as many Native Canadians occupied the land desired by encroaching Europeans. The French experience in Canada was typical in the sense that disease and warfare worked to decimate a once populous general Native Canadian population. The experience was unique, however, in the sense

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<sup>26</sup> The issue of cultural diversity by region and settlement patterns has always been present in Canadian history. The unique history of the Acadian (New Brunswick) region differs from that of Québec, from that of Alberta, from that of Vancouver. To say that there is even a clear homogenous narrative in Francophone or Anglophone Canada would be incorrect. The growth of Canadians of neither French nor British origins further complicates the project of constructing a singular Canadian historical narrative.

<sup>27</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Dickason (1997), Eccles (1972; 1969), Mathieu (1991), Parkman (1983; 1962), and See (2001).

that there was a level of cooperation and cohabitation with indigenous groups that existed on a scale not often seen in the history of American colonization.

The first claim of French sovereignty over the lands of Eastern Canada was made by Giovanni da Verrazano whose voyages were funded by the French monarch François I between 1524 and 1528. The French began their colonial endeavor by joining Portuguese, Basque, British, and Irish fishing expeditions off the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia coasts. François also sponsored Jacques Cartier's three exploratory voyages between 1534 and 1542. Cartier's mission was to find the mythical Northwest Passage to China but instead "discovered" the Native Canadian settlements of Stadacona and Hochelaga, which would be renamed Québec and Montréal respectively as the French settled and took control of the region. Successive voyages saw Cartier and a French nobleman by the name of Roberval attempt settlements at Stadacona (Québec) with no success. It seemed that no passage to the Orient would be found nor would the land produce the mineral wealth found by Spanish expeditionary forces in Central and South America. Cartier's voyages yielded little in terms of material wealth but did produce considerable information concerning geography and natural resource potential. Contact with Native Canadians was simultaneously negative and cooperative. Cartier's kidnapping of several Iroquois who died under his care set the stage for centuries of French-Iroquois conflict. Conversely, Cartier was able to gain information and negotiate limited trade with several Iroquois and Algonquin groups. Perhaps Cartier's most lasting contribution was his use of the Iroquois place name *Canada* to identify the region.

More than half a century passed before sustained French efforts to settle Canada were resumed. Samuel de Champlain, with the financial backing of the Sieur de Monts,

first attempted a permanent settlement near the present-day border of New Brunswick and Maine on the St. Croix River. This was a short-lived experiment as the settlers, including Champlain, were forced to abandon the location in 1607 and return to France. Undaunted, Champlain led another settlement expedition in 1608, this time in the more protected St. Lawrence River region. Champlain's desire to facilitate trade between the French and Native Canadians promoted a fairly successful cooperative effort to coexist. A benefit to such a cooperative agreement on the part of the Algonquin was the acquisition of a powerful ally in their persistent conflicts with the now southern tribes of the Iroquois Confederation. This agreement created local security as well as an ally for the new settlement of Québec on the former Iroquois site of Stadacona. It also would create a European-Indigenous alliance that would serve to allow French settlement and the nascent fur trade to succeed.

The settlement of Québec, and later Montréal, succeeded and became important trade centers for the single most important commodity being exported to Europe from Canada: furs and pelts. The relationship between Québec and France was strictly mercantilist. The colony had a monopolistic trade relationship with the French Company of Hundred Associates and barred Protestants from settling in what was then called New France. This dominance of Roman Catholicism would shape the history and destiny of New France and later Québec until the latter half of the Twentieth Century.

As the colony began to grow, agriculture became a more sustained project. Clearing of the St. Lawrence River Valley became a priority and was seen as essential to the sustained growth of New France. The model of land appropriation was modeled on the feudal French seigneurial system. The crown would grant land to *seigneurs*, direct

representatives of the French monarchy, who then divided the land grant among tenant farmers who became known as *habitants* (although officially termed *censitaires* by the French authorities). Most of these agricultural communities remained in the St. Lawrence Valley and served as the central grain-producing region of New France. Life in colonial New France was rural, religious, and feudal in its structure. But, as Scott See states, “ample evidence suggests that *habitants* enjoyed some freedoms, aggressively asserted an independent streak, and regularly ignored state regulations or church edicts. In short, the peasants of the Old World were swiftly becoming the *Canadiens* of the New World” (2001, 45).

New France began to grow as a result of an agricultural base that supported the semi-urban settlements of Québec and Montréal, which in turn supported the flourishing fur trade that created the urban center of Montréal and solidified its place as the commercial capital of New France. This demographic and economic growth, in addition to the strategic transportation value of the St. Lawrence River system, ensured that the colony of New France would soon come into conflict with the burgeoning British American colonies to the south. A series of European continental conflicts (King William’s War, 1689-1697; the War of Spanish Succession, 1701-1714; and King George’s War, 1744-1748) instigated tensions between colonial rivals that resulted in nearly continual military and paramilitary conflict in North America from the mid-Seventeenth to the late Eighteenth centuries. These conflicts culminated in the Seven Years’ War in which the British gained complete control over all former French colonial possessions in North America.



As stated in the previous chapter, the short period of British assimilationist efforts in the newly named colony of Québec failed miserably. The recognition that Québec would always be a French culture was recognized by then-Governor James Murray. The 1763 Royal Proclamation that removed legislative support for the seigneurial system as well as support for the Catholic Church, made it illegal for Catholics to hold public office, and imposed both British criminal and civil law upon an unwilling populace created an impossible position from which to govern. Murray and his successor Guy Carleton supported ending this assimilationist project and partially succeeded with the enactment of the Québec Act in 1774.

## ***2. Post-conquest and a Bicultural Existence***<sup>28</sup>

The Québec Act was designed to reinstate French civil controls in the hopes that those reinstated elites would support the larger British colonial project. This was increasingly important to British colonial authorities due to growing rebellious sentiment in its American colonies. As Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen (1993) state:

Designed to strengthen the traditional elites in the colony, the act was based on the mistaken belief that those elites would ensure the loyalty of the masses in time of war (P. 254).

The austere provisions of the 1763 Proclamation were reversed to allow Catholics to worship, hold office, and ensure that the traditional system of religious authority would continue. In addition, the seigneurial system of land ownership and administration was officially recognized by the British colonial authorities. British criminal law and, of course, colonial authority remained entrenched. The result was a colony extending from

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<sup>28</sup> This section was compiled from several narrative historical sources including Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen (1993); Fitzmaurice (1985); Plourde (2000); Rioux (1974); and See (2001).

the Labrador coast to the Ohio River Valley that was uniquely French, Catholic, and governed by the anti-democratic cooperation of priest and seigneur that pleased few outside of the local power structures in British North America, including American colonists and many *habitants*.

As previously stated, the Québec Act was as much of a British protective measure as it was a policy designed to control the French-Canadian population. The hope that Québec colonials would support the British was initially dashed as invading American contingents under Richard Montgomery met little or no resistance in their march to Montréal. The city was taken without a struggle in September 1775 with Governor Carleton escaping to Québec. The mobilization of resistance to the American invasion was less a result of the Québec Act and more the actions of the occupying American forces. Antagonistic actions against the Catholic Church and the illegal acquisition of property and supplies by Montgomery's men led to a rapid increase in local support for the British defensive forces. By the time Montgomery joined with Benedict Arnold (who had marched from what is now Maine) at Québec they met heavy resistance in defense of the city. On December 31 the combined American forces saw Montgomery killed and Arnold wounded in a last major attempt at taking Québec. The siege was ended in May of 1776 when ten thousand British troops sailed down the St. Lawrence to reinforce the besieged colonial forces (numbering fewer than 600) at Québec.

The lack of local *habitant* support for the British war effort troubled British colonial authorities. Elite control over the local "peasant" populations envisioned in the Québec Act never materialized. The position of the British political hierarchy was soon to be reinforced through the immigration of large numbers of British migrants. After the

1783 Versailles Treaty that ended the American Revolution, thousands of British Loyalists (Tories) escaped to the colony of Québec. This massive population shift significantly altered the demographic composition of the colony and prompted British authorities to take action.

The newly arrived Tories demanded an elimination of the French system of civil law and a return to the monopolistic British controls inherent in the 1763 Royal Proclamation. French-Canadian elites were not sympathetic to the demands of the Tories for obvious reasons. A compromise was found as the 1791 Canada Act officially divided Canada into Upper (English) and Lower (French) halves. Upper Canada, roughly present-day Ontario, was home to approximately 20,000 Anglophone Canadians and Tories and maintained British criminal and civil systems of governance. Lower Canada, roughly present-day Québec, included the metropolitan areas of Montréal and Québec with a population of approximately 110,000 and maintained the French civil/British criminal system established by the Québec Act (Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen 1993). In comparison, the Canadian population near the turn of the century is estimated at 250,000 (Klein, Goldewijk, and Battjes 1997). The French-Canadian population constituted a significant portion of the total national population and was able to resist assimilationist efforts on the part of British colonial authorities. The British government grew increasingly aware of its inability to assimilate such a large population and sought a compromise solution. The Canada Act effectively created a bifurcated colonial nation-state by creating legislative and administrative divisions between English and French Canada.

## ***2a. Growth and Rebellion under British Rule***

Lower Canada in the beginning of the Nineteenth Century was a colony governed by an odd mix of Anglophone commercial and political elites supported by the Francophone seigneurs and clerical elites. This relationship, and the centrality of English control over the commercial activities in Montréal and Québec, would create a condition of stratification. The sustainable farming tradition of the habitants created a condition of poverty that was much more extreme when compared to English wage-earning farmers in Upper Canada. The lack of land ownership coupled with a relatively feudal system of social and commercial interaction for Lower Canadian, Francophone farmers allowed the consolidation of wealth in urban areas and primarily in the hands of the Anglophone commercial merchants and political elites. Of course a significant amount of wealth was distributed to Francophone seigneurs and to the Church, which resulted in limited elite motivation to alter the status quo. The situation of urban (particularly in Montréal) Anglophone control over wealth and commercial resources would couple with the strong social service (health care, education, moral guidance, etc...) structure of the Catholic Church to create an unfortunate disparity in wealth and resources that largely followed cultural lines.

Despite the socio-economic stagnation engendered by the British colonial power structure in Lower Canada, economic expansion was occurring. The decline of the fur trade that had largely created the commercial center of Montréal was replaced by timber extraction. Lower Canada became the primary supplier of timber to the British Navy further reinforcing the commercial power of the Montréal Anglophone elite. The desire to increase the English presence throughout the colony led to the granting of land to

Anglophone farmers (mainly expatriate American Tories) willing to move to Lower Canada. Approximately 20,000 agricultural migrants settled in what is now known as the Eastern Townships to the South and East of Montréal following the 1791 Constitutional Act. The Townships remain to this day one of the few examples of a rural Anglophone presence in Québec.

The dominance of the English-Catholic alliance in Lower Canada was dealt a blow by the French Revolution, but a blow that would only be felt years later. With the conservative French-Canadian Catholic Church aghast at the liberalism and independence of French Revolutionary ideals new sources of educated priests (not immediately influenced by the liberalism of France) was required. The Church established Francophone colleges throughout Lower Canada to train future clerical leaders. Many of these graduates would choose a secular path and created a limited but important Francophone middle class. These were mainly civil servants and lawyers who were ultimately subject to the ethnocentric controls of the British that kept many in this increasingly populous professional class unemployed. This educated and skilled Francophone group began to advocate a Francophone nationalism that embraced political democracy while retaining the feudal economic and cultural controls embodied in the seigneurial system and the Catholic Church. This uniquely conservative nationalism would speak on behalf of Québec sovereigntists until 1960. This rise of a Francophone intellectual elite was coupled with a growing population that was impoverished by the proto-feudal seigneurial system<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> As population increased in the early Nineteenth Century, there were not enough *seigneurs* to supply land appropriations in order to meet demands. The seigneurial system was based solely on patronage and thus

The persistence of poverty in Québec promoted anger and frustration particularly among the Francophone *habitants* who viewed the accumulation of wealth and power by the Anglophone minority in Montréal, as well as increased agricultural prosperity in Upper Canada, as signs of English oppression. In fact, it was the combination of arcane economic controls and the cultural promotion of high birth rates that contributed most greatly to the agricultural (read: economic) crisis of the early Nineteenth Century. This fact was not lost on the British colonial authorities who did little to assist Québec in alleviating nearly universal rural poverty among the Francophone population. In fact, the acquisition and distribution of land in the Eastern Townships added to the sense of abandonment on the part of the habitants as these acquisitions were based on the liberal capitalist notion of land-granting and thus outside the patronage of the seigneurs. Thus the only individuals and groups able to acquire these newly created agricultural plots were those with disposable capital, which excluded nearly the entirety of the habitant population.

The newly emergent Francophone intellectual elite seized this opportunity and created the *Parti canadien* (PC), a nationalist political party designed to gain power through legislative means in the Québec House of Assembly. The conservative nationalism of the political party was welcomed by the traditional Francophone elites (seigneurs and Catholic clergy) due to the fact that it allowed the retention of their social station and power. In 1822, the *Parti canadien*, with the support of the Catholic Church,

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did not allow the *habitants* an opportunity to accumulate capital in the same manner as their English peers. The Roman Catholic Church culturally promoted large families and the inevitable condition of a large population with little to no capital and an agricultural system that was ill designed to deal with the reality of capitalism led to massive poverty. Add this to poor crop yields in the post-1812 era and a picture of dire poverty is painted of the Québec rural landscape.

defeated a British proposal to unite Lower and Upper Canada. In 1827, the PC won nearly ninety percent of the available seats in the House elections due to habitant support for a policy of increased seigneurial holdings that meant greater agricultural opportunities for a desperate rural population. These demands persisted and created a significant level of tension between Anglophone merchants and their allies in both Upper and Lower Canada who viewed this “obstructionism” (through their promotion of an *expanded* seigneurial system) as being anti-commercial and thus a threat to economic growth in Canada (Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen 1993, 414). As a result, steps were taken in 1837 to circumvent Assembly control and increase privately held land outside of the seigneurial system. Funds were appropriated by the British colonial government for the sale of millions of hectares of land to the British American Land Company; these holdings were then sold to the highest bidder – effectively excluding most Francophones. These actions allowed the PC and its leader Louis-Joseph Papineau to legitimate their claims that the British government cared little for improving the lives and democratic rights of its Francophone citizens.

A series of economic and civic disobedience tactics ensued that were intended to subvert British political and economic controls. Sporadic violence broke out between Anglophones and Francophone *patriotes* in Montréal and the Governor of Lower Canada, Lord Gosford, called for the immediate use of British troops to quell any Francophone nationalist sentiment and violence. Papineau and other *patriote* leaders were ordered arrested and many, including Papineau, fled to the United States. Organized resistance in the form of organized *habitant* militias defeated a British colonial force at St-Denis in November 1837. The days following this initial victory saw a deflated (after Papineau’s

escape to the United States) rebellion crushed by British troops. A brief attempt at rekindling the rebellion occurred the following year when approximately four thousand patriots, led by leaders who had escaped to the US in 1837, attacked British positions in Lower Canada. They were quickly defeated and the British sought to quell any future rebellion through the execution, deportation, and exile of *patriote* leaders.

These relatively minor armed rebellions were important examples of the development of *Canadien* nationalism; however their defeat illustrates a conflict of interest between political, economic, and cultural spheres of Québec society. Prior to 1837, the *Parti canadien* transformed into the *Parti patriote* which succeeded in promoting a reduction in the socio-political power of the Church in Québec society. The obvious outcome was that the Church refused to support the rebellion and thus an opportunity for legitimation was lost. The continuing affirmation of the seigneurial system by the *Parti patriote* was also a source of consternation for many *habitants*. Why should they risk their lives to maintain a traditional system of land allocation that denied them ownership and profits? These points did little to engender universal support for the *patriote* rebellions and possibly contributed to their ultimate failure.

As stated in the previous chapter, the political outcome of the Lower (and Upper) Canadian rebellions was the compilation of the Durham Report that advocated assimilation of all Francophone *Canadiens* through a process of colonial unification. The Durham Report prompted the 1841 Act of Union that promptly infuriated nationalist *Canadiens*, but offered a unique opportunity for compromise between English and French parliamentarians. The Act of Union occurred simultaneously with a British move away from mercantilist trade and toward a liberal “free-trade” model. This created increased



trade opportunities between Canada and the United States, resulting in the 1854 Treaty of Reciprocity. The result was a situation that encouraged modernization of political economic systems of control in a traditional Lower Canadian society.

### ***3. Encroaching Liberalism and Confederation***<sup>30</sup>

As Canadiens struggled for executive governmental inclusion (achieved through an Anglo-Franco Executive Committee in 1842, rescinded by the subsequent Governor General Metcalf, and reinstated in 1848) an alliance between economic and political liberals crossed ethnic lines. An unintended parliamentary majority emerged that advocated reforming the existing socio-economic structure of Canada in order to facilitate increased trade. The result was the dissolution of the seigneurial land-patronage system in 1854, increased spending on public (secular) education, and massive transportation projects (railways and canals) intended to encourage expanded trade with the United States. Thus, the Durham Report and the subsequent Act of Union succeeded in achieving a measure of assimilation through the destruction of the unique land-holding system and monopolistic control over education held by the Catholic Church that created the differences upheld as “distinct” by the conservative nationalists of the 1830s. Cooperative multiethnic governments showed that the common political economic goals of liberalism and “free-trade” could overcome linguistic and cultural differences. This serene picture of cooperative economic development hid the continued stratification of economic conditions between Upper and Lower Canada.

The political alliance of Anglo and Francophones based on a common desire for

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<sup>30</sup> This section was compiled from several narrative historical sources including Conrad, Finkel, and Jaenen (1992); Linteau, Durocher, and Robert (1983); Mann (1982); Morton (1964); Plourde (2000); and See (2001).

liberal economic reforms was an elite alliance. Popular support for such reform-centered cooperation was limited by the persistence of economic stratification based on ethno-linguistic lines. These economic divisions created the opportunity for political dissent on the part of conservative opponents of liberal reforms in Québec. These conservative nationalists relied on cultural definitions of Québec traditions and norms and provided the basis for a unique Québec nationalism that was based on cultural affinity and traditionalism.

The Canadian response to the American Civil War and a decline in trade volume with both the United States (who refused to renew the Treaty of Reciprocity in 1866) and Britain was to promote a more politically sovereign union. The result was the Confederation of Canada under the British North America Act of 1867. Within Lower Canada, liberals and the conservative clergy celebrated the prospect of Confederation as an opportunity to alleviate pressures of American annexation and to establish political control over a provincial government. There was significant opposition to Confederation in the form of the *Rouges* who advocated a nationalistic and democratic ideal that mirrored that of their *Patriote* founders. The *Rouges*-led opposition could not overcome the liberal-clerical alliance and Confederation became a reality in 1867. The new parliamentary system established minimum rates of representation for provincial Members of Parliament (MP) and consolidated strong central federal control over political and economic matters. Fitzmaurice provides a useful example of this renegotiated trade reality:

The Provinces of course lost their customs revenue, but the Dominion of Canada assumed their debt and paid them an annual subsidy (Fitzmaurice 1985, 20).

This exemplifies the series of compromises made on the part of Provincial representatives in the hopes of creating a strong union to expand economic production and political protections (largely from encroaching American capital investment and population in the West). What it does not show is any legislative evidence of continual *Canadien* nationalism that was embodied by the *Rouges* opposition to Confederation.

The newly formed Dominion of Canada was reminded of the persistent “French Fact” when Louis Riel led his fellow Métis<sup>31</sup> in an open revolt against the westward expansion of the Canadian population and accompanying land acquisition for agricultural production. Riel was born in the Red River region of what is now Manitoba and received a clerical education in Montréal. Educated, Francophone, and Métis, Riel personified Canadian diversity. During the Red River and Northwest rebellions of 1869-70 and 1885 respectively, Louis Riel became a symbolic hero throughout Québec. Although the actions of Riel and the Métis were antithetical to the liberal project of westward expansion, his resistance to an oppressive federal force that was attacking yet another Francophone claim of sovereignty and uniqueness generated public support for the man throughout Québec. The sentiment was just as strong in the opposite direction throughout English-speaking Ontario, as they viewed Riel as a traitor and enemy of Canadian economic growth (Siggins 1994).

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<sup>31</sup> As stated in Chapter Three, the Métis were a distinct population born of intermarriage between English and French fur trappers and indigenous peoples in the interior of Canada. The Métis are historically known for their mixed ethnicity and the fact that they are predominantly Francophone. The linguistic nature of this Canadian population is of primary importance in this chapter and in the relationship between the *Canadien* population of Québec and the resistance actions of Riel and other Métis in what is now Manitoba and Saskatchewan.

The political and economic union of the Confederation-era clearly did not reflect the cultural differences still evident between French and English Canada. While Riel's actions did little to stem expansion, they did illustrate persisting frustration and a sense of repression on the part of French-Canadians, particularly in Québec. The Dominion of Canada was a political and economic compromise of the day, and not indicative of any cultural unification on the part of the citizens of Québec in support of a pan-Canadian nation.

### ***3a. Post-confederation***

The mid-Nineteenth Century in Québec was a time of rapid change. Modernization and urbanization began to weaken the traditional controls of the Catholic Church and the patrimonial seigneurial system of land appropriation had been abolished allowing individual farmers at least the opportunity to own their own land. The post-Confederation period was also a time of massive expansion in industrial and demographic growth. The expansionist desires of the Macdonald (and others) government necessitated increased sources of labor. With a limited urban population base, particularly in English-speaking Canada, the answer was to be found abroad<sup>32</sup>. European immigration served to replenish the limited Canadian labor force. Québec's role in this process was significantly

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<sup>32</sup> By the mid-Nineteenth Century urban Canada was fairly limited. Two of the four major metropolitan areas were in Québec and both located along the major transportation thoroughway of the St. Lawrence River. Montréal (100,000) and Québec (50,000) continued to serve as trade ports and centers for Canadian commerce during this period. Québec could eventually lose much of its metropolitan and commercial power nationally due to the reorientation of trade patterns from the United Kingdom to the United States. Trans-Atlantic trade was facilitated by the protected ports on the St. Lawrence, but as trading patterns shifted southward the river system declined in relative economic importance. This shift in predominant trading partners is also reflected in the rise of both Montréal and Toronto as commercial urban centers. The rise of Toronto (60,000) would continue unabated and ultimately become the desired destination for many labor migrants. Halifax (20,000) continued to be Canada's main maritime trading center, but the fragile economic conditions of the Maritime Provinces as well as the transportation costs associated with domestic Canadian trade would ensure Halifax's eventual decline in commercial importance.

determined by geography. The most logical ports of call for European immigrants were Halifax, Québec, and Montréal. Halifax, as Canada's primary Atlantic seaport, offered a simple first-stop for European migrants on the road to Canadian economic opportunity. The relative isolation of Halifax and the Maritime Provinces in general discouraged many from settling in Halifax. The major urban centers of Québec and Montréal provided much more in terms of employment and transportation opportunities. As the only opportunity to travel from Europe to North America was by seagoing vessel the St. Lawrence once again provided a maritime highway for facilitating economic growth in Canada.

The increase in railway and canal construction in the 1850s made Québec and especially Montréal very attractive ports of call for European migrants. There were significant economic opportunities for Europeans in both cities, but the shifting trade relationship to the United States was already making Montréal the singular commercial center of the province due to its proximity to New England and New York commercial centers. For this reason many immigrant chose to continue down the St. Lawrence to Montréal. The other major factor contributing to Montréal's importance to Canadian immigration was that the Grand Trunk Railway provided transportation opportunities to Canada's other growing metropolitan center, Toronto, as well as to points west. Until well into the Twentieth Century, many immigrants to Canada used urban centers as stopover points on their way to the land and agricultural opportunities of the West. Many though stayed in Québec, with most settling in the Montréal metropolitan area. Much more will be said on these points of ethnic diversification later in Chapter Six The period of massive immigration promotion on the part of the Canadian government did much to

provide Montréal with a base of labor that would allow the city to continue its growth and economic viability in both Canadian and international economic contexts.

The geographic position of Montréal as an island at the intersection of two major transportation thoroughways (the St. Lawrence River and the Grand Trunk Railway) ultimately created a multiethnic urban center in the mid to late 1800s – well before the well-known multicultural perception of Canada in the 1970s. Italian, German, Ukrainian, and Irish communities began to grow and participate in the economic and cultural life of the city. This did not, however, have a significant impact of the political and economic power structures in place in either the city of Montréal or the province of Québec. The shift of major trading patterns from England to the United States did little to disrupt the Anglophone control over commercial institutions. It also did little to alleviate persistent rural poverty and the inability of many poor Francophone framers to own their own land. This led to a massive exodus of rural (and some urban) French-Canadians to New England towns such as Manchester, New Hampshire; Fall River, Massachusetts, and Woonsocket, Rhode Island in search of employment. The reality of Francophone life in Québec was still a picture of income inequality and monopolistic control of wealth and political power by the Anglophone minority in Montréal supported by an Anglophone federal government in Ottawa. The sustained inequalities and rural impoverishment of Québec did little to reduce ethnic nationalist sentiment although little was done formally to protest the situation.

#### *4. The War Era and the End of Traditional Québec*<sup>33</sup>

The onset of the First World War in 1914 shattered any superficial perceptions that Québec had been pacified. Opposition to Canadian involvement, and thus Québec's involvement, in the War effort was limited to a minority of pacifist individuals and organizations. This was to change in 1917 with the passage of the Military Service Act that instituted conscription for Canadian military service. Québec vehemently rejected being forced to fight for a federal government that was perceived as being, at best, discriminatory. In fact, the stage for Québec opposition to conscription had been set in 1913 when Ontario passed provincial legislation removing French language instruction from its public schools. This abandonment of the bilingual ideals of the country inflamed anger and resentment at English Canada in general. The federal demand that French-Canadians serve in the national military was, in many ways, the last straw.

Riots and protest marches occurred in Québec and Montréal from 1917 through 1918. Added to this condition of perceived oppression at the hands of English Canada, a federal political alliance of Conservatives and pro-war Liberals engineered<sup>34</sup> an election in 1917 that would put a new Union government in power. This government was rejected in Québec and added to the belief that the federal government was doing all it could to oppress the provincial population. In addition to the violence of anti-draft riots, legislative efforts toward sovereignty were unsuccessfully promoted in the Québec

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<sup>33</sup> This section was compiled from several narrative historical sources including Bothwell, Drummond, and English (1989; 1987); Brown and Cook (1974), Lacoursière (1997); Roby (1976); See (2001); and Thompson and Seager (1985).

<sup>34</sup> Robert Borden, the Conservative Prime Minister, sought to crush opposition to his government and war opposition by allying with selected Liberals. In 1917 he passed a series of electoral measures that allowed voting rights only to women who were serving in the military or who were related to male service members and prohibited war-opponents (broadly defined as "conscientious objectors") from voting. The result was a large victory for this Conservative-Liberal Union government.

National Assembly. It became increasingly clear that the cooperative political successes of economic partnership were both falling into ruin and exacerbated by a federal government that was increasingly hostile to the public sentiment and demands of Québec.

The global interwar pattern of initial growth followed by economic depression was replicated in Québec. The export-orientation of liberal economic modernization created a domino effect as foreign orders for agricultural products and natural resources (primarily timber in Québec) declined and created a glut of supply with limited demand. The impact of the Great Depression on Canadian society was previously discussed and little more can be added here with respect to any possible unique conditions in Québec. The effects of a massive global economic depression on an already impoverished population were as would be expected: devastating.

The recovery period in Québec was assisted by the resumption of demand for Québec raw materials such as timber, asbestos, and refined materials such as aluminum and paper products. Politically, the rise of Maurice Duplessis and his *Union nationale* (UN) political party won power in 1936 and promptly began to viciously implement policies intended to expand foreign investment (and ownership) and repress social and political dissent. The platform of the UN was conservative in that it advocated a return to the Catholic, traditional nationalism reminiscent of the *Parti canadien* but augmented with a liberal economic strategy that actively repressed union activities and persecuted socialist and communist organizations throughout the province. Duplessis' popularity throughout the province was due, however, to his nationalistic (albeit within a Canadian framework) rhetoric that reflected French-Canadian frustration with continual minority Anglophone control over economic institutions in Montréal and throughout the province.



The onset of the Second World War in 1939 brought about a familiar disagreement. The Liberal federal government of Mackenzie King promoted active Canadian involvement in the war effort, while Duplessis questioned the necessity of Québec's involvement. The resurgence of these positions led to the federal government's involvement in the 1939 Québec provincial elections in which the Québec Liberal Party defeated the UN<sup>35</sup>. Duplessis and the UN would return to power in 1945 but not after a less-dramatic return to the conscription crisis of 1917-18.

King won the 1939 elections by pledging not to reinstitute conscription. By 1942 it became obvious that volunteer military contributions would not be enough to sustain the Canadian war effort. King called a national plebiscite to release the government from its non-conscription pledge. Eight provinces voted to release the government from its promise, while over three quarters of Québec voters held the government to its anti-draft promise. The government reestablished the draft in 1944. The street violence and sovereignty initiatives that characterized the 1917-18 era were not replicated, however the popular understanding in Québec continued to center on the belief that the federal government was ignorant of Québec concerns, desires, and will. The continued public statements of King on Québec were commonly antagonistic, particularly his use of the anti-nationalist phrase "*Québec est une province comme les autres.*"<sup>36</sup>

The post-war period of Québec history was, again relatively similar to that of Canada. Increased immigration, industrialization, and overall economic growth

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<sup>35</sup> The federal government actively promoted and financed the provincial branch (PLQ) of the Liberal ruling party. The high level of support and participation in this provincial election is significant and bears mention due to the importance King and his administration placed on national unification and a singular Canadian national-state.

<sup>36</sup> "Québec is a province like the others."

characterized the post-war years. Politically, the return of Duplessis continued the socially conservative project of clerical social and educational service provision coupled with liberal economic policies. These conservative policies did little to elevate the status of Québec within Canada as the reference to the province as “priest-ridden” was common in the post-war era. Clearly, the socially conservative nature of the Duplessis regime was responsible for this perception but also for pushing the *Duplessisme* agenda<sup>37</sup> so far that it generated one of the most significant cultural reactions in Western history: *la Révolution tranquille*.

### **5. *La Révolution tranquille and the Birth of les Québécois***<sup>38</sup>

*La Révolution tranquille* (the Quiet Revolution) describes the period of the early 1960s that saw the dramatic transition of Québec political and cultural institutions shift from traditional norms to more state-centered proactive views of Québec nationalism. In short, the long dominant Catholic Church was literally removed from its position as the primary social service provider and replaced by the Québec state. Hinderences to nationalized economic institutions were removed and the state became a primary motivator for liberal economic reforms. Culturally, the integrative idea of a French-Canadian was replaced by a more autonomous and independent *Québécois* national identity: neither French nor Canadian, les Québécois were a culturally distinct population.

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<sup>37</sup> *Duplessisme* is largely defined as having authoritarian governmental tendencies, anti-statist with respect to the provision of social services or economic controls, and incorporating a romanticized or lionized view of rural, Catholic Québec as symbolic of true French-Canadians – all tenets of the *Parti canadien* and thus staunchly conservative and nationalist.

<sup>38</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Bashevkin (1991); Bothwell, Drummond, and English (1989); Fitzmaurice (1985); Godin (1991); Pelletier (1983); See (2001); and Thomson (1985).

*La Révolution tranquille* was more of a cumulative effect than any sort of temporally distinct or spontaneous action. The evolution of this ‘cumulative revolution’ occurred in economic, political, and cultural facets of Québec society. Economically, the continued dominance of Anglophone commercial and business centers in Montréal were a source of constant French-Canadian ire. The traditional Anglophone monopoly was in decline however, as the process of economic modernization continued to unfold in the province. What started with the clerical expansion of educational opportunities to fill the demands of a growing priesthood and was secularly advanced by the political cooperative efforts of English and French liberals in the mid 1800s resulted in a population that was predominantly urban, educated, and oriented toward industrial production. In addition, the expansion of educational and economic opportunities for Francophone citizens in Québec ensured that the status quo could not be maintained. Francophone intellectual and economic (largely small business) elites began to attack traditional economic and social structures, namely Anglophone business entities and the Catholic Church, as retarding Francophone social and economic progress.

The political foundations of *la Révolution tranquille* clearly lay in the early Nineteenth Century divide between traditionalists and liberals within Québec society. The early attempts by the *Parti canadien* to bridge the divide by maintaining traditional ties to the existing power structures of the seigneurs and the clergy were partly successful in winning some liberal reforms, however the efforts of the *Parti patriote* to secularize Québec society and liberalize its quasi-feudal agricultural system were met by reactionary forces that worked to retrench the conservative structures of authority. The

Duplessis regime in the first half of the Twentieth Century is an excellent example of this reactionary change.

The post-World War II period of expanded global economics further stressed the traditional isolationism of the Duplessis and conservative political elite in Québec. Duplessis did invite massive foreign investment, however the expanded economic opportunities brought about by this liberal urbanization project reduced the traditional rural political base of the *Union nationale* and allowed for a new *urban* Francophone political consciousness to emerge. It became increasingly clear that an emphasis on export-orientation in terms of trade, which motivated urbanization and industrialization, could not be supported by rural Québec. In fact, Duplessis did sense the impending changes that were shifting the entire nature of the province from a rural-agrarian to urban-industrial society. He enacted several reformative measures intended to reduce the religious control over education and some social services. The problem for Duplessis was in finding replacements for these services as the *Union nationale* rejected a large-scale expansion of state-provided social services.

The cultural organization of Québec underwent significant change in conjunction with the structural changes of the period. Statistically the province was one of the most religious in the Western world with upwards of 85 percent of the population regularly attending Catholic Mass. This superficial description belied a continual conflict between those who promoted a progressive modernization of Québec society and those who maintained that traditional social institutions should be maintained and strengthened. The process of cultural change is difficult to articulate and can only be viewed through the persistent instances of conflict between liberal and traditional groups that has been

briefly presented in this chapter. Perhaps the most striking statistic is that active Catholics in Québec dropped from the aforementioned 85 percent prior World War II to less than 30 percent by 1970 (Fitzmaurice 1985, 60). This massive and rapid cultural shift cannot be simply attributed to rapid, short-term action. The decline of Catholic hegemony in Québec was a process that simply required an alternative support structure in order to complete the project of secularization that had begun in the early 1800s.

That Catholic controls over social and educational services were gradually eroded cannot be disputed. Even the staunch traditionalist Duplessis and the UN were resigned to continue these liberal reforms. Their political decision to replace these clerical social and educational services with state-sponsored services opened the door to the possibility of Keynesian state-centered strategies for economic modernization.

The confluence of economic, political, and cultural history in Québec created an industrial infrastructure while maintaining political and economic restrictions on its expansion, a political structure that attempted to maintain legitimate authority through a dubious mix of traditionalist ideology and tacit liberal reforms, and a cultural system in the Catholic Church that had been declining with respect to its cultural authority for decades. The stage was set for large-scale social change. All that was required was a stagehand to raise the curtain on a new Québec.

### ***5a. Lesage and the Institutionalization of Change***

Jean Lesage and the Parti Liberal du Québec (PLQ) were elected to power in the 1960 provincial elections. Lesage's message was liberal and progressive in both rhetoric and action. The PLQ leadership began to implement the state-centered strategies of social service provision and an expansion of nationalized controls over utilities and

transportation that were avoided by the Duplessis administration. Hydro-Québec<sup>39</sup>, the state-owned electricity producer, represents the most successful example of this process of nationalizing the utility infrastructure. It is doubly significant in that was also entirely Francophone in its leadership and, most importantly, considered French its language of business.

The provincial educational system was significantly reformed with the opening of tuition-free secondary education and the expansion of a Francophone university system with the founding of the Université de Québec system with campuses in Montréal (1969), Chicoutimi (1969), Trois-Rivières (1969), and Rimouski (1973). This expansion of a state-sponsored educational system is merely an example of the massive increase in state spending that characterized the Lesage government. Civil service employment in the provincial government increased from 32,000 in 1960 to over 70,000 in 1966 (Pelletier 1983). The purposes of these political economic reforms were first, the modernization of the Québec economy and its liberation from a stagnating traditionalism and secondly, to create state control and protections that would enable and facilitate Francophone economic participation and correct the economic inequalities that had colored urban Québec society for centuries.

The promotion of secular government as responsible for the social welfare of Québec citizens occurred in conjunction with a rearticulation of French-Canadian nationalism. Gone was nationalistic promotion of tradition and a romantic past inherent in *Duplessisme*. This nostalgic affirmation of the status quo was replaced by a renewed

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<sup>39</sup> Hydro-Québec is the primary provider of electricity to Québec and a significant power source for the Northeastern United States. For a more detailed description of Hydro-Québec please see Chapter Five.

sense of autonomy that embraced Québec as a unique nation that was neither French nor Canadian but *Québécois*. Lesage's oft-repeated slogan, "*matres chez nous*"<sup>40</sup>, clearly differentiated this new era of political leadership from the inclusive association position of the Duplessis conservatives. He was not, however, an advocate of Québec sovereignty. In fact there was a distinct minority of Québec citizens who advocated an *independantiste* position of Québec state-hood.

This cultural distinction from *Canadien* to *Québécois* was not simply a political promotion of an official nationalism. Literary journals such as *Cité Libre* and *Maintenant* created a public discourse and motivated debate concerning the nature and scope of social change in Québec. One significant articulation of this public discourse was the emergence of *Joual*<sup>41</sup> as a class-centered dialectical alternative to orthodox French that became symbolic of this new Québécois identity. This dialect was the clear understanding that being Québécois also had political and economic components. The history and experience of Francophone poverty and subordinated status was reinforced by English Canadian authority and could not be divorced from a mere shift in linguistic and cultural identification.

### ***5b. Nation and State Development***

The relationship between the federal government and Québec provincial government after 1960 was culturally and politically contentious at best. One of the most interesting points of compromise came with Québec's insistence on controlling its own

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<sup>40</sup> "Masters of our own house."

<sup>41</sup> The title *Joual* describes a unique dialect that is French with truncated phrases and partially incorporated English terminology. The term is derived from the Montréal working-class use of the word "joual" in place of the French word "cheval," which means "horse." Malcolm Reid's *The Shouting Signpainters* (1972) offers a colorful and expressive discussion of the emergence and importance of *Joual* to the emergence of a Québécois identity.

immigration. In 1968 the provincial government established a Department of Immigration that had little real power, but clearly exemplified the ability and the desire of the Québécois to control their own foreign policy. In 1974, the Liberal Premier Henri Bourassa demanded “cultural sovereignty” for Québec if relations between the federal and provincial governments were to be reconciled. This “sovereignty” included final veto power over all federal laws pertaining to language, culture, and communications technologies as well as expanded control over immigration decisions.

The 1975 Ottawa-Québec agreement on immigration began the process of allowing provincial control over matters of migrant entry into the province, which ultimately led to the Cullen-Couture Agreement codifying provincial immigration controls. While the Cullen-Couture Agreement is fairly limited in the scope of federal-provincial relations it does establish the important precedent of autonomy for Québec over matters of provincial culture. This is a point that will be revisited many times throughout this dissertation, although its historical importance can only be touched on at this point. While the nationalist sentiment of Québec can be clearly viewed through symbols and language it is the political codification of relationships and positions that gives us a greater view of the power to control and shape culture. The Cullen-Couture Agreement (1979) granted Québec a level of international diplomatic autonomy – a position normally reserved for nation-states. In a limited sense, this act is the beginning of legitimated Québécois statehood.

The mixed-economic mission of the PLQ found a ready audience in a Québec population seeking a replacement for the weakened social protections offered by the Catholic Church. In many ways the state became the new Church in the lives of many



Québécois. Social services, education, and cultural authority quickly moved from the private to public spheres as the provincial government mobilized Québec society under its leadership. That the Québec population so quickly turned its back on the Catholic Church should come as little surprise when the history of anti-statism in Québec conservative political leadership is taken into account. With the removal of this political barrier and the implementation of a state “safety-net,” the Québécois were given the freedom to choose their own paths. The result was a secular nationalism centered on the government of Québec to lead their cultural shift to a national Québécois identity.

The importance of the Quiet Revolution to the modern articulation of Québec nationalism is clear. The outcomes of the political economic changes under the Lesage government were varied. The UN wrested power back from the PLQ in 1966, but did little to reverse the state-centered modernization implemented under Lesage. In fact, the UN leadership oversaw the most internationally visible articulation of Québécois nationalism during a state visit of French President Charles de Gaulle in 1967. Speaking to a large crowd from the balcony of the Montréal City Hall he emotionally proclaimed “*Vive le Québec libre!*”<sup>42</sup> The remainder of his visit to Canada was cancelled when federal authorities reacted negatively to his support for additional sovereignty for Québec.

This *independantiste* sentiment was clearly growing in the latter half of the 1960s. One of the architects of the PLQ’s nationalization project, René Lévesque, decided that the Québec liberals were not sufficiently pursuing sovereignty for the province. He left the party in 1967 to form the *Mouvement Sovereignité-Association* then the *Parti*

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<sup>42</sup> “Long live free Québec!”

*Québécois* (PQ) in 1968. The emergence of the PQ gave Québec citizens a political party that was clearly advocating the political sovereignty of Québec (albeit through continued political and economic association with Canada) for the first time. Lévesque's frustration with the PLQ's lack of action of sovereignty was not isolated. In 1969 a radical movement known as the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) embarked on a course of bombings and political kidnappings that culminated in the assassination of the provincial Minister of Labor Pierre Laporte in 1970.

The actions of the FLQ and other radical groups prompted Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, with the support of the Québec government, to invoke the War Measures Act and declare martial law in Montréal. Citizens suspected of communist or other radical affiliations were summarily arrested and questioned. The declaration of martial law and the presence of federal troops in the streets of Montréal resulted in a mixed reaction. While many radical student groups supported the FLQ, the majority of *Québécois* did not support their actions, although the presence of federal troops in the province was even less popular. Trudeau's invocation of the War Measures Act, even though supported by provincial political leaders (including the PQ), directly resulted in a loss of votes in Québec and his minority government of 1972.

### ***6. The Parti Québécois and Sovereignty***<sup>43</sup>

The violence of the FLQ suppressed any revolutionary urges that may have existed within the majority of the *Québécois*, however it did little to stem the tide of *independantiste* sentiment. Growing frustration with the UN and PLQ on the subject of

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<sup>43</sup> The chapter was compiled from several historical narrative sources including Bernard (2000); Fitzmaurice (1985); Linteau, Durocher, Robert, and Ricard (1991); and See (2001).

federal intrusion (with respect to the 1970 crisis and successive legislative attempts by the Trudeau government to promote pan-Canadian nationalism) brought the Parti Québécois to power in 1976<sup>44</sup>. The PQ was elected on a platform supporting provincial sovereignty that greatly worried the Trudeau government in Ottawa.

The new government that settled into control in Québec City sent shivers down the spines of Canadians, essentially because the PQ had been elected with a promise to negotiate a new relationship with Canada. The PQ believed that Québec was already a nation. What it lacked was the sovereignty to pursue its own destiny (See 2001, 172-73).

The PQ government, led by René Lévesque, continued the provincial project of modernization and state-sponsorship of social services. It was in this economic arena that the contending political parties of Québec agreed. This is not surprising, as the desire to promote liberal capitalism has long provided grounds for political cooperation, as evidenced by the Anglo-Franco cooperative organizations of the mid-1800s. Throughout the Quiet Revolution and to the present day there is little disagreement over issues of provincial economic development.

A useful example of this common economic project between the PLQ and PQ in spite of divergent political and cultural goals is the massive James Bay Hydroelectric project. This project was begun in 1971 under the watch of the PLQ and has been of central concern for subsequent liberal and sovereigntists governments. Massive political and social pressure was put on the provincial government by the local James Bay Cree who received little to no compensation for the loss of land or disruption of traditional ways of life. In 1975, Hydro-Québec and the James Bay Cree signed an agreement that

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<sup>44</sup> This frustration existed despite the PLQ's passage of Bill 22, which established French as the language of government and business in Québec. Bill 22 would be the precursor to better-known language legislation in Québec, but this was the first time that the linguistic culture of Québec was codified.

could compensate the Cree but left other ownerships claims unresolved. Successive provincial governments to this day have dealt with continual construction, legal, and commercial problems with the James Bay Project. For instance, in 1992 the State of New York withdrew a \$17 billion purchasing contract with Hydro-Québec, largely due to the efforts of Cree leaders who embarked on an informational tour that showed the negative social effects on the local Cree due to the massive project. This setback led to a cooperative effort on the part of the Québec government that enabled Hydro-Québec to sell to the entire North American electricity market in 1997. Agreements in 2002 and 2004 between Hydro-Québec and the James Bay Cree resolved many of the legal issues surrounding the project and provided substantial compensation for the local Cree. This continual support of the James Bay Project serves as a cursory illustration of the common liberal attitudes and economic orientation of the ruling provincial parties of Québec.

Also common among Québec political parties was a desire to see French nationalism codified. The PLQ and the PQ differed significantly on the issue of sovereignty, but were in agreement with respect to the position of Québécois supremacy in the province. Bill 101 (Charter of the French Language) was passed in 1977 that allowed English language public education only if both parents were educated in English in Québec. Basically, all new arrivals to the province would be forced to send their children to French-language schools. The Charter also required that French be the language of business in Québec. The implementation of Bill 101 was a victory for Québécois nationalism as it protected the culture and language of the province and ensured that the children of immigrants would be able to linguistically integrate into Québec society. Conversely, Anglophone citizens of the province rejected both the

platform of the PQ and the intent of Bill 101. Many left Québec for Ontario and other English speaking provinces in the late 1970s as a result of these political actions.

The PQ decided to press their political hand in 1980 with the first referendum on political sovereignty. While the referendum would not declare independence for Québec, it would give the PQ authority to negotiate for full control over taxation, legal institutions, and foreign relations. The federal response of the Trudeau administration was immediate and aggressive. The federal government attacked the wisdom of the PQ leadership in advocating increased sovereignty and offered Québec the opportunity renegotiate the British North America Act and develop a new constitutional agreement. The result was a resounding 60 to 40 percent defeat of the referendum. Despite this sound defeat on sovereignty Lévesque and the PQ were returned to power in the 1981 provincial elections.

With national sentiment against Québec, Trudeau pressed ahead with his plan for constitutional repatriation. This was a referendum promise to the citizens of Québec but the process of writing a new constitutional agreement met with disapproval by the Québec delegation. In November 1981, Trudeau reached an agreement with nine other provinces on a Canadian Constitution that circumvented Québec's objections to the document. Known as the "*La Nuit des Longs Couteaux*,"<sup>45</sup> the resultant Constitution Act of 1982 remains unsigned by Québec despite the resumption of constitutional negotiations between Lévesque and Prime Minister Brian Mulroney in 1984. These "beau risques" negotiations resulted in a split within the PQ and Lévesque's resignation the following year.

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<sup>45</sup> "Night of the Long Knives"

The PLQ regained power in 1985 and attempted to restart constitutional negotiations with the Meech Lake Accords in 1987. The failure of Meech Lake to be ratified in 1990 further convinced many Québécois that Canada was comfortable in their refusal to accept Québec's unique history and place in the country. The continuation of these age-old frustrations led Lucien Bouchard to found the Bloc Québécois, a federal level political party intended to bring about Québec sovereignty. The following year Bill 150 was passed by the PLQ-led National Assembly that asserted Québec's right to secede from Canada and called for another referendum on sovereignty in 1992. This was highly significant as it represented the level of frustration and discontent in Québec. If the PLQ, who had opposed the PQ in their calls for sovereignty, was endorsing Québec right of secession then it can be safely assumed that federal-provincial relations in the early 1990s were, at best, strained. The federal government quickly responded with calls for another round of constitutional negotiations in Charlottetown on Prince Edward Island. The call for a sovereignty referendum was shelved to allow for the national referendum on the Charlottetown Accords, which failed in the fall of 1992.

The failure of both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords illustrates the persisting divide between English and French Canada. English Canadians resented the claims and demands of a unique and sovereign Québec and seem convinced of Mackenzie King's sentiment that Québec is a province like any other in Canada. The Québécois, on the other hand, rejected Charlottetown on the basis that the constitutional revisions did not go far enough in ensuring their cultural and ultimately national sovereignty. The "French Fact" again proved an irreconcilable divide in the quest for Canadian nationalism and national unity. The return of the Parti Québécois in 1994 under

the leadership of Jacques Parizeau would again bring about the question of whether the “French Fact” could stand alone within its own nation.

In 1995 a second referendum was put to the Québec electorate and asked a single question: “Do you agree that Québec should become sovereign after having made a formal offer to Canada for a new economic and political partnership within the scope of the bill respecting the future of Québec and of the agreement signed on June 12, 1995?”

The referendum was defeated by less than one percent of the vote (50.58% *non* against 49.42% *oui*). The close vote prompted many to dispute the balloting procedures of the PQ and to claim voter intimidation on both sides of the issue. The number of votes in the *oui* camp, however, led many to believe that the sovereignty issue was far from being defeated in the minds of the Québécois. In 1998 the Supreme Court of Canada unanimously resolved that the province did not have the authority to leave Canada although the Court left open the possibility of future constitutional renegotiation. The federal government of Jean Chretien made the issue even more muddled by passing the “Clarity Act (C-20)” that gave the House of Commons authority to edit any proposed sovereignty referendum and to unilaterally determine if an “acceptable majority” had been obtained by the referendum. The definition of “acceptable majority” was left ambiguous. In response the Québec *Assemblée nationale* passed legislation that defined a majority as “50 percent plus one.” The legacy of these attempts at legislative clarification remains to be seen. To date, no logistical discussion or planning has taken place in the province to bring about another referendum on Québec sovereignty. Neither has a concerted effort to challenge either the Supreme Court decision, the Clarity Act, or Québec’s definition of sovereignty been launched by either federal or provincial parties.

## *7. Conclusions*

The purpose of this and the previous chapter is to present the dually interdependent yet independent histories of Canada and Québec. The historical inter-relationship in social, political, economic, and cultural terms cannot be ignored. In fact, the independent nationalist projects inherent in Canadian and Québec histories rely in large part on defining respective projects in contrast to the other. That is, both Canadian and Québécois nationalism (and nationalist histories) are driven by their definitional existence as mutually antithetical.

As such, these chapters should read as somewhat redundant in their content, but also inherently distinct with respect to perspective and emphasis. These chapters are designed to illustrate the duality of nationalist perspectives in telling what is essentially the same history.

The role of Part II in the larger dissertation project is to (1) support the overall methodological position that Canada and Québec are comparable nation-state entities and (2) to provide adequate understanding of the perspective and independent historical development that allows for divergent approaches to the challenge of globalization. This second point is significant as global market integration affects both Canada and Québec in similar fashion, as will be shown in Chapter Five. The methodological foundation of this dissertation supports the view that analyzing state policy response to a similar political economic challenge will allow the analyst to understand the capacities and abilities of respective states (in comparative context) to respond to this singular challenge. This is, of course, the purpose of Part III.



To this point we have established a series of conceptual definitions and a methodological framework for understanding how to understand and examine the contemporary capacities of the core nation-state. Chapter Two established a theoretical framework for understanding the nation-state, globalization processes, and provided an excursive illustration of the interactive process of ideological justification/legitimation with respect to establishing non-liberal social protections within the larger context of a liberal political economic system. Part II is essential to both the methodology and later analytical portions of this project. We must understand the autonomous development of a nationalist history in both Canada and Québec. Without an understanding of the inherent nationalist project in Canadian and Québec histories, we cannot fully understand the dialectical outcome of policy decisions and strategies in response to encroaching globalization processes. Chapters Three and Four are essential to this project in order to fully embed the analysis in the larger context of historical development. The following chapters in Part III will examine empirical evidence to answer the main questions of this project.

### **Part III**

## **Analyzing the Effects of Global Market Integration in Canada and Québec**

### **Part III Introduction**

Part Three, consisting of Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, contains the analytical portion of this dissertation. The purpose of these chapters is to provide empirical support for the theoretical claims made in Part One. Each chapter is compares a categorical process of global market integration with the end goal of providing an overall comparative-historical view of the transformative process of global market integration. The bias of the project, to investigate the role of culture in the process of defining contemporary state capabilities, is inherent in the subject matter of these chapters. This project focuses on the process of ethno-cultural diversification as a primary requisite of core state integration into the global economic system. Therefore, from this perspective the question of culture becomes central to understanding the contemporary role of the nation-state. I would defend this “bias” by stating that the process of ethno-cultural diversification is a requisite outcome of economic growth and not simply a singularly cultural process.

Chapter Five compares the actual experience of Canada and Québec in the process of global market integration. The intent of the chapter is to illustrate the process of integration, the policy shifts that accompany state desire to integrate into the global market economy, and to ensure that both Canada and Québec are, in fact, integrated into the global market economy at some level.

Chapter Six examines the process of ethno-cultural diversification as a function of systemic labor migration. The chapter compares immigration policy change in Canada and Québec to determine the role of the state in determining immigration levels and

ethno-cultural composition of respective immigration populations. This chapter illustrates the role of labor migration in the project of national economic expansion due to increased global market integration. Chapter Six provides empirical evidence in support of claims made in the previous chapter; namely, that global market integration is a desirable goal for both Canada and Québec and resulting ethno-cultural diversification is a necessary outcome that must be reconciled.

Chapter Seven examines this process of state reconciliation. That is, the promotion of global market integration by both Canadian and Québec state institutions has qualitatively altered the demographic composition of each respective national population. This chapter examines the policy efforts by each state to address national population demands for greater national cohesion, labor market stability, and a reaffirmation of a singular nationalism.

Part Three analyzes the comparative experiences of Canada and Québec as they integrate into the global market economy. First, the level of respective global market integration is determined. Secondly, the results or outcomes of these integrative processes are determined. Finally, the response of each respective state institution is evaluated. Chapter Eight concludes the dissertation by integrating the analytical findings of Part Three and the previous four chapters for the purpose of gaining greater insight into the contemporary role and policy capacities of the core state.

## *Chapter Five*

### *The Global Market Economy: History and Impact on Canada and Québec*

How has the global market economic system in the post-World War II era developed and how has it impacted the economic autonomy of Canada and Québec? Chapter Five provides this answer by examining the process of global market integration in Canada and Québec. The chapter itself is divided into three sections.

The first briefly chronicles global market economic history from 1870 to the present. As this dissertation is concerned with explaining globalization's impact on the nation-state, I constrain my definition and view of the global market economy to the period of institutional international global financial and trade control. This perspective begins with the institution of the gold standard in the late 1800s<sup>46</sup>. The purpose of this section is to illustrate the dynamic nature of global market development and the requirement of stable systemic proponents (state institutions).

The second and third sections examine the impact of global market integration on Canada and Québec, respectively. I examine the actions and policy responses of the Canadian and Québec governments with respect to issues such as tariff reduction, export expansion, and market integration. The general contention among political economic scholars is that economic globalization, defined as the post-1973 political economic environment, has decreased the political economic autonomy of the individual nation-

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<sup>46</sup> This starting point is not consistent with either world-system or economic globalization approaches, which begin their analyses in the 1500s and 1970s, respectively I use this starting point because this project utilizes social practice, in the form of policy, as a medium of analysis. Thus I am interested in how states and political economic institutions manage and control the global market economy, not necessarily in the analytical nature of the global market economic system in its entirety.

state (Albrow 1996; Kennedy 1993; Robinson 2004; Sklair 1995; Spruyt 2002). The purpose of this chapter is the identification of historical change in the global economic system and the role of the nation-state in this system as well as the deeper examination of *how* these changes have affected Canada and Québec<sup>47</sup>.

### ***1. The Global Market Economic System***<sup>48</sup>

The existence of a governed global market economy can arguably be traced back to the institution of the International Gold Standard in the late-1800s<sup>49</sup>. The standard was predicated on two major prerequisites: the fixed, standard value of gold and the hegemonic economic power of a lender of last resort. Due to its position as the dominant capitalist economy, Great Britain assumed the role of lender-of-last-resort with the Bank of England serving as the principal control over interest rates, supply of credit, and issues of trade.

The establishment of a fixed currency valuation system created the stability necessary for international trade and financial exchanges that define an international liberal market economic system. The system worked relatively well in maintaining a stable medium of exchange for financial and trade exchanges due largely to the economic and political hegemony of Great Britain. The relative decline of British hegemony in the

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<sup>47</sup> This chapter is concerned with demonstrating global market integration and not in evaluating the benefits or drawbacks from such integrative processes. As such there have been no efforts made by the author to evaluate performance or efficacy of growth such as increasing socio-economic stratification or inequality exacerbation in health care provision, education, or vocational inequalities.

<sup>48</sup> General background information for this section was compiled from various sources including Best (2005), Cerny (1996), Gilpin (2000;1987), O'Brien and Williams (2004), and Woods (2000).

<sup>49</sup> The exact date for the adoption of a global gold standard is difficult to establish as individual nation-states adopted the monetary practice at different times such as Germany (1871), France and Italy (1873), 1879 (Austria), and Russia (1893). Another problematic issue is that practical adoption and political affirmation are often dissociated evidenced by the case of the United States. The U.S. was practically tied to the international gold standard in 1873 with the US Coinage Act that ended the silver dollar standard, however it was not until 1900 that the dollar was officially tied to the American dollar to the international gold standard with the passage of the US Currency Act.

late-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries created a level of instability in the global economic system, particularly affecting confidence that the British administration could administer credit levels and interest rates.

World War I effectively ended the International Gold Standard. The years of 1914 through 1945 were not good ones for a stable global economic system. Global warfare, economic depression, and national economic isolationism ensured that a resumption of the global trade system in existence before World War I would not occur.

The coming end of World War II prompted allied nation-states to consider options for revitalizing global trade. In 1944, delegates from forty-five nation-states met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire determined to establish a stable international commercial medium to revive the global market economy. The conference was led by the United States and Great Britain, but in reality the United States held the key to reviving the international economic system. By this time the United States controlled fully three-quarters of the world supply of gold and had emerged from the War era as the sole global economic power. A compromise solution<sup>50</sup> to the problem of economic leadership and agreeable management came with the establishment of a “dollar standard.” The agreement required the United States to peg the value of the dollar to a \$35 per ounce

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<sup>50</sup> The initial proposal, put forth by John Maynard Keynes, was for the creation of an international non-governmental central bank. The purpose of this bank would be to “monitor trade imbalances and with the power to force deficit countries to adjust their economic policies any time deficits were out of line” (Pool and Stamos 1989, 3). This proposal was soundly rejected by the United States, as it offered no incentive for their economic leadership. This position was a replication of previous British positions in 1870 and again in 1922 when the British, in exchange for the responsibilities of managing and supporting the gold standard and gold-exchange system, respectively, were granted the power of monetary policy power. In short, the British and later American hegemonic economic leadership was not selfless and carried several national economic advantages.

standard, which made the American dollar the official currency of the Bretton Woods global market system.

Another outcome of the Bretton Woods Conference was the establishment of two nongovernmental institutions: the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The former was tasked with the responsibility of monitoring commercial activity within the global market system and be available for short-term, deficit-reduction lending purposes. The latter was established as a fiscal management institution for the rebuilding of Western Europe after World War II. For the first time the global market economic system was supported by international nongovernmental institutions albeit under control of donor states (Best 2005; Endres 2005).

This revived global economic system collapsed in the 1970s. Faced with a number of domestic political pressures (demands for protectionism, a trade deficit, and a pending election) and international pressures (a decline in confidence due to the expansion of an inflated dollar and the inability of the US to match its gold-convertibility responsibilities), Richard Nixon ended dollar to gold convertibility in 1971. This action effectively ended the Bretton Woods system by abandoning the primary disciplinary mechanism designed to stabilize the global currency unit (the U.S. Dollar).

Once again, those promoting a global market economic system were required to find a means to administrate and discipline such a system. A solution was sought by the seven largest industrial economies (G-7<sup>51</sup>) at successive international economic summits in New York (Plaza Agreement of 1985), Tokyo (1986), and Venice (1986). The agreements varied in content and scope, but one central feature emerged: policy

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<sup>51</sup> Canada, France, (West) Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States



coordination. In short, the G-7 agreed to “coordinate their macroeconomic policies and in effect formulate a macroeconomic policy for the entire world.... Collective leadership of the world economy would be substituted for the decline of American leadership” (Gilpin 1987, 151; see also O’Brien and Williams 2004; Schaeffer 2005; and Slaughter 2005).

The resurgence of national economic foci that occurred following the collapse of the Bretton Woods system began to decline in the mid-1980s. The demise of Keynesian state-centered economic strategies conversely ushered in the beginning of the so-called current era of neo-liberalism. In short, the ebb and flow of laissez-faire liberal economic theory, policy, and institutionalization that has occurred since the late 1800s once again flowed toward a liberal market system – at the expense of national economic controls.

The major development centers on the emergence of a supranational organizational structure that reflects the contemporary climate of policy coordination. The Bretton Woods institutions (the IMF and the World Bank) have been reoriented to facilitate the ideological and structural conditions necessary for global market integration in the developing world. In addition, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), which provided a significant level of trade discipline, was institutionalized in 1995 with the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) after the Uruguay Round of the GATT in 1993. The WTO was granted powers of adjudication as well as a central mandate to eliminate national (and other) barriers to liberal trade and financial flows. In a very real sense, the WTO represents the most explicit institutional manifestation of neo-liberal political economic ideology. The fact that developed and developing nations are members of the WTO lends credence to the contention that international non-governmental organizations (and their non-governmental actors) have usurped economic

policy-making power from individual states on a global scale. Member states must adhere to the mission and rulings of the WTO, thus the capability of respective states to enact national protections is restricted, albeit by choice.

The purpose of this cursory history of the modern global economic system is to show the evolutionary nature of systemic development. Simultaneously, we are able to see that systemic development and maintenance is an active process of adaptation by group and institutional proponents. This is important with respect to Canada and Québec in that their active institutional participation and support is necessary for the global economic system to survive. The following sections illustrate the process of global market integration and institutional support for the global economic system in both Canada and Québec.

## ***2. Canada***<sup>52</sup>

Canada was an autonomous participant in the 1944 Bretton Woods Conference and continued to set its own political and economic agendas independently of British control. Canada's political image as an independent mediator in international disputes as well as its expanding economic sectors led to a series of appointments to high level political economic posts (autonomous membership in the League of Nations (1919) and the International Labour Organization as well as appointment to the United Nations Security Council in 1947). These appointments and recognitions culminated in Canada being named as the seventh member of the powerful Group of Seven (G-7) economic powers in 1976.

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<sup>52</sup> General background information for this section was compiled from various sources including Bothwell, Drummond and English (1989; 1987); Chodos, Murphy and Hamovitch (1993); See (2001); and Urmeter (2003).

Economic globalization can be roughly defined as the integration of national economies into a global liberal market economic system. Thus, the primary mechanism for the expansion of such a global economic system is the incorporation of liberal market economic structures to govern national economic systems. In other words, integration of national economies into the global economy requires that individual states relinquish a level of economic policy autonomy. As previously stated, a global market economy cannot function without a centralized control structure. In the era of globalization this structure has shifted from American hegemonic control to a more liberal system of policy coordination (albeit under strong American influence). In most cases, national economic integration requires that state economic policy conform to the rules of the liberal market system – with the most obvious consequence being an inability to protect national markets.

Given that Canada is one of the seven most powerful economic nation-states, we can safely make two assumptions. First, that the economic policies of Canada will be consistent with those made by other G-7 countries and in accordance with the Bretton Woods system of dollar hegemony and later the position of policy coordination. This consistency is limited to Canada's support for a stable global economic system not stating that global market integration is an egalitarian or consistent process in and of itself. In other words, the ebb and flow of the international global market system should be easily observable in the economic policies of the Canadian government. Second, as one of the few economic powers in the world, Canada should have a greater ability to institute national socio-economic protections to benefit its population from the predatory effects of liberal market economic integration. This section will examine the role of international

economic policy development, foreign direct investment (financial capital flows), and trade flows in Canada to test these assumptions.

### ***2a. Canada: International Economic Policy***

The issue of liberal trade in Canada has been a long and contentious one. From early liberal reforms that mirrored global economic reforms in the 1800s to efforts to entrench national economic protections in the post-war era, Canada has been a reflection of international political economic shifts. The post-war era is most helpful in providing a nation-state level example of global market integration and the problematic acceleration of this integrative process due to demands for national socio-economic protection during periods of transition.

Prior to World War II, the bilateral trade relationship between Canada and the United States was the most active in the world. This relationship continues to grow in the post-war era and remains the largest trade partnership in the world. This relationship would come at a cost, evidenced by the 1951 Massey Commission which concluded that Canadian culture was being compromised by encroaching American interests. The Massey Commission report offers an important early example of the concern for the effects of trade integration.

The economic reality of Canadian-U.S. trade could not be ignored, nor could the geographic proximity of many manufacturing centers such as Detroit, Michigan and Windsor, Ontario. Both were significant automotive manufacturing centers, yet trade between the two was restricted by tariff and trade restrictions. In 1965, the Canada-United States Automotive Agreement (Auto Pact) would liberalize trade in the automotive sector between the two countries.

The Pact eliminated tariffs on most automotive products produced in both Canada and the United States. The Pact had an immediate effect in expanding the market for Canadian automotive products. In 1964, only 7% of Canadian automotive sales went to the world's largest automotive market (the U.S.), but by 1968 fully 60% of Canadian automotive manufactures were exported to the United States. The success of the Auto Pact in expanding Canadian industrial production and American production cost decreases have led many to label the 1965 Auto Pact as the precursor to later bilateral liberal trade agreements (Anastakis 2005; Perry 1982). This agreement was significant, yet focused on a limited economic sector. The idea of opening Canadian markets to American capital was seen as highly lucrative but problematic<sup>53</sup>.

The legacy of the Massey Commission report and the increasing integration of American and Canadian economic and cultural spheres led to a period of nationalist rhetoric and protectionist positions by the Trudeau administration, particularly in the 1970s. Efforts to expand the Auto Pact and increase trade liberalization with the U.S. met an unreceptive federal administration<sup>54</sup> occupied with national protectionist demands to resolve several issues such as ethno-cultural unrest (including First Nations and

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<sup>53</sup> In 1967, a Task Force on the Structure of Canadian Industry was commissioned. Their findings were published in a then-confidential report chronicling the "double-edged" nature of foreign investment in Canadian industry. Economic analysts clearly saw the advantages of increased foreign capital in promoting economic growth, however they consistently warned that economic autonomy would be the major casualty/cost of such a growth strategy.

<sup>54</sup> This national protectionist tendency should not be construed as an isolated event in Canadian economic history. Many economic historians have commented on the global period of the 1950s through the mid-1970s as a period of national economic retrenchment (Gilpin 1987; O'Brien and Williams 2004; Strange 1985). Therefore, the fact that Canada engaged in a political economic period of protecting its national economic interests should be viewed as neither surprising nor unique with respect to global political economic trends. However, we must consider the national protectionist demands made on the Trudeau administration and the similarities in their occurrence throughout the Western world. The 1960s in particular saw a global explosion of nationalist demands for increased state protection of cultural rights, economic prosperity, and general demands for retributive and social justice.

Québécois nationalism), urban ethnic and racial diversification, and social change rooted in increased urbanization and economic growth. It was not until the election of Brian Mulroney and the Conservative Party in 1984 that this resistance to liberal market economics faded. The Mulroney Administration's embrace of liberal trade agreements (despite campaigning against such agreements in 1983) effectively ended federal resistance to liberal market integration. The federal Liberal Party (as well as the National Democratic Party) attempted to rally anti-CUFTA support in 1988, but Mulroney was re-elected comfortably on a platform supporting liberal economic reforms and the expansion of free-trade agreements. The benefits, it was seen, outweighed national protectionist concerns and in 1994 the Liberal administration of Jean Chrétien finalized the expansion of Canadian free-trade to Mexico with the NAFTA agreements.

Proposals for a North American Trade Agreement were made in the United States as early as 1979. The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980 and his administration's push to liberalize trade created a necessary political pre-condition for such an agreement. It was not until 1985, after the election of the Conservative Mulroney administration, that talks on creating a regional zone of "managed trade" was politically feasible from a Canadian perspective. In 1988, both countries signed the Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA), with agreement implementation occurring on January 1, 1989.

Soon after the CUFTA agreements took effect, Canada was included in ongoing trade talks with United States and Mexico. The negotiations resulted in the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which was signed in 1993 with full implementation in 1994. The basic agreement was similar in structure to CUFTA with the main thrust being the elimination of trade tariffs and other national protectionist

strategies. This culmination of liberal market political negotiations marked the effective end of political resistance to liberal ideological and structural reforms –the only federal Canadian political party in opposition to liberal market trade policies was the NDP, whose opposition has waned since 1994. In fact, even the NDP has embraced limited “free-trade” in advocating a reduction of inter-provincial trade barriers as well as reorienting NAFTA toward a “fair trade” focus (National Democratic Party 2005). If CUFTA opened the gates to liberal market expansion in North America, NAFTA ensured that those gates would remain open. The past ten years has seen a marked expansion of liberal political economic agreements. Chile recently lobbied for inclusion in the NAFTA agreement and bilateral trade agreements were brokered between Canada and Chile (1995), Costa Rica (2001), and Israel (1997)<sup>55</sup>.

These regional and bilateral agreements, while illustrative of increased global political economic cooperative efforts, are limited in scope in comparison with the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995. The WTO was created as an organizational alternative to the series of liberal trade agreements known as the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). Briefly, this organization, of which over 145 countries are members, establishes rules for trade to which all participating member states must adhere. This participatory organization is, in effect, the nongovernmental administrative, adjudicative, and political control mechanism for the global market economic system. Trade disputes and macro-economic policy decisions are made, in

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<sup>55</sup> Agreements such as CUFTA, NAFTA, FTAA (proposed), and numerous bilateral trade agreements show that the process of global market integration and neoliberal market reforms are a contentious and fluid process. Adaptation in reaction to national protectionist demands require constant attention and flexibility. This section, and indeed this chapter, is designed to present the structure of global market integration, not to imply that these processes are static.

most cases, within the negotiating structure of the WTO. Canada's active participation in the WTO and its push to increase bilateral trade negotiations (active negotiations are currently underway with Korea, Singapore, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, the European Free Trade Commission, as well as continuing negotiations to establish a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA)) show that Canada has fully integrated itself into the liberal market economic system. An examination of (1) trade balances and (2) foreign investment will provide a clearer picture of what this global market integration looks like and how it has impacted the Canadian economy.

### ***2b. Canada: Balance of Trade***

A main argument of liberal economic proponents is that export-orientation must be a primary focus of national economic development (O'Brien and Williams 2004; Woods 2000). In other words, the more integrated a national economy is in the global market economy the higher its exports and, in the best case scenario, the lower its imports. This optimal situation theoretically results in a trade surplus providing capital for additional economic growth. This simplistic theoretical exposition can best be viewed in the construction of the Bretton Woods system and the development of American Dollar hegemony. Only the United States, as the financial keystone of the global market economy, was encouraged to run a trade deficit due to issues of liquidity (Gilpin 1987, 135). All other nation-states were encouraged to work towards a positive balance of payments. This emphasis on positive trade exchanges is a central focus of liberal market economics: barriers to trade are barriers to economic growth.

Canadian integration into the global market system offers interesting insights as to how a core state can profit from favorable global trade. Canada in the immediate post-



war period experienced modest economic growth due to increases in industrial production, but ran trade deficits throughout the 1950s. After 1961, Canadian balance of trade experienced only one deficit year in 1975. This consistent surplus should be viewed as a success of liberal market adherence. However, a closer look at specific trends is necessary to determine a commensurate decline in state policy autonomy as a result of economic growth due to global market integration.

One of the major components of the Trudeau administration in the 1970s was its nationalist emphasis both in terms of culture and economic autonomy. This was a difficult road as the United States was (and remains) Canada's largest single trading partner. The stagnant growth of a trade surplus in the 1970s is reflective of increases in domestic spending as well as the stagflation period within the global economy due to high energy costs. Pressure from business and economic interests led to talks on the establishment of a regional managed trade bloc in 1979. Increases in United States deficit spending, as well as reduced energy costs led to a massive increase in Canada's early 1980s trade surplus, with the most massive increase being a jump of \$10 billion from 1981 (\$7.7) to 1982 (\$17.6). The Canadian balance of trade would oscillate from a high of \$19.8 billion in 1984 to a low of \$7 billion in 1991. Interestingly, the signing of the CUFTA agreement and its implementation in 1989 provided no positive growth in the trade surplus. In fact, the average trade surplus in the four years following the CUFTA agreement was approximately \$8 billion. This number was well below the massive surplus number of the early 1980s, but still a relatively significant trade surplus.

The implementation of the NAFTA agreement in 1994 seems to have had a much more dramatic impact on Canadian trade surplus growth than the bilateral CUFTA

agreement. In the first three years of NAFTA's existence, the Canadian trade surplus grew from \$20 billion (1994) to \$42 billion (1996). It must be noted that the creation of the WTO and its governing structure in 1995 also opened up many markets to Canadian goods. In effect, wholesale Canadian participation in the global market economy began in the mid-1990s and provided an incredible profit to the nation-state of Canada. The trade surpluses reflected in figure 1 are indicative of Canadian integration into the global market economy. As Canada has acquiesced to regional and global trade agreements, its share of global capital from trade transactions has increased.

This rise in production and export-orientation is, however, only part of the story. Labor demand to fuel this trade surplus has led to net increases in immigration to Canada since 1990 and will be discussed in the following chapter. The focus of the following section is an additional measure of global market integration, foreign direct investment, or foreign investment/control of Canadian economic and production entities.

### ***2c. Canada: Foreign Investment***

Foreign direct investment is a reliable measure of global market integration due to its reflection of the transnationalization of production (Robinson 2004, 22). As production in core capitalist states increasingly deals in matters of finance, high technology, information, and service provision, the transnationalization of production processes in Canada must be understood as more than simply industrial or manufacturing production. This point is important, as sociological attention to the integrative function of FDI has been focused on the developing world as an impetus for modernization. The contention is that increasing rates of FDI in the developing world is a direct measure of global market integration of these areas (Dicken 2003; Robinson 2004; Scharpf 1999).

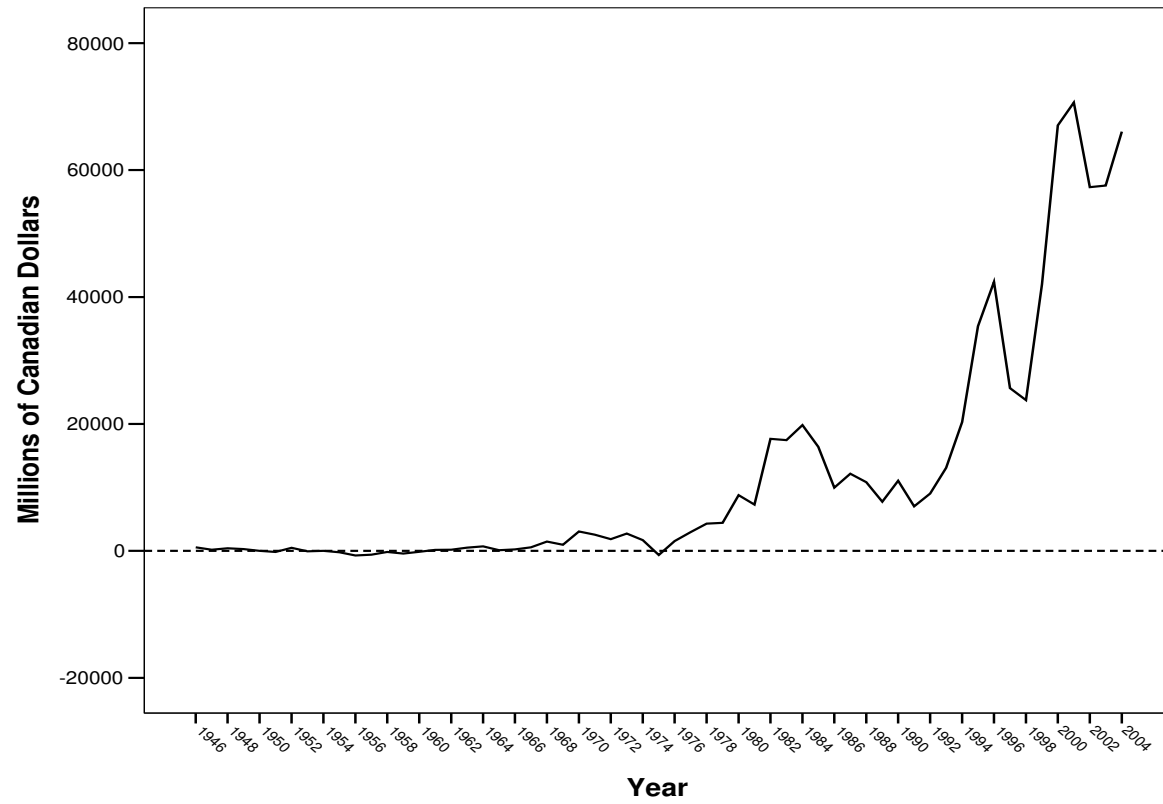
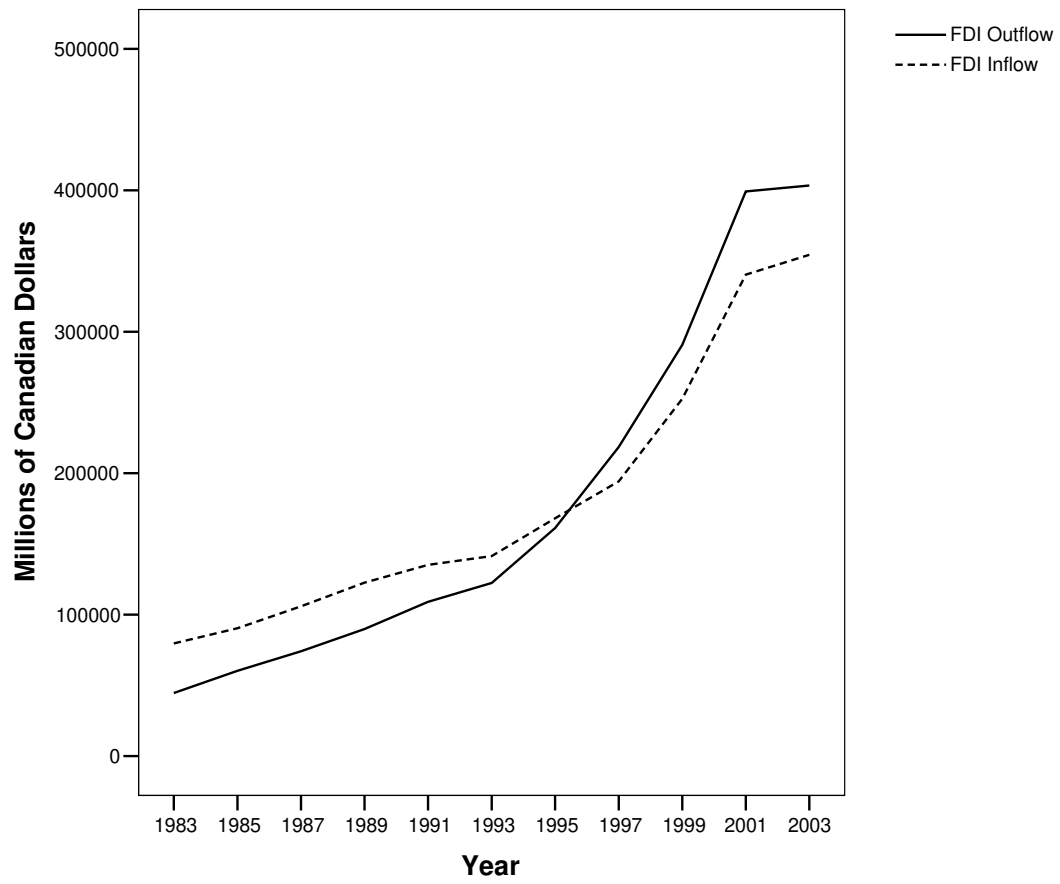


Figure 1. Canada: Balance of Trade

I do not disagree; however, the power of this measure also illustrates the effect of global market integration on national populations in core states, particularly with respect to national protectionist capacities.

Concerns about the effect of foreign investment and ownership of national economic entities is reflected in documents such as the Massey Commission report (1951) and the Task Force on the Structure of Canadian Industry (1967). These concerns, that Canada was losing the capacity to protect its national economy, persisted despite very low levels of FDI as reflected in figure 2.

These economic protectionist concerns, however, have not been reflected in the post-Trudeau era (ending in 1984). In fact, one could argue that Trudeau was less of an economic nationalist as his political rhetoric implies, particularly in his second term (1980-1984). Beginning in 1983, FDI inflows into Canada began a relatively rapid yet consistent climb through 2004. The pending WTO and NAFTA agreements accelerated FDI growth in 1994 (\$13 million increase) and FDI continued to advance at a greater pace following these regional and global trade agreements. Interestingly it was the founding of the WTO that had the most immediate impact on Canadian financial flows. In 1997, Canada first became a capital-exporting nation. In keeping with theories of liberal economic growth, the exportation of capital is designed to encourage trade in specific regions. If we compare Canada's trade balance with the increase in FDI outflows in the period 1997-2000 we see a steep drop in the trade surplus in 1997-1998. The years 1999-2001, however, saw the most dramatic historical increase in Canada's trade surplus (see figure 1). This evidence suggests that this increase in Canadian investment abroad had a longer-term positive impact on trade. Aside from the recession years of 2000-2003,



*Figure 2. Canada: Foreign Direct Investment*

Canada's growth in both trade surplus and investment outflows has increased.

Interestingly, FDI inflows have not decreased in any year since 1983.

The concurrent increase in FDI and export-led trade surplus growth is reflective of Canada's increasing integration into the global market economy. Canada's complete support for WTO regulations and trade authority, its active promotion of the NAFTA agreements, and continuing support for the FTAA portray a willing and active participant in the global market economic system. Canadian liberal trade policies have been consistent with increases in trade surplus growth and FDI inflows. Clearly, Canadian integration into the global market economic system has been beneficial to the general Canadian economy.

A closer look at Québec's integration will offer a comparative example of a state with strong institutions and commensurate spending although with an equally strong desire for full global market integration.

### ***3. Québec***<sup>56</sup>

Understanding the role of globalization in Québec is more problematic, primarily with respect to data collection, but also due to the fact that economic controls in Québec are a relatively new phenomenon. The role of the Quiet Revolution in changing the culture and political power of Francophone Québécois is reflected in the predominant economic concerns of the 1960s and beyond. The push to eliminate the income inequality that existed between Francophone and Anglophone Quebecers required increased control over the economic mechanics of the provincial economy. This legacy of the Quiet

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<sup>56</sup> General background information for this section was compiled from various sources including Bothwell, Drummond and English (1989; 1987); Chodos, Murphy and Hamovitch (1993); Fitzmaurice (1985); Fry (2000); Pacom (2001); and Urmetzer (2003).

Revolution was massive state-intervention and the nationalization of select provincial industries.

The Canadian federal-provincial economic relationship is unique in that provinces are responsible for funding most of their respective social welfare projects, including health care and education. This means that provinces are also responsible for generating tax income. The federal government, which is also responsible for generating tax income, augments provincial tax incomes with an “equalization payment” intended to ensure a level of provincial financial equality. The case of Québec is unique in that the financial resources that are expended in the province to support Québec nationalism do not exist anywhere else in Canada. The primary example is state support for the monitoring and promotion of French language legislation. Provincial taxation and the highest level of federal equalization payments in Canada fund these nationalist efforts, including the unique and autonomous educational system of Québec.

Ironically, while conventional scholarship on economic globalization concludes that the state is diminished as it integrates into the market economic system, Québec is actively recruiting foreign direct investment and external trade relationships for nationalist reasons. In effect, Québec can distance itself from Canada though its own integration into the global market economy. This perspective is supported by Spruyt:

...liberalism reduces the costs of secessionism. In a mercantilist world with barriers to the free exchange of goods and services, scale becomes a decisive asset. Small states simply lack the domestic markets required for the efficient production of goods (hence, small states tend to rely far more on trade as a percentage of gross national product than large states). But if few barriers exist, size becomes a less important prerequisite. Some scholars have argued that progress on the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in fact assisted secessionist sentiments in Québec (Spruyt 2002, 145).

This perspective is complicated by the combination of liberal and social democratic ideologies that pervades Québec. The historical provision of social services by the Catholic Church prior to 1960 and by the Québec state after the Quiet Revolution generates significant expectations of social and state institutions. The national population in Québec continues to view social service provision by state institutions as a primary responsibility of the state. The injection of liberal ideology after the Quiet Revolution allowed the state to grow in strength, while at the same time maintaining the social democratic traditions of the province. This section will examine how increasing participation in the global market economy has impacted the development of a nation-state in Québec.

### ***3a. Québec: International Economic Policy***

Québec does not have the political authority to enter into international financial or trade agreements as an autonomous entity. It does, however, have the power to manage and control domestic economic matters. This situation has resulted in a massive increase in the state-management of economic matters since 1960. A simple look at state spending in Québec in the first few years after the Quiet Revolution reveals this massive expansion of the Québec state. Bradbury notes this expansion and describes the increase as largely the result of the desire to eliminate the economic inequality/stratification between Anglophone and Francophone populations. One of the many economic indicators he cites is the simple increase in state expenditures during this period. In 1960, provincial expenditures totaled \$598 million while only twelve years later total expenditures reached \$4.5 billion in 1972 (Bradbury 1982, 46).



The development of a strong nationalist economic orientation has resulted in several significant institutions. Québec effectively nationalized several economic institutional entities during and after the Quiet Revolution. Hydro-Québec and la Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec are two such examples of state control over national economic interests in Québec.

Hydro-Québec was created in 1963<sup>57</sup> and represented the most successful effort at nationalized energy production and distribution in North America. In fact, initial growth of the state corporation was so rapid that existing production facilities quickly became insufficient to meet demand. Hydro- Québec began to import additional energy supplies in 1969 when it signed an agreement with the Churchill Falls Corporation in Labrador (Newfoundland). Production continued to increase with the development of the James Bay project (see chapter four) and the focus on energy exportation was formalized in 1978 with the creation of Hydro-Québec International (HQI). This focus on exporting (primarily) hydroelectric power culminated with the opening of the Hydro-Québec distribution system to the North American energy market in 1997. This agreement created a new Hydro-Québec division, Hydro- Québec TransÉnergie, and an American subsidiary, HQ Energy Services, to market energy in the United States. The current net income in 2005 was reported at nearly \$2.5 billion spread across four divisions (production, distribution, equipment, and exports)<sup>58</sup>. La Caisse de dépôt et placement du

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<sup>57</sup> An earlier version of nationalized energy production, in the form of Hydro-Québec, was created in 1944. Then-Premier Adélard Godbout partially nationalized Montréal Light, Heat, and Power in an attempt to begin liberal reforms intended to accelerate Québec's modernization process. The election of Maurice Duplessis later in the same year put an end to the nationalization experiment.

<sup>58</sup> Information and data for Hydro-Québec were obtained from financial statements and historical profiles obtained from Hydro-Québec (<http://www.hydroquebec.com>). Other documents include strategic plans,

Québec is a financial management and investment institution that emerged from the same Lesage-reform period of the early 1960s. The institution was originally created in 1965 by an official act of the Québec National Assembly to manage the newly created Québec Pension Plan. Again, the emergence of state supported social service provision in Québec illustrates an emergent state in support of national interests. This is important, particularly with respect to la Caisse, as one of the main goals of the Quiet Revolution was to reduce the Anglophone dominance over financial institutions in Québec. In the words of Claude Castonguay, Special Advisor to Jean Lesage (1960-1966), “it was essential to free the Québec government from its longtime dependence on the powerful alliance of Anglophone brokerage firms” (Castonguay 2002, 2). In this way, the emergence of la Caisse represents the institutional end of the status quo arrangement between elite Anglophone economic and Francophone political and clerical elites. Viewed as a sort of economic reclamation project, the resumption of economic control by Francophones in the province was clearly a primary goal of the Quiet Revolution and Québécois nationalists.

La Caisse was given the responsibility of managing deposits of the Québec Pension Plan, but it was also given a secondary mandate to support Québec economic growth at the same time. The investment responsibilities of la Caisse, combined with the state protect of economic equalization, motivated the organization to oversee the health and development of Francophone business entities. The combination of the cultural and economic goals of the Quiet Revolution are readily apparent in the functioning of la

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financial reports, and annual reports available at Hydro-Québec, 75 René-Lévesque Boulevard Ouest, Montréal (Québec) H2Z 1A4.

Caisse. The responsibility of managing provincial pension funds occurs within the context of a healthy provincial economy. All of this economic interaction occurs with the understanding that Québec is first and foremost a Francophone province/nation. Therefore, the mandate of la Caisse also includes responsibilities for overseeing the health and welfare of explicitly Francophone, Québécois economic and business entities (Arbour 1993; Forget 1984; Pelletier 1989).

This implied mandate was dramatically illustrated in 2000 when la Caisse blocked the multimillion-dollar acquisition of the Québec company, Vidéotron, by Ontario-based Roger Communications. The sale of Vidéotron (a Francophone telecommunications company based in Montréal since 1964) to an Anglophone corporation was, in the view of la Caisse, detrimental to the cultural sovereignty of Québec. The sale was effectively disallowed by la Caisse under the authority of their implied mandate to encourage Québec economic growth and protect Québec (specifically Francophone) investments. After a series of settlements and negotiations with Rogers Communications, the sale of Vidéotron to Quebecor, a Francophone communications corporation based in Montréal, was approved by both la Caisse and the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) in 2001.

The inability of the Québec government to develop international economic agreements and arrangements has not stopped the Québec state from participating in the global economy as an autonomous corporate entity. Through the creation of state-controlled economic entities such as Hydro-Québec and la Caisse, Québec is able to directly control its participatory levels in various market economic activities. In fact, the nationalization of Hydro-Québec and the public-private cooperative structure of la Caisse

means that Québec participates in the global market economy in a more direct manner than the federal Canadian government (with la Caisse participation limited to oversight as a state control institution). Of course, the level of state control over various economic structures and entities is variable and it remains to be seen whether or not this level of cultural and economic protectionism is compatible with greater global liberal market integration. These changes will be discussed in Chapter Eight, tying Québec attempts to protect national economic sectors with the overall theoretical and methodological project of this dissertation. Our goal now is to simply illustrate the nature of global market integration in Québec.

This is not to say that the Québec state is limited to social-democratic nationalization projects. As previously stated, the federal-provincial relationship is largely defined by provincial social service responsibilities and taxation authority. Québec, with its unique political economic structures and nationalist demands, has a tax structure that reflects these state funding requirements; its provincial personal income tax is one of the highest in Canada<sup>59</sup>. Recently, the Québec National Assembly passed a unique anti-poverty measure, Bill 112, designed to both reduce poverty and eliminate social exclusion. The bill is unique in its dual emphasis and in its drafting by members of both the Québec National Assembly and a collection of community movement activists. The bill will not come into effect until 2006, but its construction and ambitious agenda (chief amongst being the halving of poverty levels by 2015) are reflective of the national economic power of the Québec state.

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<sup>59</sup> Interestingly, *Investissement Québec*, the state-sponsored promotional institution for foreign investment in Québec, cites the rate of corporate taxation is the lowest in not only Canada, but also North America at 31.02 percent. This illustrates the desire of the Québec state to attract investment and business entities while at the same time maintaining existing levels of state spending on social service provision.

Clearly, the commitment to social service provision and national protection through economic means remains a significant motivation for the Québec state. This political economic climate seems to show a situation of limited global market integration. However, we must understand that Québec's ability to apparently integrate into the global market economy and maintain national economic protections is highly contingent on the equalization payments it receives from the federal government. Due to this source of additional state income, Québec is able to both facilitate global market integration as well as maintain high levels of national economic protections. Recent events have cast doubt on Québec's ability to maintain this contradictory environment and will be illustrated in Chapter Eight. It must be noted that from this perspective, Québec sovereignty would undoubtedly mean the end of federal equalization payments and therefore the end of additional state income to support such programs. One must question the ability of an independent Québec to profit from global market integration as well as maintain non-liberal national economic protections. Again, these issues will be revisited in the project conclusion.

The power of the Québec state to control its domestic economy and to participate in the global market economy cannot be disputed. In fact, it is the strong state control over a national economy that troubles critics of Québec economic protectionism. New political parties such as the Equality Party have sprung up to directly challenge the sovereignty agenda and social democratic, state-centered national protections. Liberal critiques point to Québec's chronic unemployment and relative rates of poverty as being, per capita, among the worst in Canada. These (and other) problems are exacerbated,

according to such critiques, by Québec's refusal to engage in total liberal economic reforms (McMahon 2003).

On the other hand, Québec has recently taken extraordinary efforts to promote foreign investment through active marketing and institutional support from such public-private cooperative groups as Investissement Québec. Québec also is a public supporter of free-trade agreements on both regional and global levels. Jacques Parizeau, then Premier of Québec, argued that Québec had been the strongest Canadian supporter of both NAFTA and WTO participatory negotiations and that Canadian participation in both regional and global trade liberalization was due to Québec's unfailing support (Parizeau 1995).

Québec international economic policy is, undoubtedly, contradictory. Many argue that Québec is missing an opportunity to grow its economy at much higher rates due to its protectionist policies. Québec nationalists argue that without these non-liberal national protections their very culture and social structures would collapse under the onslaught of free-market capital and culture. But what has the effect of globalization been on Québec? Have its national protections inhibited economic growth and discouraged foreign investment? Has Québec been able to encourage investment while still maintaining demanded national protections?

### ***3b. Québec: Balance of Trade***

A look at Québec's balance of trade since the early 1980s shows marked similarities and differences with Canada. The first major difference is the fact that Québec ran substantial trade deficits for most of the 1980s. The second difference is the fact that when Québec has been able to run trade surpluses, the level of these surplus

exports have not provided decreased Québec import reliance to a significant degree (particularly in comparison with the whole of Canada) . These differences are illustrated in figures 3 and 4, respectively.

The major similarity when comparing Québec and Canada trade balances is the increase in trade surpluses at two points: 1995 and 2000, respectively. The pattern of trade is nearly identical when both are compared in scale (see figures 1 and 3). The initial 1995 growth in Québec of over \$3 million mirrors the surplus growth in Canada at approximately \$35 million. Both show a marked decline until 1998 for Québec and 1999 for Canada when rapid growth led to the largest trade surpluses for both Québec (\$6.8 million) and Canada (\$70.7 million) in 2001.

This similar pattern is reflective of the subordinate economic role of Québec in Canada, but it also shows that, in terms of trade, Québec is similarly embedded in the global economy, as is the whole of Canada. It would seem that, from this information that Québec's socio-economic protectionist policies have done little to retard the integration of the province into the global market economic system.

On the other hand, this also suggests that high rates of protectionist legislation (Bill 122, Provincial tax laws) and state control over economic production (Hydro-Québec) and oversight (la Caisse) organizations have not hampered Québec's economic growth to the extent that some would believe. This, however, is a conclusion that cannot be addressed with simple balance of trade statistics. It should also be noted that the massive trade surplus growth of the Canadian national economy provided a significant buffer during the recession years of the early 2000s.

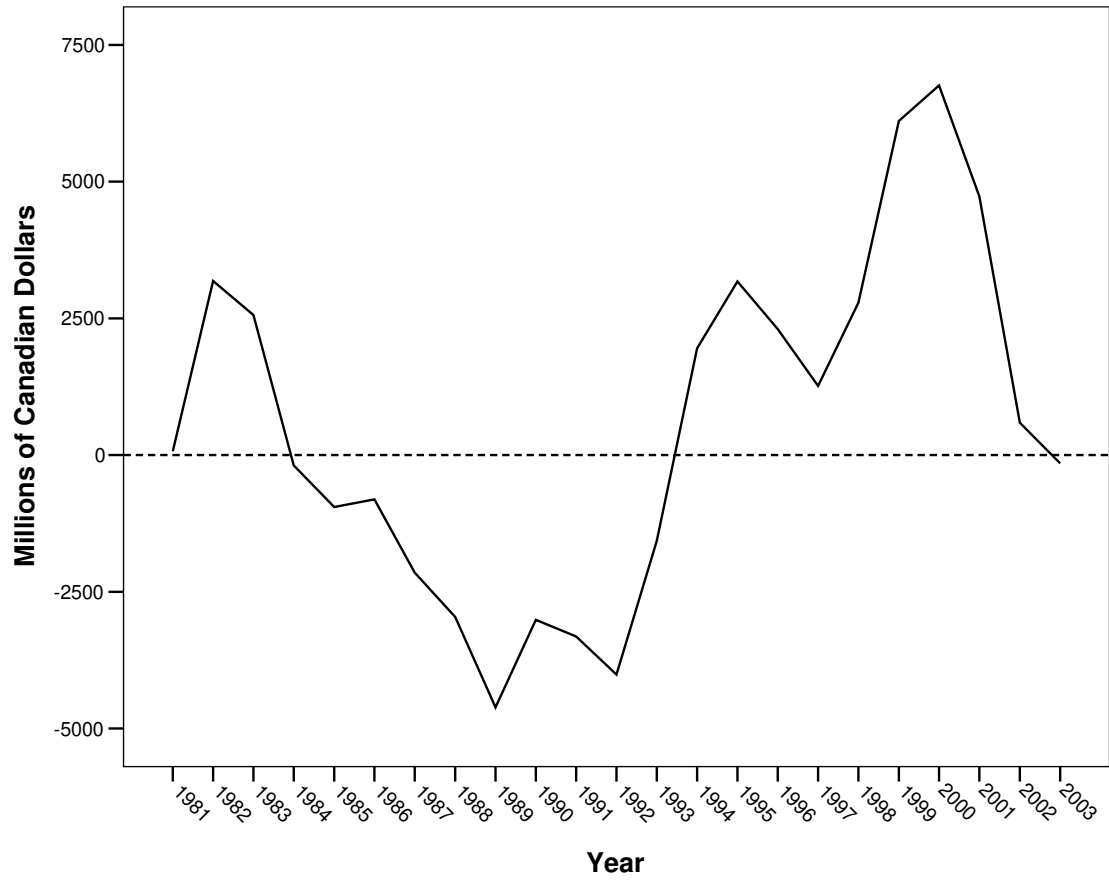
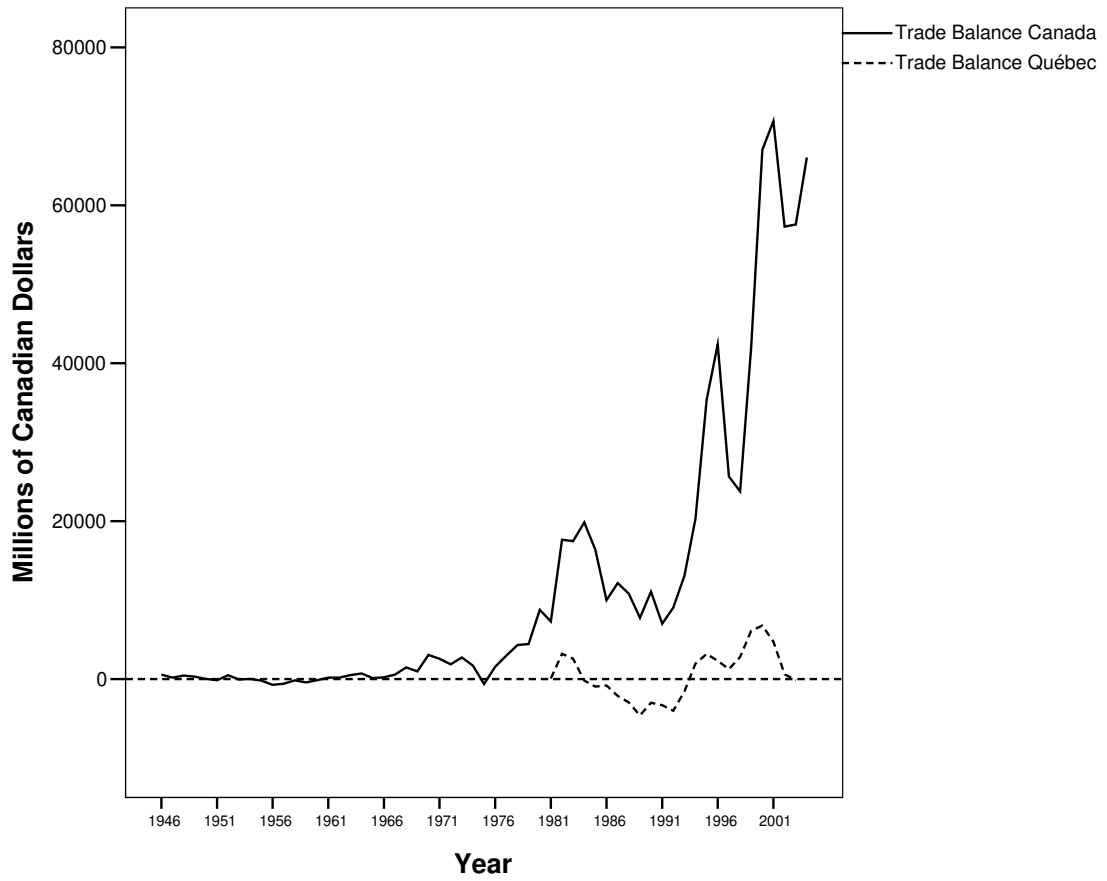


Figure 3. Québec: Balance of Trade





*Figure 4. Canada and Québec: Comparative Balance of Trade*

Although the trade surplus dropped significantly in the years 2002-2003, Canada retained a healthy surplus and has shown a \$9 billion growth in the trade surplus in 2004. Québec was similarly affected by the most recent recession (showing a decrease in 2002-2003 but a similar increase in both imports and exports in 2004). A major difference in Québec, however, is the fact that despite this most recent increase in imports and exports, Québec ran a trade deficit in 2004. This would suggest that Québec's economy is not yet capable to fully mirroring global economic trends, as is the national economy of Canada. It would seem that Québec's socio-economic protections do, in fact, hamper the ability of trade to ebb and flow in conjunction with larger trends.

On the other hand, Québec does not have the economic resources available to the Canadian federal government. While the whole of Canada can buffer provincial poverty in regions such as the Maritimes, Québec has a limited capacity to address persistent poverty in regions such as Gaspé and la Côte-Nord. This debate is important, but not the focus of this project. The conclusions we can make are that Québec has benefited from neoliberal trade policies (NAFTA) but not to the degree of Canada as a whole.

### ***3c. Québec: Foreign Investment***

Mapping FDI in Québec is problematic. Official investment statistics for Québec are not available to the public, and other FDI monitoring institutions such as UNCTAD and OECD do not keep statistics below the nation-state level. This makes a statistical comparison impossible. There is, however, a practical solution that can lead to inferences being made. First, a simple overview of Québec investment recruitment and management will illustrate the problematic nature of foreign investment in Québec. Second, statistics

demonstrating recent growth in foreign-owned capital expenditures offers a simple but interesting view of Québec's future in this area.

Foreign investment is traditionally more problematic politically in Québec than in Canada. Due to Québec's close relationship with the United States with respect to trade, investment flows would logically follow the same pattern. This would, obviously, mean that English would be the dominant language of business and investment in Québec. The relatively contemporary nature of the Quiet Revolution and the need to reinvigorate Francophone Québécois business and economic sectors led some to argue against encouraging increases in foreign investment and ownership in Québec economic institutions. This view of economic nationalism, or more pointedly economic decolonization, persisted to the point that actual tangible gains were made in improving Francophone income equality (Vaillancourt 1985)<sup>60</sup>. Once these economic disparities were effectively reduced, the emphasis on economic nationalism has decreased.

It became increasingly apparent to sovereigntist leaders (primarily in the PQ and Bloc Québécois) that encouraging foreign capital investment in Québec would accomplish two goals: (1) increase Québec's participation and integration into the global economy as an increasingly autonomous entity and (2) show support for liberal economic policies and create a more positive bilateral political economic relationship with the United States as a result. In other words, increasing global market integration and

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<sup>60</sup> Albouy (2005) supports this conclusion by measuring change in the log annual earnings gap between Francophones and Anglophones. In 1970, the gap within Québec was -.270 (representing the relative gap between the lower group (Francophones) and the dominant group (Anglophones)). In 2000, this gap had been reduced to -.070 (Albouy 2005, 29). Additionally, his research cites annual earnings figures that offer descriptive illustrations of this earnings gap. In 1970, Francophone average annual income was approximately \$34,272 while Anglophone annual income averaged \$46,857. In 2000, the Francophone average was \$43,418 while Anglophone annual earnings averaged \$46,656 (Albouy 2005, 30)

recruiting foreign investment, as a unique and autonomous entity, is viewed in Québec as a strategy to expand Québec's economic base in a more autonomous fashion than simply as a Canadian province. Of course, the extent of arguments promoting FDI as a sovereignty issue varies by political party and ideological affiliation. The interesting point here though is that regardless of whether Québec political leadership is sovereigntist (PQ) or federalist (PLQ) in orientation, the encouragement of FDI remains constant.

The universality of FDI promotion by the Québec state is apparent in the institutional state support of investment recruitment through organizations such as Investissement Québec<sup>61</sup>. This organization is based on the same public-private cooperative model that structures la Caisse and other partners of the Ministère du Développement économique, de l'Innovation et d'Exportation<sup>62</sup>. Through such institutional programs, the Québec state is able to encourage and manage foreign investment specifically directed in Québec. These efforts have resulted in positive FDI increases (see table 1). A recent evaluation of venture capital investment found that inflows of foreign capital into Québec economic entities were among the highest in North America; in fact, Québec ranks third in North American biotechnology, information technology, and venture capital investment behind only California and Massachusetts. The rapid increase in growth, \$49 million in 2002 to \$51 million in 2003 to \$88 million in 2004 (and growing), occurred after implementation of liberal economic reforms

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<sup>61</sup> Investissement Québec is a public-private cooperative organization that is organized in a way similar to la Caisse. The Board of Directors is comprised of Québec state ministers and officers as well as private business leaders in the province. The goal of the organization is to promote and facilitate foreign investment in Québec as well as Québec investment abroad.

<sup>62</sup> Ministry of Economic Development, Innovation, and Exportation

*Table 1. Québec: Capital Expenditure under Foreign-Control by Industry, 2003-2005 (In Thousands of Dollars)*

<b>Year</b>	<b>Total Expenditures</b>
2003	6,511,434
2004	7,660,990
2005	8,126,894

by the Charest administration in 2002 (King 2005)<sup>63</sup>.

Geography and increased governmental recruitment of foreign investment provide significant motivation. This increase in venture capital is reflected in more material construction and material goods investment in the province. The growth in capital expenditures by foreign-owned businesses has greatly expanded in the past three years.

The foreign investment and venture capital growth achieved in the past three to four years raises significant attention to the effect of liberal reforms undertaken by the Charest government. The economic policies of the Parti Québécois and the federal Bloc Québécois have largely mirrored those of their liberal counterparts in both provincial and federal politics. As was previously stated, it seems that the political position on sovereignty/federalism is more of a determining difference than is the common desire to integrate Québec into the global economy through both trade and increased foreign investment.

The current PLQ government in Québec is, in fact, attempting to decrease these national economic protections and adhere to orthodox liberal economic demands. The

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<sup>63</sup> “It was just a drop in the bucket in the context of U.S. venture investments - which came to \$15.5 billion in the first three quarters of 2004 - but with just under C\$500 million in disbursements in all of Canada in the third quarter, the increase in Québec is substantial.” (King 2005).

success of these down-sizing and privatization efforts remains to be seen, however the fact that Québec has utilized policy as a tool to historically promote national economic institutions and protections is significant in defining respective state capacities. More specifically, a corporatist model of the state may reflect Québec while a more traditional political model may be more reflective of the Canadian state.

#### ***4. Comparative Growth and Conclusions***

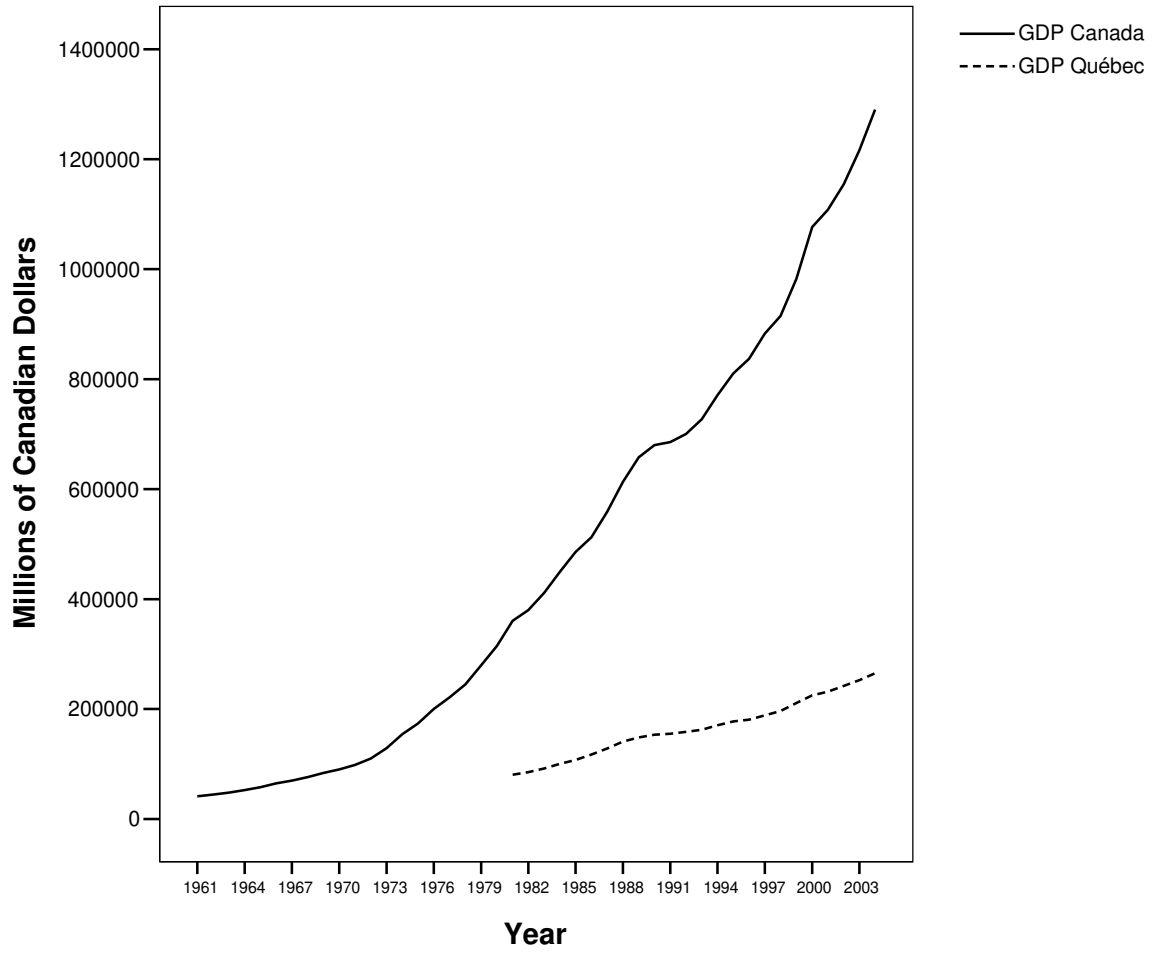
Canadian economic growth in the post-WTO and NAFTA era has been impressive. Trade and budget surpluses, at the federal level, have proven to be some of the largest in the world. In comparison with other G7 countries, Canada was alone in posting a budget surplus in 2004 (CBC 2004). Québec, on the other hand, has struggled to register consistent trade surpluses and has posted consistent budget deficits. This stark position would seem to imply that Canada, exclusive of Québec, was experiencing an economic boom, while the province of Québec remained mired in economic stagnation. A quick look at overall GDP growth illustrates this trend.

The problem, however, is that measurement at these levels is problematic due to the diversity and levels of economic inequality within Canada. For example, natural resource rich provinces such as Alberta and capital rich provinces such as Ontario tend to show rates of growth that are much higher than poorer provinces such as the Maritime provinces and (relatively) Québec. In addition, regional disparities within provinces are not taken into account. Québec, for instance, has areas of high economic growth (Montréal and Québec) and also areas of large-scale poverty (Gaspé and Côte-Nord). A more accurate measure of comparison would be to examine the rates of annual GDP

economic growth in both Canada and Québec. Figure 6 clearly illustrates this trend of similar rates of growth.

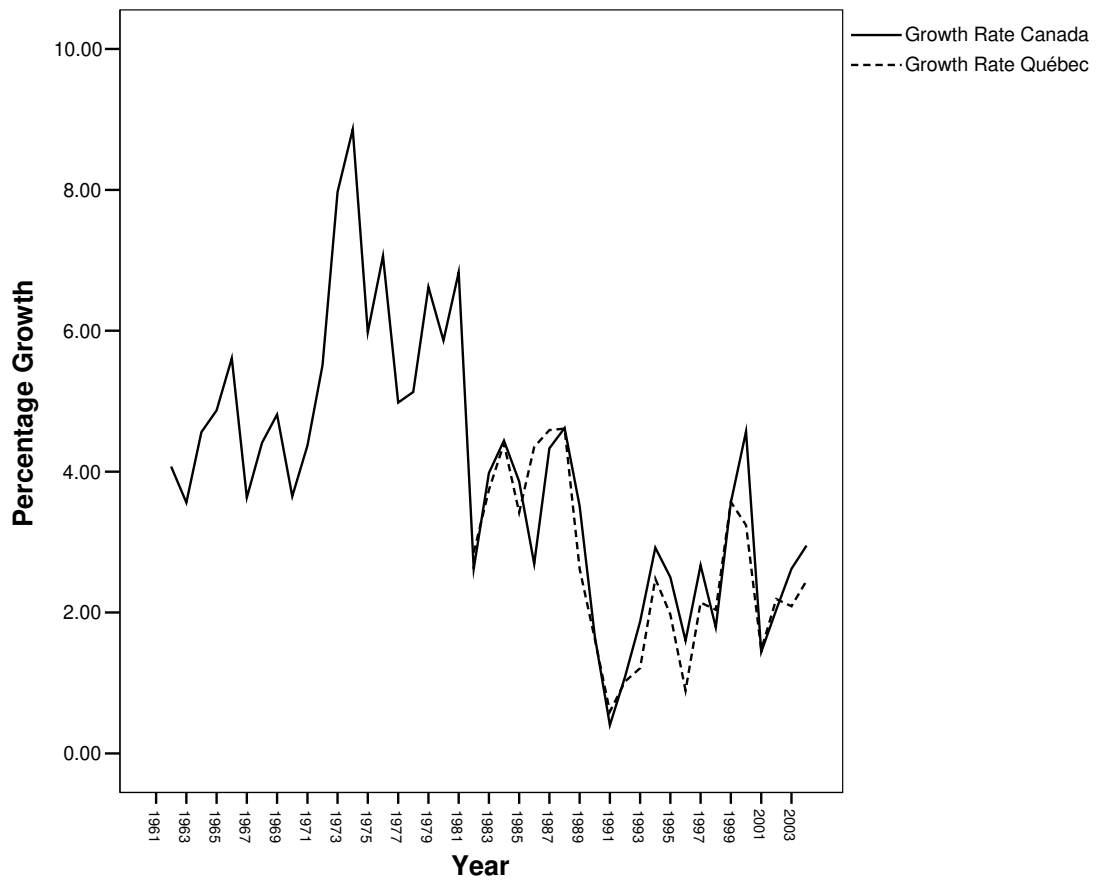
This comparison is striking in its ability to show the matching patterns of growth occurring in both Canada and Québec (as shown in figures 5 and 6, respectively). This pattern would suggest that while Québec often under-performs in terms of annual GDP growth in comparison with the whole of Canada, its rate of growth is higher at times. We can conclude that aside from rates of absolute GDP growth, the rate of annual growth shows a comparable economic growth trend. The conclusions that can be drawn from this data, with respect to determining global market integration, would imply that Québec has followed a similar path of economic integration (as Canada). We can assume that through comparable rates of annual GDP growth, trade flows, and FDI recruitment efforts that Québec and Canada have achieved at least comparable levels of global economic systemic integration.

This modest conclusion is somewhat contradictory to liberal critics of Québec social spending. The relatively low rate of overall growth and the inability to post significant trade surpluses is tempered with consistent and comparable rates of GDP growth. In other words, Québec is experiencing comparable growth rates to one of the most powerful economies in the world, and doing so with high levels of state social spending. Québec maintains a solidly social democratic statist position in which health care, education, childcare, cultural-linguistic programs, intercultural, and many other social programs are supported by the Québec state. The maintenance of non-liberal state-centered spending is cited by liberal critics as the main cause for Québec's lower level of growth and most other economic problems.



*Figure 5: Canada and Québec: Comparative GDP Growth*





*Figure 6: Canada and Québec: Comparative Rates of GDP Growth*

Two significant issues emerge from this analysis. First, the national population of Québec continues to demand that the state maintain traditional levels of spending. This is in reaction to pressures to decrease state spending by advocates of greater liberal market reforms. Spending cuts and general economic reforms have been received coldly at best in Québec. This strength of national population demands is countered by the universal political will to integrate Québec into the global market economy on an ever-increasing scale.

This second issue of liberal market promotion provides an interesting contradictory position – and a potential problem for future Québécois politics. The dual position, advocated by both the PQ and PLQ, has been to promote liberal reforms such as increasing FDI and trade, while also maintaining traditional state-funding for social programs demanded by the national population. This dual position will become increasingly tenuous if political goals for each major provincial party are realized. The desire for PQ leadership to promote sovereignty (elimination of equalization payments) and the PLQ's current desires to dismantle state social service institutions (as will be shown in Chapter Eight) both embrace global market integration as a vehicle for political goals; however, both will result in decreased ability to protect national economic sectors and social service provision. Again, these conclusions will be revised in the final chapter.

Overall, we can conclude that Québec's level of global market integration has been facilitated by its unique position with respect to "foreign aid" in the form of federal equalization payments. This situation allows Québec to promote neoliberal market integration as well as maintain relatively high levels of state social spending. This is a contradictory position that is unique to Québec; however, the existence of this climate

raises significant questions about the Québec state and its continuation of such a contradictory and potentially tenuous political economic position (supporting both neoliberal economic reforms and maintaining non-liberal national economic protections). I argue that the relative power of the Québécois national population requires this contradictory state position.

This “inhibited integration” occurs as a result of popular resistance to the effects of such integration. The political elite of Québec has shown a strong willingness to promote greater market integration, but have been unable to adequately reduce the state institutional capacities required for such reforms to fully take hold. Canada, on the other hand, has succeeded in integrating to a fuller extent and the effects of this integration have been reflected in reduced federal spending for health care (Health Canada), education, and other social services once highly prized by the federal government. This conclusion, and the potential dangers of such a political economic position, is revisited in Chapter Eight.

Economic growth has occurred in both Canada and Québec at comparable rates. As Canadian history has shown, economic growth necessitates increases in labor availability. As an economically under-populated country, Canadian demographics require that economic growth be fueled by commensurate increases in labor migration. The following chapter will illustrate this process and the accompanying ethno-cultural diversification of urban Canada and Québec as a result of this economic growth due to increased global market integration.

## *Chapter Six*

### *Ethnic Diversification and Labor Migration*

The post-World War II period ushered in the dual conditions of expanding economic production in Canada and Québec and an increasingly interactive global political economy. These, of course, were not mutually exclusive conditions as the Keynesian economic growth strategies of the post-war period saw increases in national economic performance along with the institutionalization of global economic mechanisms in the form of the IMF, World Bank, and (less formally) American dollar hegemony. These conditions began to create a more interdependent global political community, dramatically demonstrated by the process of rapid ethnic diversification in Western capitalist nation-states during globalization's early years.

We can understand this development as the causal outcome of several historical and economic forces culminating in the creation of a modern global labor supply system. First, the traditional labor migration from the source countries of Eastern and Southern Europe was limited in the post-War era. New sources of labor migration were required and subsequently filled by migration from the Global South.

Secondly, the political economic shifts that resulted from economic reorganization following World War II, and again after the collapse of the Bretton Woods institutions and the energy crisis of the early and late 1970s, created conditions conducive to the liberalization of immigration policies in many advanced capitalist nation-states. These conditions included significant motivation for source countries to participate in the

global labor supply system due to the same global economic pressures that were functioning in the developing world.

Finally, the transnationalization of production and the expansion of centers of capital in non-Western areas created a new class of educated and skilled labor migrants. These migrants would be increasingly in demand for two reasons: (1) their skills in information technology, which were increasingly in demand as Western states moved toward information-based economies and (2) their immediate resources, as often these are monied migrants who possess the skills and resources to immediately contribute to the expanded economic growth of the receiving country.

This chapter chronicles the experience of both Canada and Québec in promoting and managing labor migration in accordance with the demands and constraints of the global market economic system. The development of ethno-cultural diversity as a significant national issue in both Canada and Québec has been a result of increasing integration into the global economic system. The development of ethno-cultural diversification in Canada and Québec must be understood as a consequence of globalization; an economic growth requisite that must be managed in order to maintain national-state stability that is essential for global economic systemic maintenance. The state response to these national demographic changes takes the form of multicultural and intercultural policies and will be examined in the following chapter. This chapter provides an important link demonstrating that multicultural policies are, in fact, outcomes of globalization processes.

## *1. Understanding Labor Migration*

Labor migration and immigration have been popular topics in the post-World War II era. The ubiquitous nature of immigration is reflected in the many disciplinary theories of its origins, functions, mechanics, and outcomes. Predictably, disciplinary theories are concerned with respective dominant questions. For instance, economic theories of migration are concerned with explaining the economic motivations and conditions that promote or discourage migration. Sociological theories of migration are more concerned with social integration and incorporation into receiving societies. A focus on networks of labor and ethnic affinity/identity complement perspective examining migration as motivated by the transnationalization of production (Cordero-Guzmán et al. 2001; Light and Bhachu 1993; Portes 1998; Sassen 1991). Political theories of migration are largely focused on issues of governmental control and management of immigration (Brettell and Hollifield 2000; Brochmann and Hammar 1999; Foner and Rumbaut 2000).

The discipline-specific nature of migration studies is made even more problematic by two trends in the literature. The first is a general attempt to develop theories of migration with respect to out-migration, immigration management, migrant integration, migration flows, and many other specific aspects of the migratory process. The second trend is typified by case studies intended to show the unique and historically dependent nature of migrations. Russell King comments on this diversity of questions, issues, and approaches in the study of migration:

A sampling of even a small portion of migration's vast literature reveals a tension between attempts to create models and theories on the one hand, and the numerous empirical case-studies which tend to emphasize unique circumstances on the other. The case-studies are nearly always interesting but have limited theoretical validity or general application; the theories

either state the obvious or involve unrealistic assumptions...it is perhaps precisely because it is so difficult to make generalizations about migration that it is such an important and fascinating subject to study (King 1996, 7)!

The effort to integrate these divergent approaches is a difficult one. For instance, an identified sociological bias is to focus on the receiving country, particularly on assimilationist or identity-centered questions of social integration (Brettell and Hollifield 2000; see also Gordon 1964; Kramer 2003). While some have pointed to the inherent interdisciplinary nature of sociology as providing a natural position of authority in migration studies (Waters 1999) others have moved beyond disciplinary limitations to embrace a methodological common ground of systems theory.

Systemic perspectives of international migration are superior to the traditional “push-pull” models of migration due to their ability to incorporate structural variables in addition to traditional agent-centered choice models. Briefly, traditional models explain migration as a dynamic process involving “push” conditions (high population density, generally poor social, political, economic conditions, or extreme cases such as famine or war) in source countries and “pull” conditions in receiving countries (notably demand for labor, high economic growth, and favorable living standards, social condition, and political stability). While these explanations are often accurate, the methodology is limiting due to its emphasis on migration as a rational decision-making process on the part of the individual migrant. This approach is only able to tell part of the story of migration, specifically “the supply of foreign workers is only a necessary condition for the phenomenon of international labor migration. The decisive condition is the demand for foreign labor in the immigration country” (Straubhaar 1986, 853). In other words, immigrant choice is an important but limited portion of the labor migration process.

Systemic studies of migration develop divergent conclusions on the motivations and functions of international labor migration from those of traditional rational-choice “push-pull” models. Straubhaar (1986; 1988) makes the case that labor demand in receiving countries is the determining factor in motivating migratory flows. The ebb and flow of labor demand can be measured through immigration controls enacted by respective receiving countries. The resulting conclusions of this perspective are that individual migrants have relatively little power as larger networks of regional and international migration are dictated by receiver demand and established cultural connections (such as lingering political colonial relationships or linguistic affinity). These networks are contingent on conditions of cultural affinity (generally linguistic and ethnic) that encourage the immigration of specific group to specific locales. The mechanical operation of migration networks facilitates the creation of ethno-cultural communities in receiving states.

Harris further critiques traditional migration theory by pointing out its obvious limitations with respect to the actuality of available choices:

International migration, with all its problems, is only for the better-off workers – those who have escaped the unremitting misery of labour experienced by the millions of workers left at home (Harris 1995, 84).

These conclusions are significant advancements over rational-choice perspectives of traditional migration theory and allow research to investigate the emergence and development of labor migration as a premeditated system (Hollifield 2000; Potts 1990; Salt 1989).



### *1a. The Global Labor Supply System*

Integrative attempts at understanding systemic international migration is best demonstrated in Sassen's *The Mobility of Labor and Capital* (1988)<sup>64</sup>. One of the more important aspects of this study is the ability to examine expansion of international capital in conjunction with an expansion of the international labor market. Her analysis builds on the observations of Portes (1978) and others that international labor migration as a non-coercive process corresponding with the "consolidation phase of the world capitalist economy (Sassen 1988, 31).

The expansion of economic globalization has resulted in a dramatic increase in foreign direct investment for both developed and developing countries, which Sassen links directly to increases in out-migration from source countries. Increases in FDI facilitate economic reorientation to encourage industrial production and increases in export-oriented production. This industrial shift from traditional economic activities also results in internal migration and accelerated urbanization. The process of FDI investment in developing countries contributes to conditions that typify contemporary international labor migration:

- (a) the incorporation of new segments of the population into wage labor and the associated disruption of traditional work structures both of which create a supply of migrant workers; (b) the feminization of the new industrial workforce and its impact on the work opportunities of men, both in the new industrial zones and in the traditional work structures; and (c) the consolidation of objective and ideological links with the highly industrialized countries where most foreign capital originates, links that involve both a generalized westernization effect and more specific work

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<sup>64</sup> While Sassen's work contributed to the initial development of the concept other authors have contributed significantly to an understanding of the global labor supply system including Abowd and Freeman (1991); Nash and Fernández-Kelly (1983); Portes (1978); Potts (1990); and Straubhaar (1986; 1988).

situations wherein workers find themselves producing goods for people and firms in the highly industrialized countries (Sassen 1988, 120).

The connections between the acceleration of economic globalization and the changing of economic structures in the developing world are clear. The link to migration is, largely, due to the creation of a labor supply through modernization/industrialization funded, in part, by FDI. The removal of a viable market for traditional agriculture or rural economic pursuits encourages urban migration resulting in the proletarianization of national populations in the developing world.

With a ready labor supply, developed countries are able to establish networks of labor migration that can be adjusted in accordance with demand. The evolution of this labor supply system is an outcome of economic adjustment strategies (or modernization processes) that are a consequence of global market integration that defines economic globalization. The question of why this market emerged after World War II is essential to understanding how Western receiving countries are ethnically diversified through the process of labor migration.

### ***1b. Source Region Shifts***

In accordance with Portes' (1978) contention that voluntary labor migration patterns begin with the consolidation of capitalism, we can view the development of Western labor migration networks as an outcome of the emergent liberal market economy of the late-1800s. Early Twentieth Century migration patterns were generally consistent with cultural affinity in that colonial relationships, linguistic familiarity, and political management ensured established networks of labor supply. In the case of Canadian labor migration the common denominator was a European lineage. That is, Europe was the

source region for labor migration to Canada and Québec until the mid-Twentieth Century. These patterns are easily observed and follow a general historical pattern of Western European migration shifting to Southern and Eastern European sources in the expansionist period of the mid to late 1800s (Bailyn 1986; Games 1999; Hansen 1940). European (read: Caucasian) migration typified immigration to the West. This pattern of European out-migration would come to a halt as a result of World War II and the re-emergence of a global economic system.

The reconstruction and recovery of European industrial production and accompanying economic growth by the 1950s effectively reduced European labor migration to Canada and Québec. At that point labor demand within Europe was sufficient to motivate continental migration patterns between European nation-states and stem the flow of out-migration. In addition, the political stalemate of the Cold War ensured that migration from Eastern European countries tied to the Soviet Bloc would be restricted, if not eliminated. If labor demand was to continue in both expanding North American and European markets, new supplies of labor migration were required. The result was a global shift from the traditional source countries of Eastern and Southern Europe to the developing countries of the Global South.

This shift to the Global South for labor supply needs brought a rapid and dramatic demographic change to many advanced capitalist nation-states. While ethnic diversity has been a hallmark of (voluntary) labor migrations, much of this diversity was Caucasian, Judeo-Christian, and European in general cultural orientation. Shifting global labor supply sources to the Global South resulted in a more true diversity of culture, traditions, values, and race/ethnicity.

This shift is reflected in Sassen's description of the mechanics of the global labor supply system. Economic relationships and capital flows influence emigration. Briefly, capital investment facilitates modernization and industrialization of developing countries. The modernization/industrialization of the developing world is further fueled by the resultant proletarianization of national populations. This predictable pattern follows the same history of European industrialization as identified by Marx (1964) and Thompson (1968) – the mechanical capitalist process of creating a centralized (urban) supply of manual labor out of disparate, rural, and agrarian populations. Thus, for Sassen and others, individual receiving countries are able to influence migration by increasing FDI flows into individual source countries or regions. In addition, Sassen alludes to the existence of certain perceptual “pull factors” that influence the destination of labor migrants. For example, the image of the United States as a “land of opportunity” works in conjunction with massive foreign investment in several source countries to motivate and support this modern global labor supply system (Sassen 1988, 20).

Migratory flows to countries experiencing economic growth, and thus labor demand, demonstrate a network logic (Light and Bhachu 1993; Portes 1998; Salt 1989). In the case of Canada and Québec, these networks follow traditional lines of cultural affinity, and will be demonstrated in later sections of this chapter. It is the role of the state in the creation and maintenance of these networks that is of primary importance in understanding the role of the nation-state within the global economy.

### *1c. General Canadian Immigration Prior to 1945<sup>65</sup>*

As mentioned in Chapter Three, early Canadian migration was colonial in nature and predicated on mercantile relationships with respective mother countries. The first half of the 1800s saw small numbers of emigrants from Western Europe, mainly from the United Kingdom (most notably Scotland and Ireland). British colonial authorities actively promoted a pro-British immigration policy that encouraged loyalist migration, particularly following the War of 1812. The pre-Confederation years were, however, ones of relatively low migration to Canada.

The political autonomy afforded the Canadian government following Confederation in 1867 allowed greater flexibility in matters of immigration, specifically with respect to source country selection. It also provided Canada with a powerful ability to promote autonomous economic expansion through increased industrial and agricultural production. Immigration and economic development/growth are inexorably connected in Canada. Economically, Canada is an under-populated country requiring inflows of migrants to supplement a limited domestic population.

This focus on migration as essential to the manpower needs of the Canadian economy is well documented (Danysk 1995; Green 1994; Green and Green 2004; Hawkins 1972; McInnis 1994). The chronic Canadian economic problem is that vast natural resources and the economic potential that represents meets a low national population. This need for external labor to fuel economic growth has led to Canada being an excellent case to illustrate the “tap-on/tap-off” pattern of immigration policies that is

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<sup>65</sup> Background information for this section was derived from several sources including Cameron (2004); Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000); Halli and Driedger (1999); Hawkins (1972); and See (2001).

able to manage labor migration (Ongley and Pearson 1995: 767; Straubhaar 1986). This pattern is quite simple. In times of economic recovery or growth, immigration policy is altered to allow greater numbers of immigrants to enter the country. Conversely, in times of economic recession or depression, the “tap” of immigration policy is turned off to reduce migration inflows (Cameron 2004; Green and Green 2004; 1999; Hawkins 1972). The reality of labor demand in times of economic expansion is pronounced in Canadian history. The fact that economic expansion can be documented through immigration policy is significant and adds empirical credence to the methodology of this project; namely, that state action and motivations can be discerned through embedded policy analysis.

The traditional focus on loyalist emigration from the UK was replaced with a more expansive focus on labor market expansion in the latter half of the century. Westward expansion and the desire to increase Canada’s agricultural production dominated Canadian immigration policy during the late 1800s to the early 1900s. The Dominion Lands Act of 1872 allowed free land grants to those willing to settle the interior of Canada. The Sifton policies during the turn of the century effectively reversed years of targeted UK immigration to Canada. American and later Eastern European sources were targeted. A less typical case was that of Chinese migration in response to the construction of a Trans-Canadian railroad (1881-1885). These migrants had a different experience as several anti-Chinese legislative actions created conditions of official discrimination not felt by Caucasian ethnic communities.

World War I effectively ended the large flows of UK and Eastern European migration to Canada. Intermittent attempts were made by both Canadian and United

Kingdom authorities to restart immigration flows. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922 was the British governments answer to lagging immigration throughout the British Commonwealth by providing financial and logistical assistance to UK citizens wishing to migrate. The Depression years of the 1930s saw a near complete shutdown of Canadian immigration. High unemployment and limited growth opportunities represented the most extreme historical example of the “tap-off” tendency in Canadian immigration policy.

The end of World War II ushered in an era of dramatic growth in industrial production and economic growth in Canada. This growth was made possible by large numbers of European (Western, Eastern, and Southern) immigrants in the immediate post-war period as Canada encouraged massive migration to fuel this economic expansion. As previously stated however, European reconstruction in the mid-1950s would restrict this source of labor for Canada and Québec. Demographic change and immigration policy designed to facilitate labor migration necessary for economic growth are the two foci of the remaining sections on Canada and Québec, respectively.

## ***2. Canada: Immigration Policies<sup>66</sup>***

The Canadian legacy of discriminatory immigration policies began to dissolve shortly after the end of World War II. In 1947, the Chinese Immigration Act was repealed, eliminating such racial measures such as the provincial “head tax” and outright limits on Chinese immigration. The Department of Citizenship and Immigration was created in 1950, yet preferences based on race continued to be enforced. Small changes occurred in the early 1950s when agreements with Ceylon, India, and Pakistan allowed

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<sup>66</sup> Background information for this section was derived from several sources including Cameron (2004); Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000); Halli and Driedger (1999); Hawkins (1972); and See (2001).

limited numbers of immigrants necessary to sustain Canada's post-War economic boom. This limited "de-racialization" would not be sustained as recession in the late 1950s created high unemployment and reduced immigration levels until 1962. It was not until the 1960s that wholesale change began to emerge in Canada's immigration policies.

By 1960, Canada was confronted with the reality that their traditional sources of labor migration were evaporating. Western investment in European reconstruction proved successful and by the mid-1950s the European economy began to require its own sources of labor. What was formerly a trans-Atlantic migration system began to shift to an intra-continental system (Potts 1990; Straubhaar 1988). Canada, along with the rest of the Western World, was faced with the need to develop and encourage new sources of labor migration. As previously shown, that solution was found in the developing states of the Global South.

In 1962, Canada began the process of facilitating migration from the largely non-Caucasian regions of South Asia, Africa, South America, and the Caribbean. Immigration regulations were significantly liberalized with the elimination of race as a selection criterion, although other criteria such as education and "desirable" skills were granted higher selective authority. Canadians of European-descent also retained greater ability to sponsor immigrants from primarily European sources. This system also began to break down in 1966 when the Assisted Passage Loan Scheme (APLS)<sup>67</sup>, formerly limited to European immigrants, was extended to Caribbean migrants. Finally, in 1967 the

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<sup>67</sup> The Assisted Passage Loan Scheme was effectively a way for the federal government to subsidize immigration and encourage targeted economic growth. Loans were provided, interest-free, to desirable migrants with the understanding that the loan would be repaid within a two-year span and that the migrant would work for at least one year in a selected employment category. The expansion of this system in 1966 prompted the Canadian government to begin charging interest on these loans in 1967.



Canadian immigration system was fully de-racialized with the implementation of selection criteria based on a systems of points with no preference to region or racial category. In 1970, the APLS was extended to all potential Canadian immigrants with an established interest rate of six percent.

These reforms led to massive increases in immigration, particularly from source regions of the Global South. The facilitation of immigration was extended beyond traditional labor categories with the development of Canadian refugee protection programs. Canada's support of the 1969 Africa Refugee Convention created a distinct category of refugee migrants with distinct selection criteria. These selection criteria were essential in allowing humanitarian migration from Czechoslovakia (1968), Tibet (1970), and Uganda (1972), to name a few. Domestic support for the liberalization of Canadian immigration was also expanded. Federal funding of immigration was expanded in 1974 with the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program, which provided funding for new Canadian immigrant initial settlement.

The importance of labor migration to the health of the Canadian economy is indisputable, however larger national concerns would come to define issues of labor migration. Nationalist concerns over the increasingly diverse nature of immigrant populations and the potential for destabilizing existing legitimating structures became increasingly vocal. Nowhere in Canada was this more immediate than in Québec. The main point of contention from Québec was that the federal government did not understand the unique and distinct nature of Québec society and therefore could not make commensurate selection decisions. Many Québécois pointed to the potential for destabilizing French language and Québécois culture due to an immigrant base

determined to use English as their primary language of Canadian integration. The lack of selective control was a significant point of contention between the federal and provincial governments. In 1978, the Cullen-Couture Agreement gave Québec the power to select its own immigrants, albeit an autonomy with ultimate oversight by the federal government.

A new Immigration Act in 1978 continued large-scale organizational reforms by establishing four migrant categories: independent, family, assisted-relative, and humanitarian. The Act also eliminated migratory prohibitions for homosexuals, certain criminal convictions, and those with particular health problems such as epilepsy.

The Foreign Domestic Workers Program was implemented in 1982 as a way to provide a pool of temporary service workers to areas of demand in Canada. These temporary visa holders could apply for permanent resident status after two full years in Canada. Liberal immigration reforms experienced a political backlash in 1987 with debates over Bill C-55 and C-84. The former would create a separate Immigration and Refugee Board to evaluate credibility claims of those requesting refugee status. The latter was a legislative attempt, sponsored by the Mulroney administration, to discourage additional refugee claimants from arriving in Canada. Proponents viewed both measures as necessary to prevent potential migrants from taking advantage of Canadian refugee status designations. Québécois critics saw this as an opportunity for the federal government to increase its control over the immigration process and determination of migrant “desirability” (Hardy and Phillips 1998). Both bills were implemented, in less contentious forms, in 1989.

In 1986, the business class designation of desirable immigrants was expanded to include an investor category. In effect, immigration was approved based on the migrant's ability to invest in Canadian business or economic sectors. As Green and Green state:

While business classes have never become more than a small part of the inflow, this represents a philosophical shift toward an idea that immigration could be used as a source of capital and as a means of establishing trade links (Green and Green 1999, 434; see also Head and Ries 1998).

The minor demographic, but significant economic role of these business-class migrants offers an excellent insight into the economic nature of Canadian immigration. An example of this process was the desire to attract wealthy Hong Kong emigrants following the Chinese resumption of political authority in 1997 (Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002; Green and Green 2004; Harrison 1996). Fears of economic repression led many monied residents of Hong Kong to consider leaving for more economically friendly environments. The facilitation of this movement through the business and investor categories led many of these migrants to choose Canada over other destinations.

The early 1990s was a period of economic recession, but despite this traditional discouraging condition, the federal government announced its Five-Year Plan (1990) to increase immigration. This was the first time the federal government engaged in long-term immigration planning and only the second time that immigration was promoted during a time of economic recession (the first being in 1962). The Québec-Canada Accord was also signed in 1991. The Accord gave full authority over immigration selection and settlement to Québec.

Refugee immigration was again restricted in 1992 and 1993, although in 1993 Canada became the first state to issue gender-based guidelines designed to identify

gender persecution. The mid-1990s was a period of active reduction in immigration levels as well as a resumption of the Right of Landing Fee in which \$975 was charged to all immigrants seeking permanent residency.

Problems of refugee detention, definition, and settlement largely defined Canadian immigration at the turn of the century. Canadian labor migration continues to be dominated by sources of the Global South with issues of integration and settlement being significant contemporary issues. In 2002, the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act was passed to reorganize and codify immigration changes and refugee claimant status.

These policy shifts, including various mechanisms to manage immigration flows by the federal government, provide a brief overview of the changes in Canadian immigration after World War II. The reduction of European migration, development of Global South labor sources, and development of refugee and business class designations all denote managed contributions to the contemporary ethnic diversity existing in urban Canada. The following section examines, in detail, the changes that have resulted from these immigration policy changes.

### ***2a. Canada: Immigration Trends***<sup>68</sup>

The history of European immigration to Canada can be traced back to the beginnings of the country. The post-World War II era presented Canada with a rapidly changing world in which European labor migration was no longer viable in isolation. As

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<sup>68</sup> Statistical information used in this chapter (including sections on Canada and Québec immigration trends) was obtained from Citizenship and Immigration Canada statistical collections, archival collections, and databases. Database information can be obtained electronically at <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/index-2.html#statistics>.

figure 7 shows, several trends can be identified since the mid-1960s when Canadian immigration began to become a more open and inclusive process.

The two most obvious trends are the dramatic decrease in European immigration from 1966 through 1985 and the equally striking increase in immigration from Asia. The decrease in European immigration is the result of continuing European economic recovery and growth that inhibited further labor emigration from the continent. Interestingly, European immigration rises in 1990 due in part to Soviet social and political economic reforms (Perestroika and Glastnost) in the mid-1980s and later by the pending dissolution of the Soviet Union. These changes greatly increased out-migration opportunities for many Eastern Europeans.

The massive increase in Asian migration is reflective of Canadian (along with most other core countries) liberalization/deracialization of immigration policies and its embrace of the Global South as a new source of labor migration. China and India are consistently at the top of Canadian immigration source countries both in terms of independent and business-class migration, with Pakistan, the Philippines, and South Korea ranked as the most recent top five source countries (see table 2).

*Table 2. Canada Immigration by Top Source Countries<sup>69</sup>*

<b>Source Country</b>	<b>1996</b>	<b>1997</b>	<b>1998</b>	<b>1999</b>	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>
China	17,533	18,526	19,785	29,119	36,723	40,328	33,237	36,116
India	21,286	19,614	15,372	17,430	26,103	27,869	28,822	24,560
Pakistan	7,760	11,239	8,090	9,297	14,196	15,345	14,156	12,330
Philippines	13,158	10,872	8,185	9,171	10,091	12,921	11,003	11,978
South Korea	3,157	4,001	4,917	7,216	7,635	9,604	7,324	7,086

<sup>69</sup> Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. *Facts and Figures 2003. Immigration Overview.* <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pub/facts2003/permanent/12.html>

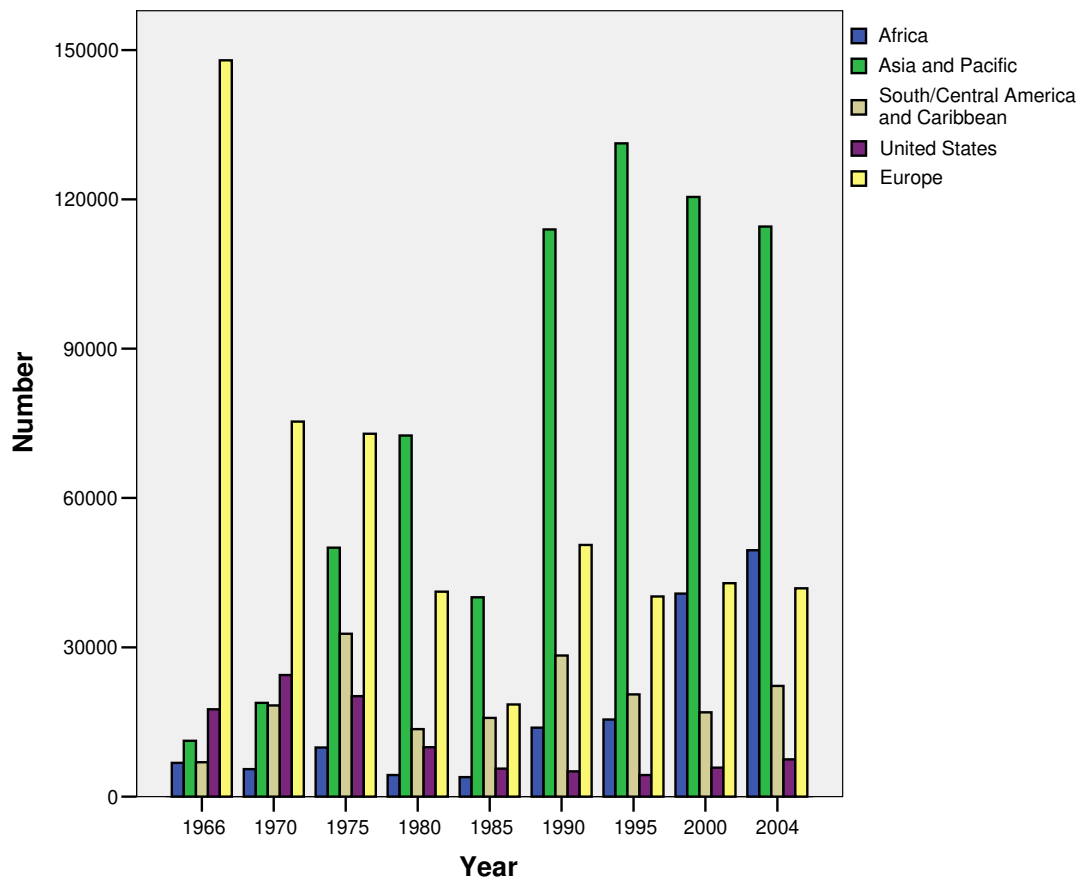


Figure 7. Total Canadian Immigration

Conversely, the top European source countries are, on average, Romania and Russia. The former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Herzegovina also appear as top source countries due to recent warfare and civil unrest in the region. This is reflective of Canada's liberal refugee program, which also allowed similar increases in African emigration. Canadian refugee policy has been at the forefront of assisting African refugees since the 1969 Africa Refugee Convention.

Deteriorating political economic conditions in many African regions have made this humanitarian immigration designation an important component to Canadian immigration as well as foreign policy. This is not to imply that all or even the majority of African migration is refugee based. In fact, African migration provides an interesting point of difference when Canadian and Québec immigration is compared.

### ***3. Québec: Immigration Policies<sup>70</sup>***

In 1966, the Union Nationale provincial government created the Ministère de l'immigration (MIQ) under the Ministère des Affaires culturelles<sup>71</sup>. Not only was Québec expanding the structure and power of its state apparatus, it was also creating a political foundation from which to differentiate Québec from the rest of Canada. Federal control over immigration was viewed as insufficient for Québec's needs. More to the point, by allowing federal control over immigration into Québec to continue, the province was actively handing Anglophone Canada the tools to effectively dilute the Francophone influence in Québec, and eventually Canada.

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<sup>70</sup> Background information for this section was derived from several sources including Rossard (1967); Cameron (2004); Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2000); Doran and Babby (1995); Halli and Driedger (1999); and Pâquet (1997).

<sup>71</sup> Ministry of Immigration under the Ministry of Cultural Affairs

In 1968, the province struck an agreement with the federal government to place Québec officials in several overseas immigration offices to better monitor the selection of potential immigrants to Québec. This agreement led to the 1975 *Entente Bienvenue-Andras*<sup>72</sup> in which Québec immigration officials were granted the authority to interview and recommend the selection of specific immigrants to federal immigration officers.

The 1976 Immigration Act presented an additional opportunity for the federal government to delegate a portion of immigration power and responsibilities to provincial governments. Section 108 of the Act allows federal-provincial interaction with respect to provincial immigration and settlement patterns. This allowance has led to several federal-provincial agreements on immigration, with the 1978 Cullen-Couture Agreement representing the most significant agreement to result from this policy provision. This agreement allowed greater autonomy in the selection of immigrants destined for Québec. The Cullen-Couture Agreement represented a significant step toward autonomous Québec immigration policy, but the goal of fully Québec control over immigration processes would not come until 1991.

The Agreement was a victory for the PQ (elected in 1976) as it explicitly recognized that Québec immigration must contribute to Québec's cultural and social health. This statement of federal recognition was accompanied by practical reforms allowing Québec immigration officials more authority in selecting immigrants bound for Québec. In addition, the Agreement granted Québec greater authority in establishing financial, skill, and other selection criteria. The Cullen-Couture Agreement was a

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<sup>72</sup> The *Entente Bienvenue-Andras* was the result of continuing dissatisfaction on the part of the Québec government in matters of immigration control. The Entente was the result of ongoing negotiations between Canadian and Québec government immigration officials designed to grant increased immigration authority to Québec.



significant step in Québec's development as a state: it had begun the process of gaining official autonomy in its demographic development.

Québec's authority in matters of immigration was expanded in 1991 with the signing of the Canada-Québec Accord. This agreement grants sole authority for immigrant selection to Québec as well as sole responsibility to provide equivalent settlement and integration programs. Québec is the only Canadian province to retain authority over selection criteria, although there are several other federal-provincial agreements that grant provincial advisory authority to recommend policy and selection changes. Québec is also the only Canadian province to have independent immigration offices for the sole purpose of promoting immigration to the province. Québec operates such offices in Argentina, Austria, Belgium, France, Hong Kong, Mexico, and Syria that serve as regional administrative and recruitment centers.

The most recent federal Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2002) does not alter the Canada-Québec Accord in any way. The federal government retains authority over total immigration inflows and establishing overall admissibility criteria (largely health requirements), but selection, administration, and settlement remains the exclusive responsibility of Québec. This situation is one of the strongest indicators of Québec's status as an autonomous state entity. The increasing authority of Québec over immigration policies and practices is reflected in the analysis of immigration to the province since the mid-1960s.

### ***3a. Québec: Immigration Trends***

Immigration flows into Québec reflect the same shift in source region during the 1960s and 1970s. High European immigration typified the Québec immigration

environment as it did in the larger Canadian case. In fact, until 1980, European immigration constituted an even greater proportion of total Québec immigration than in the larger Canadian total. When the immigration source countries for Québec and Canada are compared the proportions are strikingly similar, that is until 1995 (see figure 7 and figure 8). After the Canada-Québec Accord in 1991, Québec gained full control over the selection and recruitment process. This is dramatically reflected in the source country shift that occurs in Québec immigration starting in 1995. As total immigration from Asia rises for Canada, the total Asian immigration flow into Québec actually decreases (from 21,567 in 1990 to 9,329 in 2000). Instead of the trend of increased Asian migration, Québec shows increases in African (from 4,732 in 1990 to 9,680 in 2000) and South and Central American (including the Caribbean) (from 4,314 in 1990 to 7,830 in 2000) migration.

This difference in immigration source regions is made more explicit when Canadian immigration is controlled to exclude Québec (figure 9). This comparison shows a similar pattern of source region shift from Europe to the Global South in both Canada and Québec, thus confirming the initial contention that a shift in global labor supply due to increasing economic globalization has effectively diversified the demographic composition of core states, in this case Canada and Québec respectively.

The power of states to control regional migration patterns is an additional observation that can be made from the comparison of Canadian and Québec immigration. Canadian immigration reforms in the 1960s contributed to the rapid growth in migration from the Global South, predominantly from Asian source countries. This pattern was

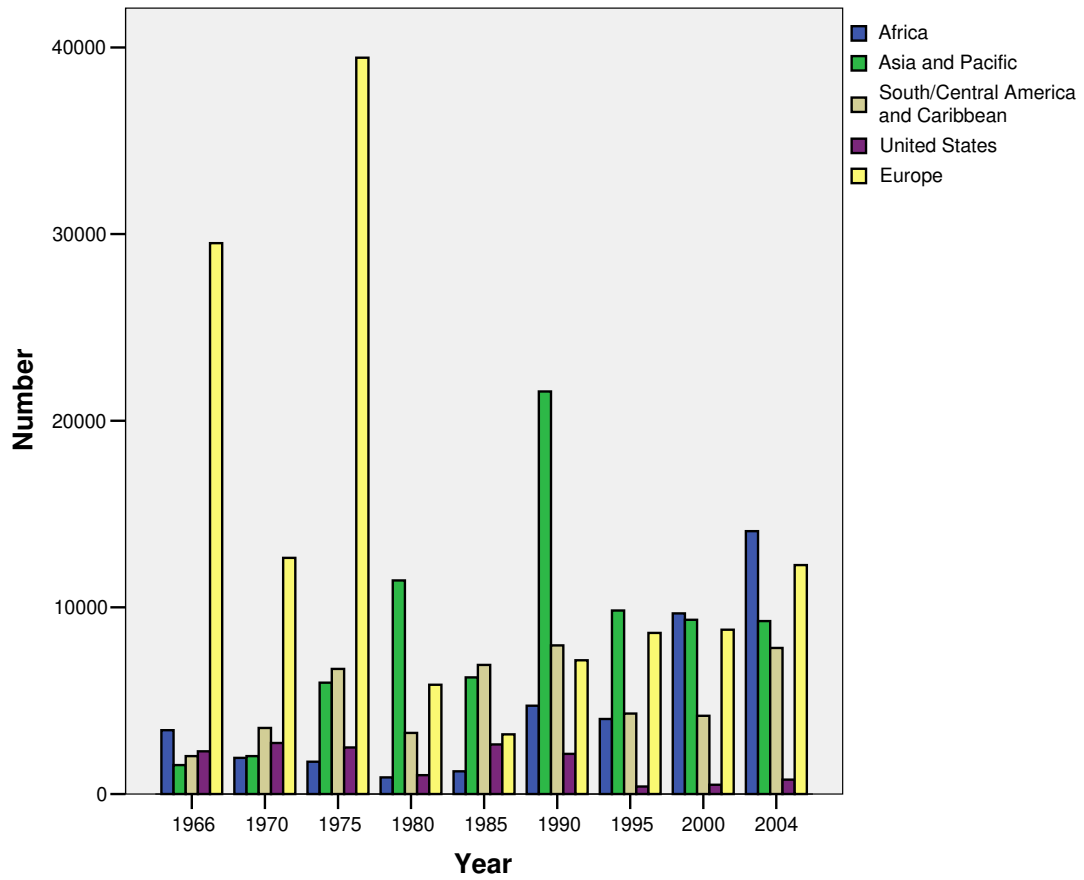


Figure 8. Québec Immigration

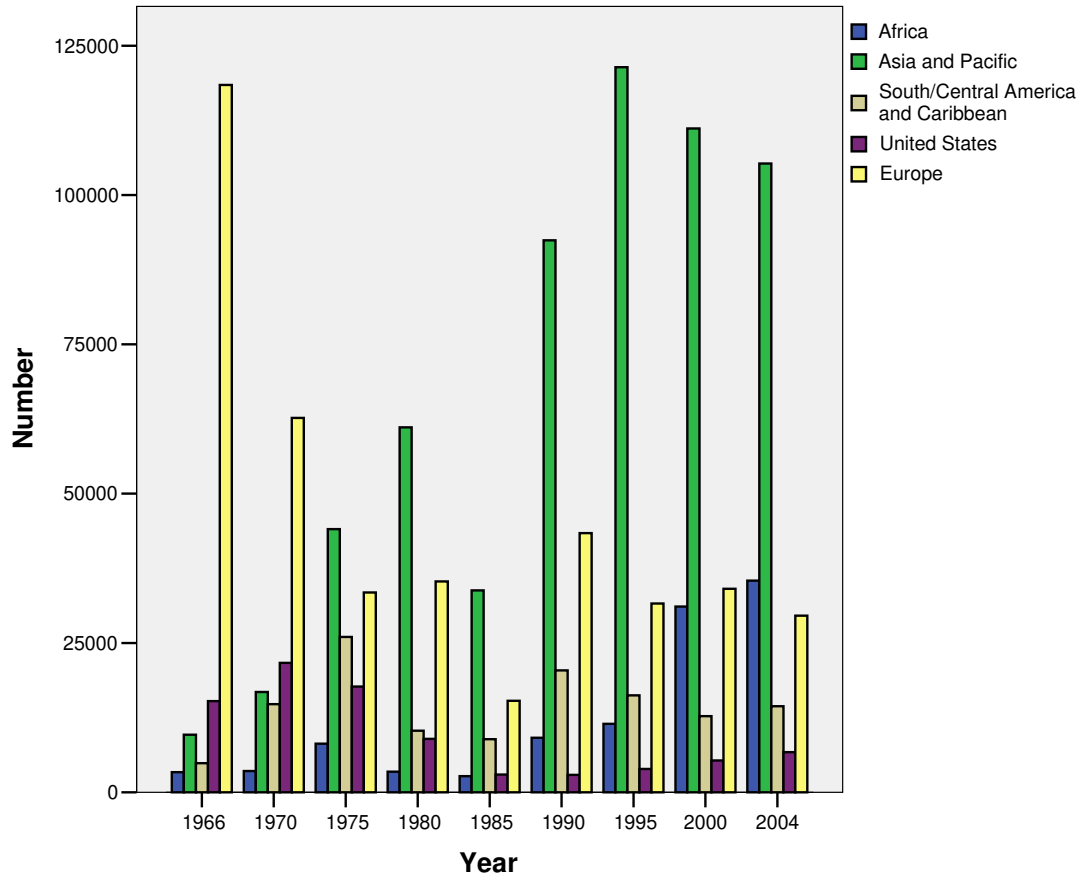


Figure 9. Canadian Immigration (Excluding Québec)

replicated in Québec until the early 1990s when Québec immigration controls could be fully enforced by the Québec state.

The result is a concerted effort to recruit and promote migration from regions (also of the Global South) with Francophone cultural and linguistic affinity. This has led to increased recruitment and migration from former French colonies in North and Western Africa and the Caribbean. It is also interesting to note that European immigration to Québec has also increased in recent years, although African migration constitutes the dominant source region for Québec immigration (14,082 in 2004, representing 32% of total Québec immigration).

From this cursory comparison of Canadian and Québec immigration we can conclude that both have, in fact, conformed to the dominant systemic shift in the global labor supply system and encouraged increased migration from regions of the Global South (as shown in figures 8 and 9, respectively).

Québec, in line with its nationalist project and state development since the Quiet Revolution, has worked within this systemic change to recruit and encourage migration from specific regions of the Global South. The result in both cases, however, has been a rapid and consistent increase in the ethno-cultural diversity of new arrivals in Canada and Québec. This dissertation argues that ethno-cultural diversification in Canada and Québec is the result of increased global market integration and shifts in global labor supply. Economic growth opportunities afforded by increased global market integration *in core states* is made possible through increased labor migration.

This is particularly true in Canada and Québec where regressive population growth presents long-term economic problems with respect to labor market

maintenance<sup>73</sup>. Diversity in Canadian and Québec immigration is the result of shifts in source regions in the global labor supply system. Therefore, ethno-cultural diversification is the result of labor market demand motivated by economic growth that is, in turn, motivated by increasing global market integration.

This rapid ethnic/racial diversification (only in the past 40 years) has created a situation of social change and a series of national demands to which the state must respond. These social changes have been dually motivated by integration into the global market economy and changes in the global labor supply system, thus globalization-motivated change has pressured the individual state to react in turn. Major questions that must be answered are how the impact of these changes has affected state policy-making processes? If global market integration inhibits state economic policy, what avenues for national protection remain?

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<sup>73</sup> In order to maintain current population levels, exclusive of immigration, in Canada and Québec the native fertility rate must be 2.06. Current birth rates in Canada are 1.5 and in Québec, 1.46. Neither rates are sufficient to sustain current population levels nor meet increased labor demands resulting from continued economic growth (Statistics Canada 2003; Dai et al. 1996).

## *Chapter Seven*

### *Multiculturalism, Interculturalism, and the Management of Culture*

The confluence of international political economic and domestic demographic change poses a challenge to both Canada and Québec. On the one hand, demand for labor continues to exceed domestic Canadian supplies with the expansion of source migration to the Global South providing an immediate remedy. On the other hand, the rapid urban diversification that accompanied this solution carried significant problems for both Canadian and Québec nationalist projects. The development of multicultural policies in Canada, and later intercultural policies in Québec, offer an explicit example of the Polanyian “double movement” in which the state must actively work to maintain balance between the demands of a neo-liberal market economic system and a national population demanding protections from these systemic forces. This chapter chronicles the emergence and evolution of both Canadian multicultural policy and Québec intercultural policy in the context of this “double movement,” albeit with a focus on culture that is much more explicit than in Polanyi’s original thesis. Figure 10 provides a brief chronology of Canadian multicultural policies and institutional development in support of the following section.

#### *1. Canada: Multicultural Policy*<sup>74</sup>

Canada’s unique multicultural policy (the first of its kind among capitalist democracies) was the result of the 1963 Royal Commission on Bilingualism and

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<sup>74</sup> Background information used to compile this section was derived from sources including Abu-Laban and Gabriel (2002); Hawkins (1988); Jansen (2005); and archival sources from Heritage Canada, the Ministry of Multiculturalism, and the Ministry of State.

### *Chronology of Canadian Multicultural Policies and Institutions*

- 1963 – Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism commences
- 1971 – Policy Statement by Prime Minister P.E. Trudeau, “Multiculturalism within a Bilingual Framework
- 1972 – Creation of the Multicultural Directorate under the Department of the Secretary of State
- 1973 – Creation of the Ministry of Multiculturalism
- 1982 – Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms officially recognizes the multicultural character of Canadian society (Section 27)
- 1984 – Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities produces the Equality Now! report emphasizing the need to enforce non-discrimination legislation
- 1985 – House of Commons Standing Committee on Multiculturalism is created
- 1987 – Standing Committee on Multiculturalism publishes a report advocating for the creation of a Department of Multiculturalism and a stronger policy of multiculturalism designed to address discrimination.
- 1988 – Multiculturalism Act provides singular legislative support for defining Canadian society as multicultural and reinforces anti-discriminatory language of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
- 1991 – Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship is created with a mandate to improve race relations and cross-cultural understanding as well as support minority community development and cultural preservation.
- 1993 – Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship is divided. Multicultural programs would be subsumed within the Department of Canadian Heritage and Citizenship programs would be subsumed within Citizenship and Immigration Canada.
- 1994 – Liberal administration of Jean Chretien eliminates federal settlements payments for federal actions deemed illegal and grievous by various groups (including formerly interred Japanese-Canadian and several Native Canadian groups). This action reversed years of settlement payments by Liberal and Conservative administrations to aggrieved groups.
- 1996 – Canadian Race Relations Foundation is created by the federal government with an initial endowment of \$24 million. The CRRF assumed race relations research and monitoring responsibilities formerly of the Department of Multiculturalism.
- 1997 – Comprehensive review of Canadian multiculturalism revised the federal goals of multiculturalism to include: identity (recognition of ethno-cultural diversity within a Canadian national context), civic participation (promoting democratic participation among immigrant and minority community groups), and social justice (with respect to equality and non-discrimination). The federal institutional capacity to meet these goals must now be accomplished with a staff of *three* within the Multiculturalism section of Heritage Canada.

*Figure 10. Chronology of Canadian Multicultural Policies and Institutions*



Biculturalism (B&B Commission), which was in turn the result of the equally unique dual colonial legacy of French and English “founding peoples” (Jansen 2005). The dramatic and immediate changes that occurred in Québec as a result of the PLQ-led Quiet Revolution<sup>75</sup> motivated the federal government to “explore new approaches toward greater Canadian unity” (Canada 1973). Canada’s long history of promoting a specifically Eurocentric<sup>76</sup> nationalism through immigration regulations and nationalist cultural policies was increasingly challenged by its entry into global economic and labor systems after World War II. Marc Lehman points to the post-war changes as being the end of Canada’s traditional national definitions:

For the most part, central authorities dismissed the value of cultural heterogeneity, considering racial and ethnic differences as inimical to national interests and detrimental to our character and integrity. Only the massive influx of post-Second World War immigrants from Europe prompted central authorities to rethink the role and status of “other ethnics” within the evolving dynamic of Canadian society (Lehman 1999, 3).

This post-war reality was, on the whole, not a significant challenge to the Canadian national “vision” due to the fact that these were largely Caucasian migrations from various regions in Europe. It was not until the 1960s that shifts in labor supply to the Global South resulted in a more racially and ethno-cultural diverse immigrant population.

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<sup>75</sup> As a final statement of clarification, the Quiet Revolution is the historical culmination of long-standing Québécois nationalism, not a singular and isolated event denoting the beginning of any Francophone nationalist project. The political economic reforms undertaken by Jean Lesage and the PLQ begin the process of building an autonomous Québec *state*. The existence and cohesion of the Québec nation is not in question.

<sup>76</sup> This Eurocentric nationalism was specifically Western European and it could be argued, British. Ethnic diversity was not viewed as a positive social trait. In fact, Canadian leaders such as King and Diefenbaker consistently lionized the British nature of Canadian political, legal, social, and cultural national structures. The shift in immigration by Sifton at the turn to the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought thousands of Eastern Europeans to Canada. The active recruitment of Ukrainian groups for agricultural settlement in Manitoba and Saskatchewan would return in the 1960s as larger number of Southern and Eastern Europeans immigrated to Canada following the war.

Lehman's focus is on what would be termed the "Third Force" of Canadian political demography: those who did not claim aboriginal, English, or French ancestry yet did claim Canadian citizenship. The formation of the B&B Commission in response to the acceleration of tension between English and French Canada and its framing as a bicultural conflict in a bicultural nation-state irked the many "Third Force" citizens of Canada. The most visible and vocal of these groups self-identified as Ukrainian and many traced their "Canadian-ness" back to the opening of the Canadian West in the late-1800s. Their stake in the Canadian nation, it was argued, constituted more than a subservient role in the greater national society (Bibby 1990; Kelner and Kallen 1974; Smith 1981). Their vocal opposition resulted in the production of an additional section to the B&B Commission's report, Book IV, "The Cultural Contribution of other Ethnic Groups" (Canada 1970).

The role of Ukrainian advocacy groups in the "Third Force" response to the B&B Commission has been well documented and the existence of a well-organized Canadian population of non-aboriginal, English, or French ancestry was essential to the success of the movement. I would argue that Lehman's point that the influx of European post-war immigration be taken more seriously as a motivating force in generating Book IV of the B&B Commission Report. Commonly, studies of the B&B Report view existing Eastern and Southern European groups as primary motivators for the inclusion of Book IV (Armour 1981; Bell 1992; Brooks 2002; UCC 1968). This fact is not in dispute. I would add that the changes in Canadian immigration policy and shifts in global labor supply also contributed to the Commission's decision to add Book IV to its official report.

Passaris comments on the inexorable connection between immigration and economic growth:

Economic considerations have always been a paramount influence over the scope and substance of Canada's immigration program. Indeed, it is those economic considerations that have determined the gradual change in the multicultural composition of immigrations to Canada in the post World War II period and are likely to define the more substantive ethnocultural diversity and racial pluralism of immigrants admitted to Canada in the future (Passaris 1986, 17).

In fact, by the time Book IV was published, Canadian immigration had been completely de-racialized and the cumulative effect of these policy changes resulted in gradual increases in Asian and South and Central American immigration as early as 1970 (see Chapter Six). The combination of a more diverse European immigrant population and the expansion of immigration policies to include migrants from the Global South resulted in a rapid increase in Canadian diversity. The fact that Canada's national demographic composition was rapidly changing as a result of its core political economic position in the post-World War II world could not be ignored.

The confluence of issues organized around ethnic recognition movements presented a significant problem for the Canadian government. Not only was Québécois nationalism a significant threat to Canadian stability and cohesion, but Third Force and First Nations groups were also demanding recognition. Federal attempts to examine and recognize the bilingual and bicultural nature of Canadian society seemed to be expanding into a multicultural context in which all Canadian ethno-cultural groups were contending for recognition. The development of Canadian multicultural policy, however, embraced these contending demands in the creation of a national cultural framework intended to promote a singular Canadian nationalism.

### *1a. The Institutionalization of Multiculturalism*

The diversification of the Canadian population was underway by the early 1970s; however, it is important to note that the initial implementation of the Multicultural Policy in 1971 had little to do with diversifying immigration trends. This policy was, in effect, a statement of Canadian nationalism that was intended to address lingering issues and complaints of ethnic minorities with respect to their *cultural* identification and survival. In other words, the 1971 Multicultural Policy was a direct result of the three forces (aboriginal, Québécois, and the diverse “other” category, largely comprised of Eastern European groups) and their potential to disrupt the national stability of Canada<sup>77</sup>. More importantly, the Trudeau administration’s focus on national economic development required a consistent and stable definition of Canadian nationalism to harness the productive capacity and potential of the Canadian labor force, including non-Anglo Canadians.

In 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced a new federal government framework designed to foster a unique and inclusive form of Canadian nationalism: multiculturalism within a bilingual framework. The policy had four central components: (1) to allow minority cultures the opportunity to retain traditions and self-identification, (2) an equal opportunity mechanism to facilitate the removal of economic stratification

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<sup>77</sup> Polanyi refers to these destabilizing effects in economic terms; specifically, his “tension of classes” phrase refers to social strain and instability produced in times of high unemployment, high prices, and other conditions producing socio-economic hardships. The same argument is made in Piven and Cloward’s (1993) conceptualization of the rise and fall of welfare regulatory efforts on the part of the advanced capitalist state. In this case, the effects of global market integration are increasingly articulated through a cultural medium namely, ethno-cultural diversification. As the state increases its capacity to manage and control national cultural definitions and symbols, maintaining a stable national cultural environment becomes necessary for ensuring control over these universal (and monolithic) definitions of national culture. Strong ethno-nationalist sentiment (outside of the “official” national culture) is destabilizing because it withdraws legitimacy for a universal, state supported nationalist definition.

based on race and ethnicity, (3) to increase inter-group communication for the purpose of education and fostering understanding, and (4) to facilitate the acquisition of either English or French language skills by immigrants (Trudeau 1971).

In order to support these policy initiatives, the Multicultural Directorate was created under authority of the Department of the Secretary State in 1972. One year later the Directorate was expanded into an autonomous Ministry of Multiculturalism with the added responsibilities of monitoring governmental compliance with non-discrimination measures prompted by the Multicultural Policy. Almost immediately, the institutional responsibilities of the Ministry of Multiculturalism began to shift. While the initial policy statement focused on recognition and the protection of relative cultural autonomy within the context of a bilingual Canadian nation-state, the primary mission of the Ministry became the facilitation of equal economic opportunity and economic integration of newly arrived immigrants. These responsibilities were hampered by the lack of legislative authority to enforce the edicts of non-discrimination.

The need for non-discrimination legislation grew exponentially in the decade of the 1970s. Although shifts in immigration source regions did not provide a primary motivation for the initial 1971 Multicultural Policy, these shifts would come to define both Canadian diversity as well as drive multicultural policy shift in response to this rapid demographic transition. Lehman makes a particularly direct connection between the rise in ethno-cultural diversity and changes in multicultural policies:

The architects of the 1971 policy had perceived barriers to social adaptation and economic success largely in linguistic or cultural terms. The marked increase in the flow of visible minority immigrants whose main concerns were employment, housing, education and fighting discrimination required a shift in policy thinking. Equality through the

removal of racially discriminatory barriers became the main focus of multicultural programs and race relations policies and programs were put in place to discover, isolate and combat racial discrimination at personal and institutional levels (Lehman 1999, 5).

The need to match ethno-cultural protections with economic development would come to define Canadian multicultural policy. Until 1982, however, the Multicultural Policy was simply a federal initiative with no legal authority. The larger goal was to encourage the national population to accept the reality of Canadian multiculturalism, while at the same time promoting a unified Canadian nationalism. In 1977, the Minister of State for Multiculturalism, Norman Cafik, commented on the motivation for official multiculturalism:

We don't have a second class culture or a first class culture in Canada. We have a multicultural society not because we created it that way as a government, but because that's the way it is (Cafik 1977).

Cafik's statement is typical of policy defenses in that his arguments present a state seeking to support the nation during a period of dramatic social change. That is, the state is simply reacting to socio-economic changes outside of its control and therefore must respond in a reactionary fashion to protect its national population. His implication that the state did not create a multicultural society is flawed as evidenced by the previous chapter. This implies that the "reactionary" nature of multicultural policy is not accurate.

Multicultural policy supports the diversification of Canada and therefore maintains a proactive function. By presenting multicultural policy as reactionary, the Canadian state is able to publicly absolve itself of complicity in facilitating socio-economic conditions requiring political attention. In other words, the Canadian state presents itself as protecting Canadian national populations from social changes motivated

by external forces and processes. The fact that the multicultural policy also facilitates ethno-cultural changes promoted by global market integration is overlooked in the public presentation of Cafik's policy statement.

Cafik was correct in his assessment of the historical nature of Canadian multicultural society. At no time in Canada's post-colonization era was there a single ethno-cultural entity that existed without challenge. Cafik was incorrect in his general statement about the lack of culpability on the part of the Canadian state. As chapters five and six have shown, the Canadian federal state actively promotes ethno-cultural diversification in support of economic growth. From the recruitment of Ukrainian and other Eastern Europeans in the Western Expansion era to the current shift of the global labor supply system to the Global South, the federal government has relied on immigration to fuel economic growth. The labor required to produce economic growth is increasingly of an ethnic and culturally diverse nature. Therefore, the Canadian federal government had a strong role in the ethno-cultural diversification of Canada due to its willingness to integrate into the global market economic system. The collapse of any semblance of national economic protections in the late 1970s (after the first Trudeau administration) required that expanded economic growth be accompanied by continued immigration and accelerated ethno-cultural diversification. The task of the federal government, unencumbered by economic protections, would be how to manage this rapid diversification while ensuring a stable economic (production) environment.

The 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, as part of the Constitution Act, gave legal support and authority to the Ministry of Multiculturalism with respect to the enforcement of non-discrimination. For the first time, Canada was legally able to

prosecute discriminatory actions in hiring, housing, and public interaction. The Charter defined Canadian society as being one of equal opportunity, particularly with respect to the demographic composition of the country. Section 27 of the Charter specifically codifies the multicultural character of the Canadian nation, while Section 15 specifically provides legal discriminatory protection for all individuals “in particular...based on race, national or ethnic origin, colour, religious, sex, age, or mental or physical disability” (Canada 1982).

The Charter provided important legal authority for anti-discrimination goals of the revised multicultural policy<sup>78</sup>. As the face of Canadian immigration continued to grow increasingly diverse, the federal government began to realize that the official recognition of cultural diversity and legal protection from discrimination required additional augmentation. In 1984, the Special Parliamentary Committee on Visible Minorities was commissioned and one year later the House of Commons created a Standing Committee on Multiculturalism. On the recommendation of these two Committees, Canadian multiculturalism was officially codified by the 1988 Multiculturalism Act.

The Multiculturalism Act did not institute any new changes to Canadian multicultural policy. What it did was provide specific legislation officially defining Canada as a multicultural society, protecting individuals from discrimination, continuing the process of cultural diversity education and understanding, and facilitating cultural preservation for ethno-cultural minorities. The specificity of the Multiculturalism Act meant that the sporadic mention of multicultural and diversity protection in the Charter of

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<sup>78</sup> Enforcement of anti-discrimination legislation was limited within the Ministry of Multiculturalism. The Ministry was able to monitor compliance and cite offenders, but had no adjudicative authority. Ultimately, the institution of official multiculturalism was enforced by the court system through adherence to both the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms and the Multiculturalism Act.



Rights and Freedoms was superseded. The Act also created the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship that eventually commenced full operations in 1991. The responsibilities of the Department were three-fold. The primary mission was monitoring race relations (for example, receiving and evaluating discrimination complaints) followed by cultural preservation (largely through grant support for cultural education programs and celebratory functions) and then community support (facilitating integration activities and sponsoring events designed to encourage inter-group dialog). This emphasis on race relations is an important shift that was prompted by the rapid diversification of urban Canada and reflective of the changing nature of national demands in the face of these local changes wrought by global market integration.

Where early multicultural policies concentrated on cultural preservation and intercultural sharing through promotion of ethnic presses and festivals, the rejuvenated multiculturalism program emphasized cross-cultural understanding and the attainment of social and economic integration through removal of discriminating barriers, institutional change and affirmative action to equalize opportunity (Lehman 1999, 7).

### ***1b. The Decline of Institutional Multiculturalism***

The institutional position of multiculturalism led many neo-liberal critics to question the effectiveness of state spending on multicultural programs. The nearly universal neo-liberal calls to decrease state spending on social service provision heavily affected the state decision to downsize the mission and institution of official multiculturalism. As the Canadian state became more and more integrated into the global market system, the more intense and persistent the calls to reduce and/or privatize the state's role in social services.

As a result, the institutional emphasis on official multiculturalism was revised yet again in 1993 as the Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship was downsized to become a subdivision within the Canadian Heritage Department. The administration of federal multicultural policies was removed as a primary emphasis and placed on par with official language programs, among many other programs of national interest (media, national park administration, and support for the arts).

Canadian multicultural policy was revised again in 1996 as a result of increased criticism from many neo-liberal and national interests. The renewed emphases returned to the original 1971 policy statement in that Canadian multiculturalism would increasingly emphasize the recognition of cultural identity while de-emphasizing the authoritative role of multiculturalism in managing issues of discrimination and diversity. The new policy focused on the development of community-centered initiatives to promote inter-cultural understanding and cooperation. The multicultural program within the Canadian Heritage Department was largely divorced from larger race relation issues with the establishment of the public-private Canadian Race Relations Foundation (CRRF) in 1997<sup>79</sup>. Initially funded by a federal grant, the CRRF is now a completely self-financed organization that is responsible for generating research and awareness of racial/ethnic relations and problems in Canada. The CRRF has no legal enforcement authority and the federal

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<sup>79</sup> The Canadian Race Relations Foundation was established by an act of Parliament in 1996 and initially funded by a \$24 million grant. The Foundation is run on a corporate model with a Board of Directors with day-to-day operations administered by an executive officer. A descriptive statement on the CRRF website ([www.crr.ca](http://www.crr.ca)) offers a more complete view of the public-private model of operation:

CRRF is a Crown corporation with a national mandate operating at arms length from the federal government from which we receive no funding. Our primary operating funds are derived from the investment income on the one-time endowment fund.

government has largely returned to the general non-discrimination statements inherent in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

This de-institutionalization of multiculturalism in Canada was the result of neo-liberal attacks on perceived excesses in both state spending and state involvement in market economic processes (Frow 1999; Joppke 2004). In fact, Mitchell goes even further in declaring multiculturalism and neo-liberal ideology incompatible (Mitchell 2004). This conclusion is consistent with the excursus on liberalism and multiculturalism in Chapter Two illustrating attempts to reconcile these seemingly contradictory forces. I argue in this dissertation that the conflict between (neo) liberal ideology and multiculturalism is, in fact, indicative of the “double movement” process of neo-liberal market encroachment and national protectionist demands. The incompatibility of liberalism and multiculturalism (as evidenced by Taylor, Kymlicka, Joppke, Mitchell, and others) is the manifestation of neo-liberal (global political economic) pressures generating a non-liberal (national protectionist) reaction.

The issue of multicultural (and later intercultural) policy is that it is designed to mediate these impulses (liberal and non-liberal) – thus we can view the mechanics of the “double movement” through such policies. In other words, the effects of global market integration encourage social destabilization at which time national populations demand protections from these destabilizing effects. The state must negotiate these dual pressures through policies intended to meet both demands (global market integrative and national protectionist). This dynamic will be revisited in the final section of this chapter as well as in the following chapter.

Returning to the example of Canadian multicultural policy, the return to the liberal foundations of the Charter is a significant development. In view of neo-liberal critics, the institutionalism of federal multiculturalism could be easily replaced with a simple judicial adherence to the liberal equality espoused in the Charter. The pressures of adherence to the neo-liberal ideology of limited state spending and control have been identified as a ubiquitous condition of global market integration (Baiman et al. 2000; Boyer and Drache 1996; Harris and Seid 2000). The case of multiculturalism's decline as an institutional entity in Canada seems particularly telling of this process.

This decentralization of multicultural responsibilities beginning in 1993 is a direct result of these neo-liberal pressures to reduce social spending. Increasing criticism of multicultural programs in general centered on program costs (Breitkreuz 1997), the inability to enforce non-discrimination legislation (Jansen 2005), the incompatibility of multicultural ideology and Canadian social welfare distribution (Barbaro 1995) and the ideological danger to a cohesive Canadian nation-state (Barry 2001; Bissoondath 1994). The declining role of multicultural policy in Canada is reflected in consistent decreases in federal funding and the privatization of one of the once central responsibilities of the Department of Multiculturalism. Of course, one of the central tenants of neo-liberal economic governance is decreased state spending for social services that hinder economic growth.

The decline of institutional multiculturalism in the 1990s represented a success for neo-liberal critics; however the program continues to play a significant role in support of Canadian immigration goals. In fact, Canadian business entities now support the ideal of multiculturalism as being a facilitator of skilled and monied labor migration (Abu-

Laban 2003; Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002). The current challenge is no longer from neo-liberal global market proponents, but from national popular groups claiming that multiculturalism as a state policy has failed to adequately provide a common socio-cultural medium. Critics argue that national cohesion and stability (see footnote 4 in this chapter) are threatened by a policy that, in fact, creates divisions and separation as opposed to provided its promised unity under a common nationalist environment (Bibby 1990; Bissoondath 1994; Gwyn 1995).

Before I enter into a discussion of increasing national popular dissatisfaction with multicultural policies, it is necessary to compare the emergence and decline of multiculturalism with that of *interculturalism* in Québec. This comparison will illuminate one of the central nationalist pressures facing the federal multicultural policy and provide a more fluid transition into the final concluding section of this chapter.

## ***2. Québec: Intercultural Policy***

Official Canadian multiculturalism, particularly the 1971 policy framework and the 1988 Multiculturalism Act, is a significant achievement. Both the policy framework and the legislation of official multiculturalism were the first of their kind in the world. The promotion of official multiculturalism on the part of the federal government was initially intended to define the parameters of the Canadian nation and promote a specific articulation of Canadian nationalism as inclusive and culturally egalitarian. Specifically, the federal government understood the changing nature of the Canadian population as an inevitable outcome of larger socio-economic forces.

Canada should set its immigration levels on the basis of long-term objectives, rather than on that of short-term considerations...Given the uncertainties involved in deciding both on an appropriate population size

and on its fellow age composition, Canada should follow that course which...is, a less restrictive policy than that currently in place...In recommending this approach to immigration policy, this Commission is fully aware of the cultural, linguistic, economic and racial implications (Canada 1985, 668).

The threat of globalization, it would seem, played an important role in the initial conceptualization of Canadian multiculturalism – as did Québec nationalism. In fact, the original motivation for official multicultural policies as a protection against the dangers of cultural homogenization:

...Central to the Government's philosophy is the belief that cultural diversity throughout the world is swiftly being eroded by the impact of industrial technology, mass communications and urbanization. Much attention has been given to the denaturing and depersonalization of man by mass society, mass-produced culture and entertainment and the ever-increasing development of large impersonal institutions.

One of man's basic needs is a sense of belonging and a good deal of contemporary social unrest, at all age levels, exists because this need has not been met. Ethnic groups are not the only way in which the need for belonging can be met, but they can be an important one in the development of Canadian society...Ethnic loyalties need not, and usually do not detract from wider loyalties of community and country. Canadian identity will not be undermined by multiculturalism. Indeed, the Government sincerely believes that cultural pluralism is the very essence of Canadian identity (Canada 1973, 1-2).

Trudeau's 1971 policy framework included two non-stated but implied nationalistic goals. The first was to differentiate Canada from the United States with respect to its national culture and independent nature. The second was to address the threat of Québécois sovereignty by clearly defining Canada as a diverse nation within a singular nationalist framework.

The first aspect of differentiation from the United States is more overt. Kelner and Kallen (1974) point to numerous statements made by Trudeau concerning the nation-

building nature of the 1971 Multicultural Policy. Of significance is the desire of the Trudeau administration to distinguish Canadians from Americans through ideological uniqueness, which could be represented by social policies reflecting the recognition of a *recognized* cultural pluralism in contrast with the “melting pot” model of assimilation to the south (Bibby 1990; Breton 1986). More to the extreme, scholars have pointed to past animosity toward Americans due to perceived “economic and cultural imperialism” (Richmond 1978, 120) as a broader cultural motivation for incorporating such a diametrically different policy on diversity and culture.

The second implied goal of the 1971 multicultural framework was to reduce the legitimacy claims of the Québec sovereignty movement.

He [Trudeau] repudiated dualism; the concept of two nations or of a binational Canada; and even biculturalism, as advocated by the B&B Commission...He was implicitly asking his fellow Quebecers to trade their identity as a people against the promise of bilingualism.

He [Trudeau] advanced the concept of multiculturalism...thus reducing the global culture of French-speaking Québec to one ethnic component of the Canadian mosaic. They (Québécois) would have accepted multiculturalism if it had not confused their own global culture with the ethnic cultures of immigrants (Balthazar 1995, 47).

This was understood implicitly by the Québec government and national population, but largely denied by federal government officials (Gendron and Sarra-Bournet 1998; Maclure 2003; Vachon and Langlais 1983).

Public opinion in Québec about federal multicultural policy ranges from skeptical to suspicious to openly hostile (Charbonneau and Maheu 1973; McRoberts 1997). The announcement of the federal policy in 1971 by a Trudeau administration already critical of Québécois nationalism motivated a string of protective measures in Québec.

Figure 11 provides a brief chronology of Québec language legislation and intercultural policy development in support of the following two sections.

### ***2a. Québec Language Legislation***

In 1974, Bill 22 (*Loi sur le langue officielle*<sup>80</sup>) was passed by the Québec National Assembly. The primary purpose of the law was to grant French official language status. The law also created an administrative body, Régie de la langue française<sup>81</sup>, to oversee enforcement of language legislation and other requirements such as making French the official language of provincial administration, legal contracts, provincial advertisement, and encourage French as the primary language of business. The law contained protections for English-speakers, including the ability to “opt-out” of French-only requirements at the behest of *both* parties. The law was widely criticized by the Anglophone minority for its promotion of French as an official provincial language while the federal policy required both French and English as official languages. Many Francophones were disappointed in the law due to its compromises in allowing Anglophones to opt-out of the dominant culture and language.

The election of the PQ in 1976 provided additional opportunity to increase the dominance of French throughout Québec. Bill 101 (*Charte de la langue française*<sup>82</sup>) was passed in 1977 and eliminated any question of the linguistic or cultural nature of Québec. The measure required that all public administrative, legal/judicial, educational, and business entities use French as its operational language. All public advertisements were required to be posted in French only. The most far-reaching aspect of Bill 101 was its

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<sup>80</sup> Official Language Law

<sup>81</sup> Office of the French Language

<sup>82</sup> Charter of the French Language



## *Chronology of Chronology of the Québec Intercultural Policy Framework*

### **Language Legislation**

- 1969 – *Loi pour promouvoir la langue française au Québec* (Bill 63) (Law for the Promotion of the French Language) is passed by the Québec National Assembly giving parents the right to have their children educated in the French language.
- 1974 – *Loi sur la langue officielle* (Bill 22). The “Official Language Law” establishes French as the single official language of Québec
- 1974 – Establishment of the *Régie de la langue française* (Office of the French Language)
- 1977 – Bill 101, *Charte de la langue française* (Charter of the French Language), is passed requiring French as the legal, political, and public language of Québec. In addition, the children of new arrivals (immigrants) to Québec were required to be educated in French-language educational institutions.
- 1982 – Supreme Court of Canada rules that Loi 101 is discriminatory under the multiculturalism and equality sections of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.
- 1984 – Bill 142 is passed ensuring that basic social services, including health care, are available in English.
- 1991 – Bill 120 is passed, reaffirming the right of English-language social service provision in the province.
- 1992 – Bill 20 is passed, again re-affirming the bilingual nature of social service provision but also reaffirming the dominance of the French language in Québec.
- 1993 – Bill 86 allowed English language advertisement and business service provision, granted that French be given a position of priority.

### **Intercultural Policies**

- 1975 – *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne* (Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms) is passed in response to the increasingly diverse nature of Québec immigration and designed to encourage an equal socio-economic environment.
- 1981 – *Autant de façons d’être Québécois* (Many Ways to be Québécois) is published stating that Québec is legally an egalitarian society and officially recognizes the right to diverse ethno-cultural communities and traditional adherence. This policy statement also stresses the idea of “convergence” that requires the public language and culture of the province be explicitly French and Québécois, respectively. In other words, traditional (non-Québécois) culture is recognized and encouraged; however, this recognition does not extend to public affirmation of these languages and culture in a public context, particularly government and education.
- 1990 – *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble: énoncé de politique en matière d’immigration et de l’intégration* (We are Building Québec Together: Policy Announcement on Matters of Immigration and Integration) is published affirming three main defining features of Québec society: democracy (particularly the requirement that all citizens participate in shared governance), cultural pluralism (or the recognition of ethno-cultural diversity), and French as a common language.

*Figure 11. Chronology of the Québec Intercultural Policy Framework*

focus on the public education system. The only students allowed to attend English-language institutions were those already in attendance, siblings, or the children of existing Québec citizens who were both Anglophone. This meant that all new immigrants and those with mixed-cultural parentage were required to receive a Francophone education. The educational requirements of Bill 101 are arguably the most far-reaching cultural protectionist legislation enacted by the Québec National Assembly.

In 1982, the federal government and all provinces, except Québec, signed the Constitution Act and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. The Charter explicitly recognized the multicultural character of Canadian society and gave the Supreme Court legal authority to declare many portions of Bill 101 unconstitutional, which it did in 1982<sup>83</sup>. Several legislative reforms were implemented in later years in response to the legal rulings deeming Bill 101 unconstitutional. Bill 142, passed in 1986, provides additional linguistic rights to Anglophones by making health and general social service provision available in English. In fact, today most governmental institutions in Québec offer at least reception services in both English and French, although French is practically and legally the official language of the province. Further legislation, Bill 120 (1991) and Bill 20 (1992), further solidified the right of Anglophone service provisions, but clearly articulated the granting of English-language rights as a process governed by the Francophone government and national population of Québec.

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<sup>83</sup> This is an excellent example of the ambiguity surrounding federal-provincial relations in Canada. Québec has, to this date, not signed either the 1982 Constitution Act or the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This was of little consequence as the Supreme Court ruled on the legality of Bill 101 as if Québec was an operational member of the Canadian Federation. In fact, Québec operates as an inclusive Canadian province from receiving equalization payments to participating in national political, military, and cultural institutions. It would seem that the inclusion of Québec as a member of the Canadian Federation is a given despite the provincial refusal to officially recognize its subordinated place in Canada.

Bill 86 was passed in 1993 and reduced the emphasis on reducing English as a public language. English advertising and service provision was allowed with the provision that French be given a priority position. This is largely accomplished through order and size. French phrases are listed first (or above) English phrases and are generally in a larger font size than the English phrases. English language education was made available to the children of Anglophones, provided that the parents or child previously received English-language education *in Canada*.

Québec enacted protectionist policies that would ensure the dominance of a singular linguistic and cultural medium in the province. The promotion of a singular cultural medium becomes increasingly problematic given the labor migration requirements of global market integration. Increasing ethno-cultural diversification of Québec immigration makes the autocratic promotion of a singular cultural nationalism practically impossible. Thus, the protection of the French language and a distinctive Québécois culture must occur in accordance with the recognition of cultural pluralism and the multicultural realities of increased global market integration.

The provincial response to the Supreme Court ruling and the demands of global market integration is telling. Québec refused to rescind protectionist language legislation, but instead created a largely intercultural policy framework that would define Québec as distinct within a larger Canadian legislative context. The intercultural distinction is an important one and shows the unique manner in which Québec has developed a state strategy to facilitate global market integration yet maintain a stable national populace.

## ***2b. Québec Interculturalism***

While federal Canadian multiculturalism maintains equal protection and recognition for all cultural, ethnic, and racial groups it does so within a bilingual framework. In short, the federal government makes a clear distinction between language and culture by maintaining a multicultural outlook that is designed to facilitate inter-ethnic relations and immigrant accommodation but requiring economic and political functions to operation within either an English or French linguistic context. This has led some to question the reality of Canadian multiculturalism as simply providing a “choice of two dominant cultures to assimilate to” (Kymlicka 1995, 14).

The initial multicultural policy framework comments specifically on the multicultural yet bilingual social nature of Canada, although this is viewed through the perspective of a singular national population and nationalist ethos:

We may have two official languages in this country, but we do not have two official cultures (Canada 1973).

The province of Québec responded to this and many other claims of ethno-cultural pluralism by the federal government by questioning both the distinction between language and culture as well as the logic of multiculturalism, itself.

In Canada the “national” government recognizes linguistic rights to the Francophones. But these are linguistic rights only and not cultural rights (Québec 1984, 3)

The various ethno-cultural communities do not really inter-communicate. This results in stratification whereby some groups are at the top of the ladder and others at the bottom. The Canadian policy on multiculturalism which seems to appeal to many New-Quebecers can only accentuate this isolation, as well as the mistrust and conflict that result there from (Québec 1984, 6).

The difficulty in implementing federal multiculturalism in Québec centers explicitly on the federal position that Québec, while distinct linguistically, is not culturally distinct from any other ethno-cultural group in Canada. This implied critique of Québécois nationalism was not only deemed unacceptable by the Québec nation and state, it contributed to the solidification of French as the official language of the province. That is, federal multiculturalism and the reduction of Québécois culture to “equal status” among Canadian ethno-cultural groups contributed to the election of the sovereigntist Parti Québécois in 1976 and allowed French language legislation to be passed in the latter half of the decade (Fitzmaurice 1984; See 2001; Vineberg 1987). Recently, the threat of federal multiculturalism has been articulated within the context of cultural survival and labor migration:

Indeed, the bilingualism policy allows them to integrate into the English-speaking community anywhere in Canada, and this includes Québec, while the multicultural policy conceals the existence of a welcoming community in which French is a common language. Their primary loyalty is to the country that welcomed them, Canada, a country which incidentally still makes its new immigrants swear allegiance to the Queen when they become citizens. Some of them mistakenly fear that the same problems that led them to leave their native countries will recur in their new country, and for this reason mistrust Québec nationalism (IPSQ 1999).

The active promotion of Canadian multiculturalism by the federal government, linked with the financial resources expended by the federal government in failing to defeat the PQ in 1976, was viewed in Québec as another attempt to dominate and reduce Québécois culture. The socio-economics of increased labor migration and its connection to ethno-cultural survival make this position both salient and immediate, as show by the previous IPSQ quote.

The issue that soon faced the Québec state was, however, not an attack on its national sovereignty by the federal government. Rather the larger challenge was the increasing ethno-cultural diversity in Québec as a result of global market integration. As shown in the previous chapter, the ethnic and cultural face of Québec grew increasingly diverse as a result of the larger global shift in labor source regions. The autonomy for immigration selection and acculturation granted by the Canada-Québec Accord provided Québec with a unique opportunity to produce a nationalist social policy of its own. Québec's focus on interculturalism is distinct from the Canadian model in its explicit endorsement of French as the dominant language while recognizing and protecting cultural pluralism.

Québec's intercultural framework is more of a collection of legislation and policies that simultaneously strengthens the dominant position of the French language while facilitating the accommodation and integration of immigrants commonly referred to as "neo-Québécois." As is often the case, the impetus for this policy position is derived from the ideological nationalism and structural state apparatus developed during the Quiet Revolution. The recent history of the Quiet Revolution and the growth of the Québec state contributed in part to Québec's strong involvement in the process of global market integration. In fact, it could be argued that the Québec state responded to demographic and cultural changes in a timelier manner than their Canadian federal counterparts.

From the 1960s on, Québec pressed the federal government for more control over immigration to Québec, and in 1975 the National Assembly officially responded to the challenges posed by this integrative process (ethno-cultural diversification) with the

Québec *Charte des droits et libertés de la personne*<sup>84</sup>. This policy document officially protects the rights of all citizens of Québec and protects individuals from discrimination based on race, ethnicity, gender, age, and pregnancy (Québec 1975). This document was modeled on the United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and predates the federal Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms by seven years.

In 1981 the Québec state again addressed the diversification of Québec immigration and demography with the *Autant de façons d'être Québécois* (Québec 1981)<sup>85</sup>. This document provided an overview of provincial cultural integration without reverting to the assimilationist patterns of past Canadian efforts at national construction. The policy position stresses “convergence<sup>86</sup>” of culture and community in the desire to create a strong, stable, yet ethno-culturally diverse Québec national population (Québec 1981).

The provincial government adopted an official policy of interculturalism with the publication of *Au Québec pour bâtir ensemble: énoncé de politique en matière d'immigration et de l'intégration* (Québec 1990)<sup>87</sup>. This document established a clear guiding framework for defining the nation of Québec. Three main points create this general nationalist definition: the democratic nature of Québec, a pluralist society that is protected by law, and finally that French be the “langue commune” (common language)

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<sup>84</sup> Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms

<sup>85</sup> “Many Ways to be Québécois.” Author’s Translation.

<sup>86</sup> Cultural “convergence” in this context refers to the process of cultural integration. Specifically, “convergence” occurs in Québec as diverse ethnicities and cultures maintain traditional cultural norms and practices however do so within the integrative context of a common language (French).

<sup>87</sup> “We are Building Québec Together: Policy Announcement on Matters of Immigration and Integration.” Author’s Translation.

of the province. Gagnon and Iacovino clearly describe the purpose of this document and general intercultural framework.

This view contends that the incorporation of immigrants or minority cultures into the larger political community is a reciprocal endeavor—a “moral contract” between the host society and the particular cultural collectivity with the aim of establishing a forum for the empowerment of all citizens... (Gagnon 2002, 326-327).

Québec interculturalism recognizes the contemporary fact of cultural pluralism through its very political existence. The Québec state must politically facilitate the integration of an increasingly diverse labor migrant population if it (Québec) is to continue to benefit from the economic growth opportunities assisted by global market integration. National protectionist demands, however, require that the Québec state also enact high levels of cultural protections to ensure a common national socio-cultural medium.

Intercultural policy clearly promotes the liberal ideal of social equality and the multicultural ideals of diversity recognition, although the institutional framework supporting these ideals is focused primarily on the Francophone social medium in which these ideals reside.

The institutions supporting the intercultural framework are the Secrétariat à la Politique linguistique under the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications<sup>88</sup> and les Relations civiques et Interculturelles under the Ministère de l’Immigration et des Communautés culturelles<sup>89</sup>. It is important to note that the current institutional framework supporting intercultural policies in Québec remain strongly supported by the state. Contrary to Canadian multiculturalism, whose institutional support has been greatly

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<sup>88</sup> Language Policy Secretariat under the Ministry of Culture and Communications

<sup>89</sup> Civic and Intercultural Relations under the Ministry of Immigration and Cultural Communities



reduced, Québec continues to fund and support both support of French language legislation oversight and intercultural programs designed to facilitate immigrant “convergence.”

At first glance, it would appear that this understanding of interculturalism reflects the goals and mechanisms of Canadian multiculturalism, although privileging French as the language of common and official interaction. The most glaring difference between Canadian multiculturalism and Québec interculturalism is the belief (in Québec) that language is inexorably connected to culture.

But the logical consequence would be that a language is the expression of a way of life. Therefore if French is the common language in Québec this implies that French culture although not “abolishing” other cultures, would become the “focus of convergence” for the various communities (Québec 1984, 4).

Clearly, Québec society, while embracing pluralism, is an enclave of Francophone language and culture under the protection of the state.

This difference represents a clear ideological division between the two social policies, but also mirrors each respective history. That is, both are experiencing a demographic shift that is effectively diversifying the ethno-cultural nature of Canadian and Québec societies. This fact is the common denominator between both state entities; however the divergence of independent histories works to create independent policy solutions. For Canadian nationalists, the greatest threat to national cohesion is Québec sovereignty (Carens 1995; Doran 2001; McRoberts 1988; Richler 1992). Therefore, any policy designed to address the increasing ethno-cultural diversity of the nation can also be designed to reduce the threat of Québécois nationalism.

For Québec nationalists, the greatest threat to an autonomous Québec is the threat of cultural homogenization or colonization on the part of a dominant English Canada. Therefore, any policy designed to address the increasing ethno-cultural diversity of Québec can also be designed to strengthen French linguistic and cultural dominance and authority. Both policies were driven by global market integration, however the development of both policies are, by necessity, defined by distinct national histories and different nationalist goals.

The interesting aspect of Québec's intercultural framework is its relative stability in comparison with Canadian multiculturalism, with respect to institutional support and to policy revision. While federal multiculturalism has undergone significant growth, reduction, reorientation, and redefinition, Québec's broad intercultural framework has remained constant. The only significant alteration to the policy position has been a reduction in the universal dominance of French as a public language. This change (see Bills 142, 120, and 20 in the previous section) has been limited to social service provision and the production of relevant government documents in both French and English. Thus, the dominance of French as the common language of Québec has not been seriously threatened.

### ***3. Conclusion***

A focus on the commonalities and differences between multicultural and intercultural policy frameworks is important. The similar political economic patterns of increased integration into the global market economic system in addition to full integration into the global labor supply system illustrate a common goal and therefore similar social consequences of increasing integration. The differences, described in the

previous two sections, are numerous; however there is a trend of policy convergence that seems to be occurring. This process of policy alteration and evolution can provide a more telling picture of how states respond to the challenges of the neo-liberal global economic system and, perhaps the power of that system.

### ***3a. Policy Decline and the Role of National Populations***

The decline of multicultural policy in Canada has been debated by those who view this policy position as being successful in its political positions (Kymlicka, Jansen) and those who view this policy as being an anti-liberal political position that hinders social integration and exacerbates stratification (Barry, Bissoondath). Christian Joppke addresses this “debate” by showing a distinct pattern of multicultural policy “retreat in the liberal state” (Joppke 2004).

Joppke points to three indications of the decline or “retreat” of multicultural policies: (1) a lack of public support for multicultural policies (but not necessarily programs), (2) the practical failure of multicultural policies to reduce ethnic conflict or socio-economic stratification based on factors of ethno-cultural diversity, and (3) “a new assertiveness of the liberal state in imposing the liberal minimum on its dissenters” (Joppke 2004, 244). A cursory assessment of these three factors would point to a direct connection between the first two. Policy failure and popular support often coincide. The third aspect of liberal retrenchment raises a more pertinent question with respect to the relationship of these policies to the double movement of neo-liberal economic demands and national protection.

The initial motivation for federal multicultural policy was clearly nationalist in its intent. That is, it provided a political definition of Canadian nationalism as diverse,

multicultural, and egalitarian. This definition worked to elevate “Third Force” ethno-cultural groups to positions of equal social standing while simultaneously de-emphasizing the claims of ethno-cultural uniqueness and claims of sovereignty by Québécois nationalists. The initial goals of multicultural policies as tools for building minority community support structures and ideological national cohesion was altered by demographic changes resulting from increased ethno-cultural diversification.

Multicultural policy shifted to address growing conflicts and tensions that accompanied rapid ethno-cultural diversification, primarily with respect to non-discrimination initiatives. The recent de-centralization and privatization of multiculturalism marks yet another policy shift. As Joppke points out, the contemporary policy shift (to de-centralized and privatized organization) is indicative of a global reduction, or “retreat,” from multicultural policies. I would argue that this “retreat” on the part of the state is reflective of double movement tension resulting from continued struggle between global neo-liberal market pressures and national protections. A brief revisit of Québec interculturalism supports this claim.

The unique historical and demographic nature of Québec motivated the development of an alternative policy to Canadian multiculturalism. The common experience of ethno-cultural diversification as a result of migration shifts and national population demands for domestic stability required some form of policy on the part of the Québec state to maintain national stability. As previously mentioned, Québec’s intercultural policy framework (comprised of language and cultural legislation) has undergone limited changes in comparison with its federal counterpart. The changes that have occurred are reductions in the promotion of French as a singular language in

Québec, but not to the nature, scope, or definition of what it is to be a Québécois (or neo-Québécois) or how daily communication and co-habitation should function in the province. Why has Québec's intercultural policy framework remained relatively unaltered? I believe that the answer is exposed with closer attention to the dynamics of the double movement.

Global market integration is a desirable goal for both Canada and Québec, as evidenced by their policy initiatives and support for neo-liberal economic policy reforms. Both Canada and Québec are active participants in the global labor supply system and have experienced rapid ethno-cultural diversification as a result of the systemic shift from European to Global South sources for labor migration. Multicultural and intercultural policies are largely responsible for promoting a comfortable atmosphere and stable environment for these new arrivals and ensuring that the destabilizing potential of rapid ethno-cultural diversification does not affect economic growth or productive capacity. In this light, multi/intercultural policies are an outcome of national market integration into the global market system. Several scholars have commented on the economic benefits of multi/intercultural policies, particularly with respect to attracting business-class migrants whose capital, skills, and education are highly valued by competing core states (Abu-Laban 2003; Abu-Laban and Gabriel 2002; Li 2003).

Conversely, the reality of ethno-cultural diversification is uneven and often conflictual. "Native" groups are often hostile to new residents whose language, religion, traditions, values, and even appearance may differ from conventional national norms. Added tension often arises in times of economic recession or depression when ethno-cultural minorities are often targeted as "causes" or "contributors" to general conditions

of hardship. In addition to these ethno-cultural tensions national populations continue to construct and negotiate national identities within the context of the neo-liberal nation-state<sup>90</sup>. The issue of liberalism is an important one, as the basic tenant of liberal political ideology is egalitarianism. The promotion of equality, however, is problematic. There are few regions where a particular group (often based on ethnicity or culture) has not maintained some form of dominance or hierarchical authority. The “equalization” process inherent in multicultural policies inevitably causes a backlash by those fearful of losing their positions of prominence. The result is commonly an attack on these multicultural policies as privileging a specific group or groups over traditionally dominant groups. This is the case in Canada where attacks on multicultural policies are increasingly articulated in nationalist language and context. The lack of a common cultural medium in Canada and the promotion of a common nationalist discourse/identity by the state has resulted in increased dissatisfaction by national popular groups (Barry 2001; Bibby 1995; 1990; Bissoondath 1994; Frow 1999)

The demand of true economic neo-liberals for limited, if not non-existent, state intervention is an added problem for multicultural policies. State spending on social services, particularly those that make demands on business entities and economic institutions, is an anathema to neo-liberal market ideology...the same market ideology that currently maintains a dominant position in this era of globalization. As such, multicultural programs that seek to attain social and economic equality outside of the market system are, in effect, non-liberal. Thus, the national protections (of “native”

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<sup>90</sup> This is, of course, a limited view of national identity construction. This project is limited to the discussion of the effects of global market integration on a specific type of nation-state: Western, advanced capitalist, and republican/democratic. This project makes no theoretical claims outside of this limited empirical scope.

populations and immigrant populations) of multicultural policies run counter to the demands and requirements of pure neo-liberal market ideology.

Interculturalism, on the other hand, has emerged relatively unscathed from both neo-liberal and conservative critiques. The requirement that new arrivals in Québec participate in Québec society through conformity to a common linguistic and cultural medium is distinct from the policy requirements of federal multiculturalism (although not from the reality of Canadian integration). This focus on a common medium of public exchange provides a level of ideological stability and cohesion not possible in a pure multicultural environment.

It would seem that the “retreat” of multicultural policies means that neo-liberal market ideology has become supreme in the context of the double movement. If we attribute some level of legitimate power to national populations, however, the dominance of neo-liberal market ideology seems less obvious. National popular support for federal multicultural policies has waned. Criticism of state multicultural policies reflect previously mentioned failures in policy efficacy; however, a notable observation is that attacks on multicultural policy are increasingly focused on the need to protect Canadian national culture. The demands have largely centered on populist critiques of national deterioration or the potential divisive outcomes of diversity recognition. That is, national demands for a common cultural medium have grown as both ethno-cultural diversity and multicultural policies have expanded. While the decline of neo-liberal criticism of multicultural policies has contributed to the idea that multicultural ideology is “good for business” (Abu-Laban 2003), national support for these programs has deteriorated:

Back in 1985, 56% of Canadians supported the mosaic and only 28% the melting pot. But in 1995, 44% supported the mosaic and 40% the melting pot – almost equal (Bibby 1995, 54).

The ambiguous definition of Canadian nationalism is increasingly attacked as a failure of multicultural policy. These criticisms are heavily muted in Québec due to the emphasis of a common cultural medium.

Interculturalism on the other hand is heavily criticized by neo-liberal proponents on the grounds that the level of institutional support for these programs is unnecessary and, in fact, a deterrent to increased economic growth (Boyer 2001; McMahon 2003; Migué 1998; Paquet 1999). On the other hand, intercultural policy in Québec meets the demands of its national population to maintain the traditional social dominance of French language and culture. When compared with federal multicultural policy the ability of Québec intercultural policy to maintain its core structure, responsibilities, and overall framework allows us to conclude that it is better able to function in the context of the double movement<sup>91</sup>, largely due to the strength of national demands for Québécois cultural protection. Both policies are attempts by the state to address global market integration and labor demand; however the emphasis on recognizing difference and the promotion of state programs to institutionalize those differences has been received coldly by both national populations and neo-liberal market proponents. Interculturalism, while providing a level of state involvement that is not desirable for most neo-liberal

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<sup>91</sup> Federal multiculturalism, as a political institution, grew throughout the 1970s and early 1980s to ministerial status (Ministry of Multiculturalism), but was dismantled in the late 1980s and early 1990s and subsumed under the Department of Canadian Heritage. Québec interculturalism is still institutionally strong and supported by the Ministère de l'Immigration and Communautés culturelles and the Ministère de la Culture et Communications.



ideologues, facilitates global market integration and meets the protectionist demands of its national population through cultural means.

The ability of a state-centered policy to negotiate the conflicts of the double movement is clearly necessary for policy survival. The final chapter will expand on this conclusion and integrate it into a larger examination of the initial theoretical propositions of this project. We have examined the background and conditional motivations for multicultural and intercultural policies, but we must now come full-circle in the attempt to understand what these policies can tell us about the contemporary nation-state.

## Chapter Eight

### **Conclusions: The Importance of Culture in the Contemporary Nation-State**

This dissertation concludes that the Canadian state is increasingly reliant on the control or manipulation of national cultural structures to ensure stability. The Québec state is equally reliant on culture, but its history of linking state-formation with an organic (popular) national cultural definition provides enhanced stability. Stability occurs when national populations feel sufficiently protected from pressures and changes brought by increasing globalization (or the process of global market integration). Increased Canadian state attention to culture is an outcome of global market integration, which has reduced or eliminated state ability to control or protect national economic interests.

As state capacity to protect national populations through economic means decreases, new means for meeting national protectionist demands must be found. Attempts by the Canadian state to create a national culture can be easily observed as “top-down” approaches to national cultural definition. Québec is increasingly integrated into the global market economy and experiences the same pressures to decrease state social service spending and reduce economic protectionist capacity. Conversely, Québec’s popular, or “bottom-up” definition of national culture was the central feature of the state-building project in Québec. The Québec national population, as the source of its national cultural definitions, provides greater legitimating support for state protectionist policies (interculturalism) focused on national culture. The Canadian state, on the other hand, has seen its attempts to define national culture become less and less effective as legitimating national support is withdrawn due to the “top-down” imposition of cultural definitions.

Therefore, the Québec state can better meet the protectionist demands of its national population and offers an explanation for Québec's ability to resist global market demands for a longer period of time and ensure policy stability to a greater degree than in Canada. The Canadian and Québec cases show that increased globalization pressures decrease economic protectionist capacities requiring the state to find alternative means to ensure social stability. This dissertation argues that those means are increasingly found in the use and manipulation of national cultural structures of meaning, symbols, and definitions of nationalism.

This conclusion will be examined in further detail in the following section. The purpose of this chapter is to first provide a conclusion linking the empirical project to the methodological and theoretical issues of the dissertation. The first section examines the previously stated conclusion within the general "double movement" framework of the project. The second section examines the "double movement" as a potentially viable methodological tool. I argue that the dissertation project provides a sound methodological foundation for future research on the interrelationship between nation, state, and globalization processes. These future research directions are presented in the final section of this concluding chapter. I present several possible scenarios that reflect the methodological orientation of this study. The section presents hypothetical scenarios that require future comparative analysis in order to generate theoretical conclusions about state capacity and function within the context of the "double movement." This final section offers examples of how this dissertation can be expanded as well as illustrating the conceptual strength of a reconceptualized "double movement."

## ***1. General Conclusions***

This project concludes that the defining feature of the Canadian nation-state in the era of globalization is its decreasing capacity to control national economic protections and its increasing capacity to control national cultural protections. This section provides more detail to the previously stated general conclusion and serves as a foundation for the following two sections designed to provide analytical foundations for future research.

To reiterate, this project is structured by the Polanyian “double movement” concept. This framework requires that any analysis understand socio-political organization as defined by 1) external liberal market pressures and 2) internal national protectionist pressures. The Canadian and Québec states provide local political mediation between these two demands for the purpose of ensuring stability necessary for systemic operation. We can therefore conclude there are three empirical actors in the contemporary “double movement:” the global economic system, state institutions, and national populations. The dissertation allows us to draw specific conclusions about each categorical actor as well as understand the cumulative process that leads to the previously stated general conclusion.

### ***1a. Globalization or Global Market Integration***

We can conclude that globalization has inhibited the ability of Canada and Québec to enact national economic protectionist measures. The realities of NAFTA and WTO membership eliminate the ability to implement tariffs or other trade restrictions in support of national economic interests. This is consistent with many theories of economic globalization, particularly with respect to transnational capitalist theory (Robinson 2004; Sklair 2001).

Chapter Five established global market integration as a goal and active project of both Canada and Québec. The requirements of global market integration limit state capacity to enact economic protections such as tariffs or other trade restrictions. We can conclude that both state entities are constrained in their ability to protect national populations through economic policy means. The fact that social service provision and funding in Canada is decreasing lends additional credence to this conclusion.

Health Canada, for example, has experienced declining federal funding despite the lack of universal private health care alternatives. Generally, neoliberal ideology and integration requirements discourage state spending for social service provision. This is particularly true with respect to privatization that encourages market integration of all aspects of social services, including health care, education, and pension management. Specifically, the decline in health care funding in Canada is linked to encroaching market pressures for privatization (Johnson 2002). The NAFTA agreement weakens the state's ability to protect its public health care system as certain sections or categories of health care provision in Canada are subject to foreign investment and must conform to adjudicative trade rules established in the agreement. This means that the increasing privatization of Canadian health care is a direct result of global market integration.

By introducing foreign investment into areas of health care service delivery that were previously delivered on a not-for-profit basis by the public sector, private clinics and hospitals open the door to trade challenges and foreign investor claims. These incursions may in turn have profound impacts on the entire health care system (Canadian Health Coalition 2002).

Québec, on the other hand, has a similar tradition of state social service provision that has generally succeeded in avoiding neoliberal "reforms." Recent events have challenged this

resistive capacity and raise serious questions about whether Québec can continue to maintain current levels of state spending, contrary to neoliberal demands.

The Canadian Supreme Court, in the case of *Chaoulli v. Québec* in June 2005, ruled that Québec's ban on private insurance for private health care services was unconstitutional. This ruling gave the PLQ government the ability to draft legislation requiring the privatization of portions of Québec's formerly public health care system. Representatives of Québec's five law schools criticized this legislation as "going far beyond what the Supreme Court ordered" (Brun et al. 2005). In fact, the representatives argue that the judgment merely required that citizens be able to purchase insurance for private care, not to privatize portions of the public system as the Charest (PQL) government is doing (Brun et al. 2005).

The case of declining public health care provision and the rise of privatization in Canada is consistent with the effects of global market integration. I would argue that the intentional nature of this integrative process can be seen in the actions of both the Canadian and Québec governments. In the case of Canada, ample budget surpluses are available to augment funding short falls for Health Canada. Fuller (1998) argues that these consistent decreases in federal health care funding, despite ample financial resources, is the result of intentional efforts on the part of the state to weaken public health care services. The purpose of intentionally under-funding Health Canada is to contend that public health care is untenable and thus must allow for private health care provision (i.e., global market integration).

Efforts by the Charest administration in Québec are similar in their intent. The Québec state is actively opening the door to health care privatization in accordance with

neoliberal/market demands by relying on judicial opinion that does not demand the privatization of the provincial health care system. In both cases, state efforts to decrease state spending and control over social service provision are an intentional act. The crisis of health care provision in Canada and Québec is consistent with conclusions made in this dissertation that increased global market integration decreases the state's capacity to enact national protectionist legislation (namely, social service provision) that is contrary to neoliberal market demands.

### ***1b. State Political Capacity and Responsibilities***

If the state economic protectionist capacity is, in fact, reduced as a result of the demands and requirements of the global economic system, what then is the purpose of the contemporary nation-state? The role of the contemporary state is to ensure local stability required to maintain a functional global economic system. This is consistent with Polanyi's descriptions of the "peace interest" promoted by international financial institutions for international liberal market growth.

Trade was now dependent upon an international monetary system that could not function in a general war. It demanded peace, and the Great Powers were striving to maintain it. But the balance-of-power system, as we have seen, could not by itself ensure peace. This was done by international finance, the very existence of which embodied the principle of the new dependence of trade upon peace (Polanyi 2001, 16).

The issue of stability is a central requisite of any global economic system. Without such a cooperative medium trade and financial exchanges could not function as freely as they currently do. This case demonstrates that in the pursuit of "double movement" satisfaction, the state has moved into the realm of national cultural policy. The role of the state in ensuring social stability has shifted from economic to cultural protection;

however, the dynamics that govern the interaction between nation, state, and global economic system remain constant. The complexities of the state in addressing economic issues with cultural policies requires greater understanding. That is, although state capacity to meet national protectionist demands through cultural means has increased, the protectionist demand is still motivated by economic changes and demands of the global economic system.

The existing Westphalian system of nation-states provides for local political institutions of power that are able to legitimately control national populations and provide local stability that facilitates global trade, financial capital flows, transnational production, and consumptive patterns. The mechanics of the “double movement” ensure that this facilitation of liberal market forces will result in a national protectionist outcry. This demand for national protection was met in the post-war era with Keynesian state-centered strategies leading to the development of the Western welfare state. Esping-Andersen supports this contention through his understanding that “the welfare state was therefore also a political project of nation-building: the affirmation of liberal democracy against the twin perils of fascism and bolshevism” (Esping-Andersen 1996, 2). The welfare state, in accordance with the mechanics of the “double movement,” was the state response to national discontent and the threat of anti-systemic alternatives (namely, fascism and bolshevism). The “double movement” is a conservative mechanism in which the goal is systemic maintenance and stability.

These conditions no longer exist and state capacity to respond to national protectionist demands through economic means has decreased. Esping-Andersen comments on this shift as well:



The advanced Western nations' welfare states were built to cater to an economy dominated by industrial mass production. In the era of the "Keynesian consensus" there was no perceived trade-off between social security and economic growth, between equality and efficiency. This consensus has disappeared because the underlying assumptions no longer obtain (Esping-Andersen 1996, 3).

The core shift from industrial production to service provision is pervasive. The decline of welfare state protectionism in Canada and Québec can be easily mapped through neoliberal trade agreements signed in the 1980s and 1990s that were once shunned as detrimental to national economic growth (Clarkson and McCall 1990).

The decline of economic protectionist capacities in Canada and Québec came at a time of increasing ethno-cultural diversity (again, motivated by global market integration). This demographic transition offers the state an opportunity to shift its focus from national economic protection to national cultural protection. The institutionalization of multicultural policy throughout the 1980s occurred as hostility to free-trade agreements decreased (notably beginning CUFTA negotiations in 1984). As opposition to neoliberal trade agreements continued to wane in the 1990s (NAFTA and WTO leadership support was promoted by the Liberal Party, who formerly opposed free-trade policies – at least as a political issue) so too did the institutional power of multiculturalism in Canada. However, the continued diversification of urban Canada and the increasing inability of the state to protect national populations through economic means also promoted an increase in criticism of multiculturalism from a popular and nationalist perspective. In other words, multiculturalism as a national cultural ideal is increasingly attacked as being unable to promote a singular nationalist Canadian medium. These attacks are nearly universal in their use of culture as a discursive tool of criticism.

The original idea of multiculturalism as the “recognition of difference” is proving to be an untenable position as Canadian popular demands for protection and stability take on an increasingly nationalist tone, generally demanding a common cultural medium.

Québec’s response to global market integration is equally focused on culture, but its approach has proven more stable in its ability to meet the protectionist demands of its national population. I argue that this stability is the result of greater national legitimating support for state protectionist policies such as interculturalism. That is, Québec is able to meet the national protectionist demands of its national population in a more effective manner than does the Canadian state. While global market pressures are equally demanding of both Canadian and Québec state entities, Québec’s ability to resist such pressures is due to higher levels of legitimacy in its use of national culture in protectionist strategies.

Urban Québec is experiencing the same rate of diversification as the whole of urban Canada; however the intercultural context to which Québec immigrants must integrate creates the common cultural medium in demand throughout the rest of Canada. Clearly, intercultural policies are designed to protect Francophone Québécois culture and the fact that its policy framework is not generally challenged by Francophone Québécois is telling.

Interestingly, the strength of the national population in Québec has allowed its social service provision role to be maintained in contrast to the demands of neoliberal proponents. The main points of attack against Québec intercultural policy have been from neoliberal critics who view the program as providing excessive state support for national protectionist measures. Again, this is consistent with the mechanics of the “double

movement” in which liberal market pressures will increase in response to increased national protectionist pressures. Recent neoliberal economic reforms undertaken by the Charest administration have been deeply unpopular and have resulted in increased national protectionist demands.

An example of this occurred in the spring 2005 when the Québec government announced its plan to decrease state spending by converting provincial student bursary grants into loans. This caused a vociferous reaction among public university students throughout Québec, but the reaction was most vocal among CÉGEP<sup>92</sup> students in Québec urban areas<sup>93</sup>. The loan conversion plan resulted in a student strike (numbering 170,000 students) at ten Montréal area CÉGEP campuses. The strike lasted from February to May and forced the capitulation of the Charest government who ultimately withdrew the proposal and reinstated the bursary funds. While the fact that student action forced the government to rescind its neoliberal reform measure is significant, the rejection of a government compromise is even more applicable to the conclusions of this dissertation.

On March 16, the Minister of Education, Jacques Fournier, offered to replace the \$103 million in converted grant funds with \$95.5 million. Student leadership rejected this offer due to the fact that the \$95.5 million would come from federal government educational funding. In the words of one student leader, “The present offer, in our view,

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<sup>92</sup> CÉGEP, or Collège d’enseignement général et professionnel, are the relative equivalent of junior colleges or vocational colleges in the United States. The strengths and responsibilities of each CÉGEP campus are unique and ranges from general education to fine arts to mechanical vocations to information technology. In many cases, post-high school students are required to attend CÉGEP colleges before enrolling in a provincial university. In other cases, a CÉGEP vocation or technical education is the goal.

<sup>93</sup> Information concerning the CÉGEP strike was compiled from several sources including University Affairs, “Charest Government Weakened by Québec Student Strike.” (Peggy Curran, May 2005); several reports from daily news sources including the Gazette, Le Devoir, and the CBC from September 2004 through June 2005.

is unacceptable because the extra money comes essentially from the federal government” (Lampert 2005).

The rejection of a compromise effort deemed insufficient in its adherence to national protectionist demands illustrates the importance of culture within the context of the “double movement.” In other words, the economic compromise solution was rejected on cultural grounds. This action coincides with the overall conclusion of this dissertation; namely that culture has become increasingly important as a tool for meeting the demands of the national population for social protection. The question that arises at this point is: does the reliance on culture by the state in meeting challenges of an economic nature prove effective? Developing conclusions of the capacities of the contemporary *nation* will help answer this question.

### ***1c. The Role of National Populations***

The general conclusion of the dissertation, that culture is increasingly important as a state legitimation mechanism, raises a serious question with respect to national power. This dissertation concludes that Québec has been able to resist global market integration demands in a more effective manner than has Canada. I argue that this is the result of Québec’s use of a national cultural definition that is derived from national popular definitions (“bottom-up”). Canadian definitions of national culture, demonstrated by the case of multiculturalism, are not derived from national populations but are, in many ways, “top-down” state dictates. This is problematic for the Canadian state due to the fact that culture is becoming a more salient stabilization strategy. Culture requires high levels of popular legitimacy in order to be effective. That is, culture is generally developed as a local or grass-roots cohesive control that is most effective when

understood and articulated by local populations which have direct affinity with respective cultural norms (Geertz 1983; 1973; Scott 1990).

This fact was recognized by the Québec government in response the perceived threat of Canadian multiculturalism:

...a State cannot afford to exist without a solidly established culture. If there is no culture the State will “manufacture” one to serve its own purposes (Québec 1984, 4).

This statement was made in response to the institutionalization of Canadian multiculturalism. From the Québec perspective, the creation of a multicultural nationalist ideal in contrast to a bicultural national history was an attempt to “manufacture” a national culture (or at least a national cultural ideal) in support of the federal position on Pan-Canadian nationalism. That is, the most effective way to undercut Québécois nationalism was to “manufacture” a culture that ignored the “French Fact” and promoted an equality of culture. This “equality” is of course within the context of the practical linguistic reality that “Canada without Québec is an Anglophone country” (Québec 1984, 3).

This excursus illustrates the increasingly salient role of culture in establishing power relationships and maintaining the controls necessary to ensure national stability. The fact that multicultural and intercultural policies are attempts by the state to influence and control national culture was established in Chapter Seven. The above quote supports this contention. However, the comparative histories of multicultural and intercultural policies are more telling with respect to the strength of national populations.

Canadian multiculturalism, from the perspective of Québec critics and this dissertation, is increasingly under attack from the national population due in large part to

its inability to respond to national protectionist demands. The multicultural policy was intended to provide a unique and distinct foundation upon which Pan-Canadian nationalism could be built. Increasing dissatisfaction with the policy as an institutional response to demographic change promoted by globalization is centered on the institutional failure to generate a singular Canadian national cultural ideal/vision. The fact that Canada attempted to “manufacture” a cultural ideal that ultimately proved weak without national legitimation is consistent with the previous claim that culture is, first and foremost, a locally manufactured mechanism. Conversely, Québec interculturalism utilizes existing national cultural definitions, norms, and symbols to support its multicultural variant.

This comparative study shows that the state capacity to manipulate and manufacture cultural definitions, norms, and symbols is contingent on a high level of national legitimacy. We also conclude that state capacity to enact economic protections has eroded thus motivating a shift to cultural protections to satisfy the “double movement.” The shift of state capacity from economic to cultural spheres has resulted in increased national power for legitimating state policies and actions. In other words, as global market demands reduce state economic protectionist capacity, the state fulfills its stabilization requirement through increased influence, control, and attempted manipulation of national culture. This process results in increased potential for power in national populations. With respect to the Canadian state, we can observe that this process is fluid and requires constant alteration and adaptive capacity. Similarly, the stability of Québec national protectionist programs are under increasingly effective attacks by global market proponents.

In effect, this dissertation project concludes that Castells' conceptualization of decreasing state power and increasing national power is correct. A similar conclusion is reached in the work of Amy Chua (2003), Robert Kaplan (2000), and Thomas Sowell (2002) in that struggles over ideology and nationalist definitions are the new battlefields in this era of globalization. I would add that from the perspective of the "double movement" the state retains significant power as an institution of management and mediation. The novelty of the "double movement" approach is in its ability to illustrate the mechanical processes that have resulted in this situation. Two specific questions are raised as a result of these conclusions. First, are there problems with using the "double movement" in an era of such significant political and economic change? Second, what are the possible directions for the state?

## ***2. Reconceptualizing the "Double Movement"***

The cases of Canada and Québec illustrate the role of culture and the importance of national populations in legitimizing culturally-oriented social policies. Respective policies of multiculturalism and interculturalism represent attempts by both state entities to ensure social stability by meeting the demands of national populations and global market proponents. The use of the "double movement" concept through this dissertation implies that a change has occurred in how states are able to these dual pressures.

As stated in Chapter Two, the Polanyian "double movement is a specific process: liberal capitalism in the form of a *laissez-faire* market system encroaches on a respective social group (i.e., national population) which in turn generates a national protectionist demand which is satisfied through the enacting of national *economic* protections. That is,

in Polanyi's original conceptualization the "double movement" is an explicitly economic process.

This dissertation concludes that state stability responsibilities inherent in the "double movement" can no longer be met with respect to national economic protections. Thus, an orthodox understanding and application of the "double movement" is problematic. I argue that this shift in empirical conditions requires a reconceptualization of the "double movement" while retaining its dynamic analytical capacities. This dissertation argues that the capacity of the state to ensure stability by national populations through economic means is reduced as global market integration increases. This does not negate the need for state institutions to ensure the stability necessary for optimal global market performance. Neither does it negate national demands for protection from the adverse effect of global market integration.

The dynamic foundation of the "double movement" remains. The conditions in which the process operates has changed, requiring more attention to the role of culture in the process of state adaptation and capacity to ensure required stability. This dissertation shows that the "double movement" continues to have significant methodological value, although clearly an orthodox conceptualization can no longer be used.

A reoriented "double movement" would retain the economic focus on predatory liberal market integration; however calls for national protection are increasingly reliant on socio-cultural means. This process, I argue, is the result of state adaptation in response to the pressures of the global economic system. That is, the role of the state, as the local control institution for ensuring social stability, remains constant. The means or capacities of the state to ensure social stability through explicit economic means is reduced as a



result of global market integration (primarily the result of state adherence to neoliberal political economic stipulations). This political handicap results in the state seeking alternative means to ensure social stability – these means have been increasingly cultural. Therefore, the discursive interrelationship between state and nation has shifted from one of political economics to one of culture.

The implications of this shift will be briefly discussed in the following section. I argue that such a reconceptualized “double movement” could have substantial methodological value for future research. The analytical power of this approach is in its ability to integrate locally specific processes of cultural change or resistance with the macro socio-economic processes of a singular global economic system. It must be noted that while the global market system is a singular systemic entity, the process of global market integration by respective nation-states is an uneven process. Analytical approaches to this uneven process of integration should be able to reflect local variations.

The diversity of local cultural differences and the alternative avenues for national social protectionism using such cultural vehicles leads me to conclude that the “double movement” is valuable as a methodological tool but not as a theoretical framework. In other words, this reconceptualized understanding of the “double movement” views local cultural variants and responses as playing a dominant role in the nation/state dichotomy. That is, a general theory of “double movement” applicability is difficult given the relative cultural diversity of each case. We can, however, conclude that the realms of state policy capacity have expanded beyond traditional economic protections. This conclusion offers a useful foundation upon which future comparative analyses can be built.

The value of this perspective from a methodological perspective does, however, allow for future theoretical generalizations to be made. By using this reconceptualized “double movement” methodological framework, we can then implement comparative case studies that will then, in turn, lead to general theoretical conclusions. This dissertation shows that this methodological approach is initially viable. The expansion of such a methodology would entail a major comparative case study, perhaps within regional political economic blocs (such as the EU or Latin America) or between divergent cases such as comparative core/periphery studies. Through additional comparative study we will be able to determine (1) whether culture plays an equally significant role in determining national protectionist strategies and (2) work toward a greater understanding of the contemporary state that is increasingly challenged by global market integration processes. The goal of advancing this methodological project would be to discover future potential directions for studies of the state and possibly develop a greater understanding of efficacious policies that allow national populations to effectively combat the predatory effects of globalization.

### ***3. Future Directions***

From the conclusions of this dissertation we can hypothesize four possible outcomes that require additional study and theoretical development. This concluding section is the culmination of the dissertation’s theoretical project and offers avenues for future research on the state and the role of the “double movement” as an effective methodological framework. The outcomes are presented in their hypothetical form. I will add brief justification for their position as a potential outcome, but further analysis of each potential outcome will be left for future work.

*1. The state will increase its ability and skill in controlling national cultural symbols resulting in the increased domination of national populations through cultural manipulation and control.*

This outcome will occur due to alliance formation between national, state, and global market proponents. For instance, state capacity and ability to manage and define national culture is enhanced by cooperation from national groups who articulate a cultural vision or definition that supports state efforts. Leadership from the state can influence national culture, but this influence is most effective when it is supported by national popular leadership.

A contemporary example of this process is found in the alliance between the United States Republican Party and evangelical Christian groups in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The cooperative efforts of organized national (evangelical) groups assisted state efforts by the Reagan administration (1980-1988) to influence and manage national culture through the active redefinition of American political symbols as having specific affiliations and connotations. This example briefly illustrates the process of national cultural control as facilitated by a specific national group with a specific cultural definition that facilitates global market integration. In other words, the national cultural group (evangelical Christians) gains increased power with respect to the state and in turn promotes national compliance despite the presence of adverse effects of global market integration (deindustrialization, agricultural decline). The state was then able to ensure global systemic operation due to a stable national population that was controlled, in large part, through the redefinition of national culture.

This outcome results in contemporary stability in accordance with the Hegelian-Marxian concept of false consciousness and operates in much the same manner as Gramsci's concept of hegemony. We can assume that this outcome is probable in core states given the privileged position of its national populations with respect to abject and pervasive poverty. The relative affluence of core states facilitates additional control mechanisms in the form of mass media entertainment and material consumption promotion, both of which require tacit affirmation of the benefits resulting from global market integration and legitimate approval of existing control structures. This scenario clearly presumes a dominant position with respect to the global economic system. National populations, active in their own domination, are effectively controlled through state approved cultural definitions, symbols, and affiliations. These state controls are locally managed by co-operative national groups who stand to increase their power as they support the state project of global market integration. In this scenario, long-term stability is increasingly dependent on the state, its alliances with cooperative national groups, and its ability to manage and control national cultural definitions.

*2. The nation will gain greater understanding of cultural manipulative efforts on the part of the state and react negatively to this process of cultural control.*

The second possible outcome could result if the previously stated requisites collapse. If state capacity to influence or control national cultural definitions and symbols is reduced, national populations could increase their general power with respect to the state and the global economic system. In this scenario national groups will recognize the manipulative efforts of the state and react in a negative fashion weakening state control capacities. This outcome would decrease the dominant position of the global economic

system due to the potential inability of the state to control national populations and ensure stability. The global economic system would have to address national protectionist concerns on a more direct level due to the inability of state cultural controls to meet protectionist demands.

An example of this process is arguably occurring in Latin America. Specifically, the most recent Bolivian election saw the rise of Evo Morales, the first indigenous Aymara president of Bolivia, who was elected on a platform of emphasizing indigenous culture (as opposed to the Bolivian tradition of ignoring) and reasserting state control over national economic protections. In short, the initial promise of the Morales era in Bolivia is built on a rearticulation of national culture (from a political ideal of inclusivity, “we are all Indians” with the reality being massive economic stratification based largely on race – to a recognition of the racial basis for this economic stratification) which has allowed the state political discourse to shift again toward issues of national economic protection.

In this scenario, the national population has the opportunity to transcend state cultural definitions and controls, reestablish these controls from a cultural perspective, and potentially protect itself through economic means. This, of course, is contingent on the group that is able to actively redefine national cultural controls and their interest in reestablishing national economic protections from global market integration. The opportunity for such a shift is possible.

*3. The state will continue its relative decline in control capacities and be replaced with regional or global governing structures to ensure local stability.*

This scenario is predicated on the observation that the Westphalian state system, designed to originally maintain and control national economies and facilitate international trade, is undergoing qualitative change. The ability for the state to control or protect national economic interests is eroding in the face of neoliberal market demands. If cultural controls prove ineffective in ensuring long-term local stability, global market proponents will seek alternate forms of governance. Advocates of the global polity thesis argue that this process is already underway (Meyer 1980; Meyer et al. 1997; Boli and Thomas 1997). This theory argues that a global culture based on European models of rationality, liberal democracy, and liberal capitalism is pervasive enough to allow a common political discourse to occur. This common political discourse has the potential to produce shared governance structures.

Obvious examples of this process are institutions such as the United Nations, which has limited political and military authority granted through international cooperative unions. Another example of regional governance structure could be the European Union, which consists of several institutions of political control including the European Parliament and the ministerial Council of the European Union.

I would argue that this scenario is least likely due to the increased importance of national culture as a local control mechanism. Current levels of state-national cultural integration make it much more difficult to argue for the relinquishment of state power to supranational governance structures because national culture has been explicitly tied to the existing state. A nation-state joined by shared culture will lose this developed connection resulting in national instability. Resulting national instability will negatively affect global economic operation and therefore represents a significant disincentive for

creating supranational governance at this time. One can look to recent history to see the function of the “double movement” in opposition to such an outcome.

The economic cooperation of the European Union has resulted in the world’s strongest currency; however, the establishment of a singular constitutional system of governance has not matched this economic cooperation. In fact, the most recent attempt to ratify a European constitution was rejected by the national populations of France and the Netherlands. One of the more successful strategies in mobilizing support for constitutional reject was in appeals to national cultural sovereignty (Bordonaro 2005). Thus, while supranational governance structures are possible, the power of respective national populations and the ability of state and national actors to exploit cultural definitions, symbols, and histories for resistive purposes makes large-scale implementation unlikely. In fact, it seems more likely that attempts to implement regional supranational governance structures could follow the pattern of the EU, with powerful states or national populations resisting this impulse. Such a collapsed effort would likely lead to a return to either of the first two scenarios presented here. The deciding factor, it would seem, would be the strength of the state to manage and control national cultural structures (scenario one). Conversely, such a political collapse (failed regional governance) could present an opportunity for national populations to redefine or re-establish control over national cultural structures (scenario two).

*4. The power of national populations will increase beyond state capacities to control resulting in local instability. This instability could in turn result in increased regional or even global conflict.*

This scenario is the direct result of instability generated by an unbalanced “double movement.” Local destabilization has the potential to degenerate into large-scale conflict due to the withdrawal of local structures of control and the inability of the global economic system to enforce stability through existing supranational institutions. This process can occur in two obvious ways.

First, the dominance of the global economic system grows beyond the ability of state cultural controls to pacify national populations. In this instance, the control of culture becomes irrelevant in the face of extreme economic inequalities and the inability for culture to mask such adverse economic conditions. In other words, discursive conflict centered on issues of national culture are overwhelmed by pervasive economic problems such as unemployment, poverty, and accompanying detrimental social conditions. This situation could result in social revolution or at least social instability that threatens global economic operation. In other words, the expansion of global market predation creates an imbalance in the “double movement” that overwhelms existing state protectionist capacities motivating local instability.

Second, national power increases to the point that it overwhelms state control mechanisms. Once control of the state is accomplished, the national group can choose to function in the way similar to the Morales administration. That is, usurped state power can be used to promote national economic health through diplomacy and renegotiated agreements within the global economic system. The possibility also exists that the dominant national group will chose not to protect its national populations within the context of the global market economy, but instead choose to expand its power through the forced acquisition of resources and capital of other nation-states.



Both of these outcomes can result in regional or even global conflict possibly promoting systemic collapse. This obviously is the most undesirable outcome, but unfortunately not the least likely. The negative potential for regional or global conflict seems more likely in peripheral regions due to their position within the global economic system. Core states and national populations will be less likely to contribute to the destabilization of a beneficial systemic arrangement. The motivation for systemic destabilization is possibly more attractive to peripheral states. This of course is an unproven hypothesis as one could argue that core state action taken in a unilateral fashion could be viewed as being systemically destabilizing. If a core state does not act in accordance with the systemic demands of the global market system, there could be ramifications for national popular destabilization. It seems unlikely, however, that core states will jeopardize their privileged position with anti-systemic actions on a large scale.

These possible outcomes are simply a few of the many directions for future comparative research on the nation-state using a reconceptualized “double movement” framework. This dissertation is designed to develop a greater understanding of the capacities and roles of the contemporary state with respect to national protection and global market integration.

Canadian multicultural policies and Québec intercultural policies offer the opportunity to observe and analyze state action as the result of both global market integration and in meeting national protectionist demands. The conclusions that are made from this study require that additional attention be played to the role of culture in understanding social policy strategies in Canada and Québec. The role of the Canadian and Québec state in the contemporary era cannot be adequately understood without

attention to the role of culture as a stabilization tool or strategy. The efficacy of these strategies is also consistent with the “double movement” framework in that the ultimate success of multicultural and intercultural policies is determined by national popular legitimation as well as systemic global economic adherence.

The conclusions, that state capacity to protection national populations through economic means has waned resulting in increased state capacity to address national protectionist demands through cultural means, offer an opportunity to examine the complex interrelationships between nation, state, and global economy in a methodologically sound manner. I believe that this dissertation project provides a unique and promising foundation upon which a substantial research agenda can be built.

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## **Vita**

Cory Blad was born in Keene, New Hampshire on November 29, 1975. He graduated from Keene High School in 1994 and subsequently attended the University of New Hampshire for his undergraduate education. He graduated from UNH in 1998 with Bachelor of Arts degrees in History and Secondary Education. He received a Master of Arts degree in World and Public History from Northeastern University in 2000. After spending 18 months working for the Oregon State Archives in Salem, Oregon and living in the beautiful Pacific Northwest, he returned to academia in 2001 to pursue his Ph.D. in Sociology at the University of Tennessee.

He accepted the position of Assistant Professor Sociology at Southern Illinois University, Edwardsville in 2006. His Doctor of Philosophy degree in Sociology from the University of Tennessee was earned in the same year.