

**People's Democratic Republic of Algeria
Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research**

**8 May 1945 university- Guelma
Faculty of Letters and Languages
Department of Letters and English Language**

**جامعة 8 ماي 1945 / قالمة
كلية الآداب و اللغات
قسم الآداب و اللغة الانجليزية**



**The Rise and Evolution of Sovereignty Movement in Quebec: The
1995 Referendum**

**A Dissertation Submitted to the Department of Letters and English Language in Partial
Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Master Degree in Language and Culture.**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my children Yacine and Iyad.

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DEDICATION

This modest work is whole heartedly dedicated to my beloved parents, who have been my source of inspiration and give me strength when I thought of giving up, who continually provide their moral spiritual, emotional and financial support , to my mother who deserves all the efforts I made. To my father whose love is indescribable. To my brothers Walid my second father, khaled with a white heart , mohamed my shy brother and my little quarrelsome abdallah.

To my unbiological sister Sofia who was with me through thick and thin. To my lovely cousin Khaoula. To my unique aunt Fatima and her kind daughter Dalel. To my kind friends I met at university: my best friend and sister Amani, Pretty the kindest friend, to Narjes the source of pleasure and cuteness. To my lovely friends: Touta, Imene, Youssra, Roumaissa, Douaa, Rania and Mouna,feriel, Alia, Zineb and I would neve

Benabid Abir

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I am very grateful to “Allah” for blessing me with this opportunity, giving me the will and capacity to finish this work.

Secondly, I want to express my appreciations to my supervisor, BARES Meryem, for her encouragement, instructions and suggestions.

I would also like to extend my gratitude and appreciation to the members of the jury including respectively Mrs. ZIAYA Rima and Mrs. LAYADA Radia.

Hennad Houda

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor ,MISS. Meryem Bares for her efforts, her guidance and to everyone who helped me fulfilling this work ,many thanks to the jury

members for dedicating time to read this work .

I would also like to thank all my teachers and all the staff of English department.

Benabid Abir

Abstract

This dissertation entitled “The Rise and Evolution of Sovereignty Movement in Quebec: The 1995 Referendum” comprehensively elucidates the factors that led to the rise and evolution of Quebec Nationalism with reference to the 1995 Sovereignty Referendum. Indeed this work aims at explaining how sovereignty movements developed in Quebec and to what extent they were influential. This dissertation hypothesises that the prospect of independence for Quebec diminished after 1995 indicating and obvious shifted from separatism to federalism. This hypothesis is relatively answering the problematic of this research which put in question the effectiveness of Quebec nationalism in gaining independence for the province.

ملخص

هذه الأطروحة تحمل عنوان "ظهور وتطور حركة السيادة في كيبك: استفتاء عام 1995" توضح بشكل شامل العوامل

التي أدت إلى ظهور وتطور حركة القومية في كيبك بالإشارة إلى استفتاء السيادة عام 1995 وإلى أي مدى كانت مؤثرة.

تفترض هذه الأطروحة أن احتمالية استقلال كيبك تضاءلت بعد عام 1995 مما يشير إلى تحول واضح من الانفصالية

إلى الفيدرالية. هذه الفرضية تجيب نسبياً على إشكالية هذا البحث الذي يطرح تساؤلات حول فعالية قومية كيبك في

نيل استقلال للمقاطعة

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

Acronym	Identification
PQ	Parti Quebécoise
MLA	Meech Lake Accord
BQ	Block Québécoise

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Introduction

This dissertation attempts to elucidate in a comprehensive account the evolution of sovereignty movement in Quebec. It sheds light on the main causes that led to the emergence of nationalism which seeks to secure an independent Quebec aiming at offering a state for the stateless Quebecers. Furthermore, this dissertation investigates how separatists or sovereignists realized part of their national project in 1995 by organizing a sovereignty referendum in the province of Quebec. This research project hypothesizes that Quebec nationalism had reached an advanced stage culminating in the 1995 sovereignty referendum, yet it failed to obtain an independent state for the nation of the province and presumes that Quebec nationalism has shifted from absolute separatism to moderate federalism accentuating the province national and cultural identity.

The choice of the topic is generally motivated by the desire to fully understand the influence and impact of nationalism on the sovereignty movement in Quebec, and how it managed to dominate the Canadian political scene since the 1960. This work also aims to focus on the 1995 Referendum as a study case. Therefore, this research project aims at highlighting the major causes that influenced the development of nationalism movement in Quebec which was demonstrated in the 1995 Referendum.

The work tries to answer the main question about development of Sovereignty movement in Quebec Canada through a series of inquiries related to the topic including: -What are the real causes for the rise of the sovereignty movement in Quebec? Why the national identity of Quebec is different from the other provinces? Is there a relationship between Quebec unique nationalism and the decision to be independent? To what extent did The 1995 Referendum results depicted

the public opinion in Quebec? Did Quebecers change their self-concept of nationalism after the last referendum?

The topic of this research had been the concern for several researchers and academics. Sovereignty was first coined by Jean Bodin in his book *The Six Books on the Commonwealth*, by stating that it is the absolute power to rule, this power is not meant to be shared or interfered with by anyone. The concept was later developed by many scholars, according to Harrison and Tony state sovereignty is characterized by having physical assets, domestic and international structure of power combined with the recognition of the state by members of the national society, particularly the powerful states.

In his work “The Politics of Nationalism in Quebec” Hudson Meadwell examines the case of Quebec sovereignty movement by revealing the uniqueness of this movement relies on the existence of symmetrical balance of power between prevailing convictions and the work of the state establishments. Meadwell also sheds light on the different phases this nationalist movement went through; it is in an endless cycle between mobilization and demobilization. Furthermore Richard Handler in his article entitled “Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec” tries to answer the question of what makes a person a Quebecer? He depicts that an individual nationalism is built on two factors; the locality or one’s attachment to the land he was born in and the shared code of conduct; the list of rules must be followed to be recognized as Quebecer.

In addition to the previously mentioned spectators and analysts of Quebec nationalism, this dissertation respectively includes works of the most prominent readers and authors of nationalism of stateless nation including for example Rocher François, Gagnon Alain-G, Behiels Michael D, Béland Daniel, André Lecours, Matthew Hayday and Igartua, Jos E.

This research basically relied on the quantitative and qualitative methodology, these methods are necessary to achieve the purpose of the study and answer the questions of the

research. The information is gathered from books and articles interested in this movement including a historical analysis about the development of Quebec nationalism.

The dissertation is composed of three chapters. The first chapter is entitled “Québec’s Culture and National Identity” and it exposes both the geography and history of the province of Quebec and identifies the national identity of Quebecers as distinct to the Canadian identity. The second chapter holds the title “History of Nationalism in Quebec” and it tracks the rise and evolution of the doctrine of sovereignty and separatism in the province of Quebec in a chronological order. It exposed the birth of the *Partie Québécoise* which is the most prominent and leading political parties in Quebec for decades. It also sheds light on The Quiet Revolution which is considered as the first official nationalism movement in Quebec though achieving little progress. The third and last chapter is entitled “The 1995 Sovereignty Referendum 1995 and the prospect of an independent Quebec” and it examines in a comprehensive way the case study of this dissertation. It also highlights the turning point of Québec nationalism which shifted interest towards the concept of federalism declaring thus the end of Quebec’s prospects for independence and officially accepting the status of a stateless nation.

Chapter One

Québec's Culture and National Identity

This opening chapter is devoted to depicting the history of Quebec including a brief overview of the province's landscape. The chapter aims at providing an accurate image of Quebec's national identity and culture by highlighting the Francophone origins of Quebecers as opposed to other people of Canada. Indeed, this chapter provides background facts and information that help understand the French Quebecoise identity which had survived amidst a predominant Anglophone sphere.

1.1. Quebec's History and Geography

Long before the British discovered the North American continent, French fishermen came to Canada and Newfoundland in search of new fishing grounds. These were the people who sparked French curiosity about the region of North America now known as Canada. Jacques Cartier planted the standard of Francis I of France on the shores of New Brunswick in 1534, and a year later discovered the St. Lawrence River. His attempts at colonization were futile until the time of Samuel de Champlain, who founded the city of Quebec and laid the groundwork for the Empire of New France (New Brunswick) and Canada were provinces of New France for two centuries and a quarter before succumbing to English rule in 1759. With this change, a French population of 65,000 switched sides, and Canada was renamed Quebec, divided into three districts, and placed under the direction of a governor appointed by Great Britain ("Quebec a Brief history of the Province" 3).

The people, on the other hand, were assured of unhindered possession of their lands and the free exercise of their religion. The French laws were similarly preserved, except that the population welcomed the substitution of English criminal laws and jury trials. The French

language was thus preserved and continued to have a significant impact on the character and development of the country as a whole. Quebec was known as Lower Canada from 1791 to 1840, and then as Canada East from 1841 until Confederation in 1867, when it was renamed the province of Quebec. Quebec dates back to 1534–35, when French explorer Jacques Cartier landed in present-day Gaspé and took possession of the land in the name of King Louis XVI of France. Cartier brought with him the 16th-century European traditions of mercantile expansion to a land inhabited for thousands of years by a few thousand Indians (First Nations) and Inuit the Arctic people of Canada known as Eskimo in the United States (3).

New France began with the establishment of three cities—Quebec City in 1608, Trois-Rivières in 1616, and Montreal in 1642—and grew to encompass a vast inland territory that included Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island, and Newfoundland, as well as extending southwest all the way to Louisiana. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713), which confirmed France's defeat in the War of the Spanish Succession, granted the United Kingdom control over all of Nova Scotia (except Cape Breton), Newfoundland, and the lands surrounding Hudson Bay. Except for Louisiana and the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the remaining territory of New France was ceded to Great Britain in the Treaty of Paris (1763) ([| Britannica Online](#) “Quebec History”).

The aboriginal peoples of Quebec or Canada as a whole were Indians, but later in the 16th century North America where the place the Europeans settled on. They spread all over Canada; Quebec was settled by the French since colonization, because the aboriginals (Indians) had a good relation with the French people. After becoming a country in 1867, Canada's people and its land have changed through time, more precisely during the last 500 years, comparing to present days. Most French people live in Quebec. Quebec is a huge and ancient province in contrast to the other provinces (“Inuit definition, history, culture and facts”).

Quebec's territory comprises extensions of three of Canada's main physiographic regions: the St. Lawrence Lowlands, the Appalachian Uplands, and the Canadian Shield (also called the Laurentian Shield). Each region is a storehouse of unique natural and human resources, which accounts for their different settlement and development patterns over the past centuries (Britannica Online "Quebec Climate"). Québec, Canada's oldest and largest province has a population of over 7.5 million people. On a land mass three times the size of France, the St. Lawrence River is home to 80 percent of the population. The province manufactures 21% of the country's manufactured goods and a significant portion of its iron, copper, asbestos, paper, and lumber ("Study Guide Canada and Québec..." 1).

1.1.1. Origins of Quebecers

Nearly half of Quebec's total population descends from the 10,000 original French settlers. Québécois make up nearly four-fifths of Canada's total Francophone population. Anglophones of British descent account for roughly one-tenth of Quebecers. Another tenth of the population is not of French or British ancestry and consists of indigenous peoples (Indian [First Nations] and Inuit), eastern Europeans, Portuguese, Greeks, Haitians, and Asians (notably from Southeast Asia). French was declared the official language of Quebec in 1974, and this was reaffirmed and strengthened in 1977 by Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language. The aboriginal peoples who were the first inhabitants of Quebec are typically divided into three linguistic groups: Algonquian, Inuit (Eskimo-Aleut), and Iroquoian. Indian and Inuit (the Arctic people of Canada known as Eskimo in the United States) affairs are under federal jurisdiction in Canada, but with the transfer of certain responsibilities to the province, it is now the responsibility of the Quebec government to provide services to the Inuit population (Britannica Online "Quebec Climate").

People had been living on the St. Lawrence River's banks for several thousand years when Europeans arrived in the 16th century. Every country had its own language, beliefs, and culture.

The first European settlers in Québec were of French origin, and the French formed strong bonds with the aboriginal people from the beginning of colonization. While relations between First Nations and European settlers were frequently strained, the meeting of civilizations also involved the exchange of ideas, objects, and ways of doing things that were tailored to each culture's specific needs. Not only were Native Americans introduced to iron tools and weapons, new foods, and woolen cloths and blankets, but also to alcohol and European diseases such as smallpox and influenza. Europeans learned how to survive in the wilderness, store food, and use plants for medicinal purposes colonization. When North America was ceded to the British after the Seven Years' War in 1763, the French took a different path than the rest of Canada. They were dubbed French Canadians. In terms of cultural and national identity, the term Québécois (spelled kebe' kwa) has largely replaced French Canadian (“Study Guide Canada and Québec...” 1).

1.2. Quebec’s National Identity

Quebec’s National identity has numerous definitions of what a nation is, each emphasizing certain key aspects of nationhood that are shared by many nations: a sense of shared memories and history, a shared public culture, a common language, and motherland, and so on. While these factual aspects are important to most territories, the core of national identity is found in the influenced characteristics of nationhood, namely, that a nation is a group of people who represent themselves as a political community and who share a common desire to live together in society (Boucher 5).

It is frequently asserted that Quebec nationalism is the maintenance of a separate national culture, one that is allegedly founded on The French language and social norms that differ from those held by Anglophone Canadians as being more communal. National identity, on the other hand, is founded on a group’s shared wish to remain together and manage its normal relationships

socially, rather than on objective shared cultural qualities such as language, religion, and so forth. To put it another way, national identity is based on people's affiliation with a political those who share a considerable overlap of themselves (Boucher 5).

Given that Nationalism based on race and culture gradually gave way to land nationalism. As a result, equality would not be possible without a significant increase in Ontario's legal authority, particularly in the fields of social security, international relations, education, and culture (Rocher 6).

Previous generations of French Canadian nationalism and identity were based on the protection of the French language, the Roman Catholic Church, and Church-run institutions across Canada. In contrast, the modern Québécois identity that emerged after the 1960s "Quiet Revolution" is secular and based on a social democratic ideal of an active Québec government promoting the French language and French-speaking civilization in the arts, education, and business inside the Province of Québec. Politically, this resulted in a push for greater autonomy for Québec, as well as an internal debate about the province's freedom and identity that continues to this day. Québec is Canada's second most densely populated province, and its natural resources and diverse industries are critical to the country's economy ("Study Guide Canada and Québec..." 1). In the previous years the French Canadian identity tended to preserve the French language in all over Canada, yet the recent Quebec identity after the quiet revolution is democratic and secular and attempts to enhance the French language, education, business, art ...etc. and everything related to the French language even civilization.

Quebec's national identity can be followed back to the 1759 conquest, when the British drove the French crown from North America. Britain's policy toward its new subjects, the New French colonists, alternated between assimilation and accommodation. The Church of England was declared the established church immediately after the conquest, English law was imposed,

English was declared the official language, and the traditional seigneurial system of land tenure was abolished (McRoberts).

Due to the fear that the Canadians would join the southern rebellion, the government relaxed these restrictions by 1774. They were rewarded by the Catholic clergy's opposition to the American Revolution's secularizing and republican abominations. Quebec remained an independent society within British North America and later Canada. There are several carriers of common identity. The French language has always been the most important. Quebecois have consistently referred to themselves as a territorially concentrated linguistic minority in an overwhelmingly English-speaking North America (Canada). The Catholic religion served as a secondary carrier. The church in Quebec became increasingly conservative, fostering a vision of French-Canadian identity rooted in traditional values and opposed to industrialization, urbanization, and modernity, aided by priests fleeing revolution and secularization in France. Social class was a third identity marker (Keating 65).

Quebec differs from other provinces in Canada since it has its own culture and heritage, in this respect Pasquero assumes that within Canada, Quebec is somewhat unique among the ten Canadian provinces, thus further removing its experience from that of the US experience, it enjoys a cultural heritage and institutions of its own that cannot be found elsewhere with such concentration. The primacy of societal concerns in Quebec originated from a deeply ingrained commitment to the preservation of the province's identity. Identity preservation, institutional modernization, and consociative democracy are three structural factors that interact to give the province a distinct identity in North America. Each factor adds another dimension to the framework for understanding business ethics in Quebec: collective rights, economic nationalism, and social solidarity. Accounts of the impact of a society's distinguishing characteristics on business practices have typically been separated into two categories: cultural explanations and

institutional explanations. A comprehensive framework should take both into account. In the case of Quebec, it is better to consider them together because they cannot be separated analytically. A distinct cultural legacy has endowed the province with special requirements and institutions, which are then intentionally developed and extended by the province's social and political forces to maintain the province's identity (623). The province of Quebec tries to protect the identity of it through the three factors that are the identity, institutional, consociative democracy and modernization, in Canada or North America and every factor gives measures about the structure of ethics in business in Quebec.

1.2.1. Linguistic Affiliation of Quebec

Canada is well-known for being a multilingual country. However, the truth is that French speakers are overwhelmingly and increasingly concentrated in Quebec. In 1941, Quebec was home to around 81 percent of French-speaking Canadians; by 1986, the percentage had risen to 86.3 percent. And the remaining French population is becoming increasingly concentrated near Quebec's borders in the bordering provinces of Ontario and, in particular, New Brunswick. French speakers make up less than 5% of the remaining seven provinces. Overall, the proportion of French speakers in Canada has been steadily decreasing, falling from 29.1 percent in 1941 to 24.2 percent in 1986 (Dion 15). It is know that Canada is a multilingual country however, the people who speak French are found more in Quebec and they kept increasing through years in contrast to the rest of Canada, the majority speak the English language.

Since 2002, Québec universities and government-funded institutions have been mandated by the Charter of the French Language to adopt a policy on the usage and quality of French. These rules must address the language of instruction (including textbook language) and the administrative staff's language of communication, as well as the language of work, the quality of French, and the French-language competency of students, teaching staff, and other staff

members. Policies on the usage and quality of the French language address the teaching of French as a second language and the language of written contacts with the government and legal bodies in Québec at colleges and universities where English is the primary language of instruction. Furthermore, starting January 1, 1998, students must pass a standardized French exam in order to graduate from a French-language institution or be admitted to a university. Some francophone colleges have created particular initiatives to help non-francophone overseas students integrate (“The Abcs of Quebec’s Language Policy” 40).

In summary, Quebec is becoming more French, while the rest of Canada is becoming more English, and Quebec's demographic weight in the federation is falling. And everything indicates that the previous two trends will continue in the near future. As a result, it is not unexpected that Quebec's French-speaking population feels both linguistic isolation and unique attachment to its provincial institutions, which are the only ones governed by a French-speaking majority on the continent. Both are about Montreal, which has 45 percent of Quebec's population and serves as the province's financial and commercial hub. First, while English speakers are a minority in Montreal, as they are across Quebec, they are becoming more concentrated there; three of every four English speakers in Quebec live in Montreal. Until recently, they also controlled the corporate and financial sectors, and English was the province's official language. Montreal is also home to the great bulk of Quebec's immigrant population, which is expanding in size. What is the percentage of "allophones," or those who speak neither French nor English as their first language? Between 1951 and 1986, the population of Quebec rose from 3.7 percent to 6.8 percent. By 1974, 88.6 percent of Montreal's allophone youngsters were receiving English education. The situation was terrible enough that French speakers began to worry about losing control of their city. And if Montreal became English, the remainder of Quebec would be unable to form a strong French community (Dion 14).

1.2.2. Religious Affiliation of Quebecers

In Quebec, there is a high level of religious affiliation but a low level of engagement in religious activities. From 2017 to 2019, Quebec stood out among the provinces because it had the largest number of persons who claimed having a religious affiliation while also believing that their religious or spiritual views were not very essential or not at all to how they conduct their lives (40 percent, compared with proportions ranging from 15 percent to 25 percent in the other provinces). Quebec also had the lowest proportion of persons who participated in religious group activities at least once a month (14 percent, compared with 21 percent to 32 percent in the other provinces). This very low proportion of engagement in group religious activities indicates significant changes witnessed in the province during the previous few decades, notably among Catholics. In 1985, almost half (48 percent) of Quebecers aged 15 and up participated in religious activities at least once a month. This percentage was 51% among Catholics and 42% among individuals who claimed having a religious affiliation other than Catholic. Monthly group religious involvement rates for Catholics were 14 percent from 2017 to 2019 and 26 percent for individuals who indicated having a religious affiliation other than Catholic. It is worth mentioning that between 1985 and the 2017-2019 time frame, within Quebec, the number of Catholics in the population aged 15 and over fell from 87 percent to 62 percent, while the proportion of persons having a religious affiliation other than Catholic more than doubled, from 9 percent in 1985 to 18 percent from 2017 to 2019 (Cornelissen 10). In brief, religious affiliation, low weight placed on beliefs, and poor engagement in religious activities are substantially more widespread in Quebec than elsewhere in Canada. Some authors have used the phrase "cultural Catholicism" to characterize this approach, which would be especially prevalent among Quebec Catholics, of keeping Catholic identification but giving religion just a limited place in daily life (11).

1.2.3. Quebec's Educational System

Quebec's growing educational system reflects the complexity of its society. Primary and secondary schools were originally structured along sectarian lines, with the Roman Catholic and Protestant Committees of the Council of Public Instruction funding and administering them. The Ministry of Education was disbanded in 1875 because the Roman Catholic Church believed politicians would use it to intrude in education, which church officials deemed their exclusive authority. However, because the English-speaking Protestant population controlled Montreal's economy, Protestant schools got substantial funding and provided a complete range of elementary and secondary educational services. To satisfy the requirements of its pupils, Roman Catholic school boards got less per capita financing and were obliged to rely significantly on religious employees and infrastructure. Following a half-century wait, a Liberal Quebec administration launched a public system of free and obligatory primary education for children aged 6 to 16, a change that brought the province's school attendance up to national levels within a decade. Quebec's political leaders quickly grasped that achieving better levels of education by Francophones would provide them with the potential to overcome their lower economic standing, laying the groundwork for the revival of their language and culture. The survival of Québécois culture and the French language became a battlefield in education (Britannica Online “Quebec Health and Welfare”).

The study curricula are defined in terms of competences. These abilities correspond to the educational objectives and necessary knowledge for each course. The key knowledge is often offered in the form of methods, lessons learned, and procedures. They might be linked to specific competencies or to a whole program of study. The Competency's focus is divided into four sections: Meaning of the Competency, Relationships to Cross-Curricular Competencies, Learning Context, and Developmental Profile. Meaning of the Competency: identifies the competency's

place in the program and describes what it entails. Context for Learning: specifies the settings under which students should be put in order to acquire and practice the skill; often describes resources available to students as well as limits imposed by the scenario. Developmental Profile: gives signs of competency growth for each cycle. The criteria for evaluation or the observable standards for supporting and assessing competence growth are more or less generic, depending on whether they apply to one or all of the cycles. These are expectations for students at the conclusion of a cycle in terms of both the knowledge most commonly involved and the sorts of contexts in which this knowledge are applied. They identify the key stages of the competence development process (“Québec Education Program Approved...” 8).

1.3. Quebec’s Political System

Multinational federations are political frameworks that provide internal states the right to govern themselves by separating abilities, so national-based unites can have exclusive or shared jurisdiction over crucial areas such as culture, language, mass migration, education, and so on; and by setting lines so that religious and ethnic minorities can form a majority within one or more federal subunits, allowing them to make representative democracy group decisions without being overruled by the lion’s share. In a truly multiracial federation, we may recognize its national minorities in its constitution and treats all of its internal nations as equal partners (Boucher8).

There is an image that depicts Quebec as one of two nations that formed the center of Canada’s federal agreement. George-Etienne Cartier was the politician who best encapsulated the two-nation viewpoint without abandoning the concept of political nationality. Cartier commented in 1867, at the time of Quebec’s entry into Confederation:

Such is the significance that we must attach to this constitution, which recognizes the French-Canadian nationality. As a distinct, separate nationality, we form a State within a State

with the full use of our rights and the formal recognition of our national independence (Gagnon 42).

Multinational federalism is founded on more than just national divisions of subunits. Furthermore, powers and jurisdictions must be separated to give federal sub-units a significant degree of control over key issues. In Canada, provinces today have authority in areas such as property and human rights, education, social policy, culture, telecommunications, and language, as well as direct taxing powers for provincial purposes. Furthermore, and this is critical for the survival and prosperity of the Québécois as a separate national identity, Quebec has a shared jurisdiction over immigration inside Canada, has a considerable say in choices about the number and kind of immigrants, and has developed its plan for immigrant assimilation. It's worth noting that Quebec is the only province with legislative authority in this area (Boucher 12).

In Canada, The Constitution provides authority to both the federal and provincial governments. Federalism is legally protected against unilateral changes by either level of government and provincial governments' authority boundaries are judicially enforced. Because the boundaries of the province of Quebec were designed so that the francophone one would form a majority there and could not be outvoted by the Anglophone majority in Canada, Canada is a multicultural federation. This is still true today; in fact, linguistic communities are more territorialized than they were when Quebec was founded. Furthermore, Quebec has been given a mix of concurrent and exclusive jurisdiction over a wide range of policy sectors, providing it with the instruments it needs to safeguard the continuation of a francophone society. Language and supervision of elementary, intermediate, and postsecondary education are among the areas of jurisdiction because language is the main factor behind Quebec's political autonomy aspirations (Choudhry 613).

Quebec is attempting to innovate within the Canadian Federation by adopting constitutional principles, whether by depending on shared history, strengthening national community consent, or requiring reciprocity from political and social actors. These are, to some extent, the foundations of living together, and they provide an informal constitution to Canadian politics that complements the legal one. Political institutions cannot afford to ignore it; otherwise, they risk losing a significant portion of their political credibility. This unofficial constitution provides a policy framework that is far broader than the formal constitution, and it encourages politicians to be attentive to national groups' problems at multiple decision-making levels (Gagnon and Mandeville 14).

Quebec has a rich history it goes back to the first successful settlement of the French in the seventeenth century, later it was deposed by the British and in 1840 the active union combined Quebec with the rest of Canada and established the province of Canada under the British rule, however tension between the francophone and the Anglophone developed with time because Quebecers detected disadvantage on their French Quebecoise identity.

Chapter Two

History of Nationalism in Québec

The colony of Canada has been a federation since 1867. It launched the only four regions and has since grown to ten, in addition to three Polar Regions. Federations always depict a quarrel between the national government and the provinces and a kind of competition between the states. Quebec made a strong example in both areas of Canada due to its long-standing French historical, linguistic, legal, and cultural legacies (Bayne 26). Consequently, This chapter will be devoted to identifying the characteristics of the Nationalism movement in Quebec and the reasons behind the desire of French Canadians to gain sovereignty from Canada, in addition to this it refers to the significant role that the *Parti Québécois* had in the political life during this period.

The first whites to settle in what would become Canada were the French. After their victory over France in the fight for North America, the British granted the Canadians the beginning of a long major commitment that was constantly reassessed. Following some difficulty, they decided to keep their Roman Catholic faith, dialect, lordship system of property ownership, and legal system. Simultaneously, both Lower and Upper Canada were under demand to embrace more democratic methods. In 1837–38, there were revolts in both provinces, before the formation of responsible government in which colonial rulers were held accountable to elected legislatures that followed the British model. However, tensions lingered between French and English, Catholic and Protestant. Lord Roberts, the British commissioner dispatched to investigate conditions in Canada in 1840 (Gagnon114).

The British North American Act is the very first Canadian constitution since 1867. The United Kingdom retained the ultimate control, and with no consistent effort to improve the

situation, things remained as it is for almost a century. In 1931 due to the French Canadian opposition to the involvement in World War Two London handed the Canadian the power over the foreign policy (James 150-151).

2.1. The Quiet Revolution

The British depiction of Canada was fading due to the new attitude, ending an era of limited self-perspective and paving the diverse identities in the country (Igartua 164). The reality is that the idea of a Canadian nation-state has a strong attraction among English-speaking Canadians. The traditional concept of Canada as a British nation, inextricably tied to the Commonwealth, had no integrity by the mid-twentieth century (McRoberts 46). On account of the French-speaking Canadian resistance to assimilating to the English heritage in Canada, and the persistent demands to realize equality Canada is no longer associated with the British identity.

Criticism was directed to the Canadian constitution for being associated with Britain and can only be adopted by the British parliament as if Canada was a British territory (Bothwell 115). The follow-up of the Quebec act is still existing to this day some observers explain this act was used by Britain to avoid American control over Quebec some others explained it as a way to allow a colony to form its constitution (“Constitutional Dossier” 128).

The philosophy represented by Quebec was controversial and rustic from the perspective of the province. To ensure francophone community existence they must hold to their genuine capital, for the most part, language and religion. A nation is a term used in religious and linguistic contexts. The French Canadian identity was not confined to the Quebec borders. These religious traditions were backed by communal institutions like a church, household, and parish which were considered vital to the continuation of the culture. This old-fashioned view worked as a defensive wall to prevent the emergence of social order from federal and the government institution which was controlled by the English Canadians. French Canadians were outvoted and consigned to the

bottom ranks of society, their roles, and administrative ranking during this time. The heritage can be maintained in a concrete and tangible form (Rocher3).

Quebec nationalists refused Canadian participation in World War Two but on the other hand, their province faced the same consequences as all Canadians. The war effort changed the economical and social structures of the country and increased the gap between Quebec society and the other Canadian provinces (Clif 4). The two decades that succeeded the war come to witness unprecedentedly intensive changes socially and economically intimidating Quebec's traditions (Behiels 9). World War Two was a decisive period in Quebec's narrative due to the massive modernization and departure from the agricultural way of life to Industrialization combined with factories and anti-competitiveness triggered the evolution of Quebec and the lifestyle of its population (Behiels 8). It was not until the decades following World War Two that enthusiastic French-Canadian nationalists took upon themselves the charge to proclaim their traditional nationalism (Behiels 20).

The post-industrial era was a turning point for Canada, with larger political systems and complete independence from the UK. In 1949 the British Privy Council was replaced with the Supreme Court of Canada. The transformation to metropolitan life did not prevent the church's domination of Quebec's politics and business (Behiels17).

In 1964 and 1971 Québec and Ottawa had similar worries, but each side handled them distinctively. The English side collected its assets and aspirations in the capital. on the other hand, Quebec was divided between some of its citizens who agreed with the English way while others recognized the English as a source of the difficulty. The root of this feud started when the English conquered Quebec in 1760 (Bothwell81).

Quebec had developed into an economic power in the 20th century, based in the multicultural city of Montreal, many companies were located there and the world fair of 1964

was staged in this city, and many Anglophone Canadians were allured by this richness to move into Quebec. Posing a threat to the French heritage, consequently, this set off a movement that claimed Quebec culture can only be protected by isolating it from the vast majority, this movement managed to gain control over Québec's political scene due to the space left by the collapse of the Roman church (Bayne26). This movement came to be known as the Quiet Revolution, it carried out profound change to the French Canadian nation within Canada.

No one could have predicted the extent and rapidity with which Quebec society would shift. Old nationalism's hold over the ensemble of political and social institutions was broken by the Quiet Revolution. Some People believed Quebec's transition into the modern period would end the francophone nationalism. As a result, they were amazed to see the emergence of neo-nationalism, which combined the resistance issues of democracy, collectivism, and modernization. This new nationalism advocated a new definition of the province of Quebec. Responsibilities formerly assigned to civil society institutions would now be transferred to the state. The need to adopt Quebec's social and economic structures to modern conditions necessitated the valorization of state function (Rocher 3).

In 1960 the predominant number of the Québec population worked in industrial jobs to a different degree. The rustic way of life comes to an end with the promise of a better way of life (Behiels11). One of the fathers of the Quiet Revolution is Georges-Emile Lapalme, who led The Quebec Liberal Party from 1950 until 1958. In 1958, he published a document outlining all of the changes required for the growth of Quebec, which provided the foundation for the Quebec Revolution. He proposed a new role for the Quebec government, one that would pave the way for Quebec's economic liberation. To counteract Quebec's premier Duplessis' policies, he proposed the concept of modern nationalism. Jean Lesage adopted his views during his electoral campaign.

Consequently, Quebec's patriotism became related to social change through Lapalme's ideals, a step ahead of Duplessis' conservative nationalism (Mujeri5-6).

This new brand of nationalism, like the independence movement among French-speaking Quebecois, is developing a new form of nationalism, one that frequently represents a negative and isolationist approach to political, social, and economic legitimacy. As more Canadians are unclear about their origins, this neo-nationalism, combined with multiculturalism, is affecting Canada's nationhood. These unanticipated changes in Canada have sparked several concerns about the country's future. Instead of waiting for Ottawa to take the initiative, Quebecers wanted the Quebec state to play a larger role in the province's economic development, but this had the opposite effect, as neo-nationalism drove Quebec toward isolationism. The Québec government is doing what is necessary for the province's socio-political and economic development while paying no attention to Ottawa or the rest of Canada (Mujeri 5-6).

The Quiet Revolution was associated with the 1960's provincial election in which the Liberal Party succeeded. The party displayed an opponent to the premier Maurice Duplessis's government which controlled the political scene in the 1950s, but without any solid results (Rocher2). Henceforth Duplessis was a conservative politician, he favored stable life and mild improvement over modernization, and the period he was in office witnessed many controversies related to political corruption in terms of development.

Headed by Premier Jean Lesage the newly elected Québec Liberal Party cabinet, which includes René Lévesque, a popular cultural figure and also a Minister of Natural Resources was the driving force for the region's nationalization of hydroelectricity. Under the slogans "Things Must Change" and "Maîtres chez-nous," this administration set out to implement important reforms to the governing process that will have a significant impact on the evolution of Quebec society (Behiels and Hayday183-184).

Within the first 30 days, the new government quickly established a department of youth, which later became the Ministry of Education in 1964, and offered free tuition throughout high school the first month, the new government quickly established a department of youth, which later would become the Ministry of Education in 1964, providing costless education through high school and even establishing a university. A clergyman leads the commission. Improve Quebec's post-secondary education. A Treasury Board would be formed. Oversee all government spending ditches worth more than 15,000. The Quebec provincial government arranged the event. Duplessis's defeat helped introduce a professional, modern, and non-political police force. In 1961, it began implementing a health insurance program. Which version represents Quebec in 1972 of a national health-care system (Behiels and Hayday183-184).

In 1960 the liberals took over the province of Quebec and they believed that the formerly accomplished nationalism represents an obstacle to development and efficiency. They also believed that this movement prevents social changes through isolation (Clif 18). The development of non - alliance Parties; the establishment of the Provincial Party Québécoise was in the 1960s, and in 1990 the National Party Block Québec was sufficient to create displeasure with the confederation's strategies. Furthermore, many projects have been launched in the last decades, the provincial government developed the social-economic situation for the French Canadian state, which used to face a discriminatory society, economically or culturally (Rocher1).

The Quiet Revolution turned Québec upside down on accounts of multiple requirements associated with increasing the province's authority. French- Canadians asked for equal opportunities and rights with the rest of the country. Québec delineated itself and compelled the Anglophone community to assess their perspective toward themselves and question their position towards Québec. Reporters in Anglophone Canada had to think about how to speak and present

the national identity. The changes were raised by Quebec and encouraged by the Pearson government amidst the establishment of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Québec's Biculturalism in 1963 to recognize the existence of two ethnic creators (Igartua164).

The concept of the Quiet Revolution was to enable the francophone population into the government means, to defend their particular objectives. Consequently, the group membership revolves around the state. The freedom of Quebecers relies on the dispute over the constitution and the need for Montreal to have more power to protect its social, economic, and cultural distinctiveness (Rocher 7). Only Québec has the power to liberate the French Canadians. In the 1960s many collective efforts were made. Nevertheless, the Quiet Revolution intervention was in democracy, education, and health. Communication of Electricity Corporation as a separatist labor movement did the disagreements of Québec at the time, causing state brutality as a response to these minorities. This damaged the reputation of the state (Rocher 4).

Although at the time Canada and Québec deliberations were disappointing to both sides Quebecers were annoyed that the process was taking too much time and achieving so little, meanwhile, Ottawa was not happy either by the pressure to break the national authority. It was clear that one wing has to back down (Bothwell114). The quarrel between Canada and Québec was peaceful, regardless of the aggressive language used to defend their interests, the dispute did not result in violent action excluding the terroristic assassination of a provincial minister in 1970, the diplomatic approach was encouraged by the two factors; the unique nature of Quebec nationalism, and being advocated by educated people (Rocher1).

At the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, Quebec wanted to make stronger connections with other provinces, thanks to Jean Lesage the head of the ten Canadian provincial premiers started to make annual conferences to form an alliance against Ottawa in case it made one-sided decisions about them. Quebec made an opportunity to have a good worldwide connection, and this evoked

tension with Ottawa, although foreign affairs was a federal matter, Quebec defended itself claiming that it only acts in areas exclusive to the province. During this time amendments led to blocking constitutional reform, amendments draft proposed by Quebec were dismissed. Québec was willing to cause sharp relations with Ottawa in exchange for amendments that expand its economic and political potential. Ottawa allowed Québec to control the public pension plan without going back to the federal government (Gagnon130-132). Therefore Quebec sought to conduct more pressure on the national government through a conclusion of some agreements with foreign nations and establishments in the areas of education, youth, and cultural affairs.

The year 1967 was Canada's hundredth anniversary, and an exhibition in Montreal was set up to accept commendations; Every visitor went to Ottawa and then Montreal, except Charles De Gaulle The French President, who had something else in mind he went directly to Quebec, rejecting the federal existence. Next, he headed to Montreal and addressed an audience in the city hall, where he said: "Vive le Québec libre!" and the audience cheered confirming to the rest of the country that the idea of separation is strongly present among Quebecers (Bothwell120-121). This period was characterized by a wave of independence movements that conquered many parts of the world in which many nations gained their freedom, and therefore the support for Quebec's independence also increased.

No one could have predicted the magnitude and speed of the shift that emerged in Quebec nationalism's grip on the Political and social institutions. Observers were amazed by the emergence of a new nationalism, contrary to what everyone had anticipated that modernization will end Québec nationalism, the Quiet Revolution incorporated democracy and modernity, and this new nationalism advocated a new definition of the province of Quebec. Responsibilities formerly assigned to civil society institutions would now be transferred to the state. The need to

adopt Quebec's social and economic institutions to present circumstances made the valorization of state services unavoidable (Rocher 3).

Between the 1960s and the 1980s, the Quiet Revolution had the greatest effect on Montreal and the rest of the country, the rebuilding of Canada as a federation, advocating for a truly diverse society, which is multilingual in orientation, and diverse ethnic structure. The transition of French Canadian nationalism from French Canadian nationalism to Quebecois pride is another effect (Mujeri9).

The Quiet Revolution promoted many benefits it improved education and health coverage but it was most visible in the economy. State interventionists focused little on reforming the employment practices of businesses owned by non-francophone capital and then on improving the proportion of French Canadians in the higher echelons of the entrepreneurial hierarchy improving the economy and foundation of old companies or new ones owned by French Canadians. The Quiet Revolution was based on state action fluidity through a series of measures aiming at conferring a new status on Quebec. The Quebec state aspired to assume control of its economic growth and social development. French Canadian were condemned for a long time as lower tires society, they made up the bulk of the population where they resided (Rocher 5).

2.2. The *Parti Québécois*

The *Parti Québécois* won power thanks to two pledges, to function as a good government in public management and to organize a referendum on the matter of national sovereignty on the legislation site. The pickiest administration was compelled by the pledge to have a referendum before the conclusion of the first term (Rocher 9). Obviously creating a discourse for sovereignty from a leading party associated with limited French Canadian identity was of the main drivers of the separation movement.

PQ had enormous support from the trade union and other labor forces hoping for sovereignty, these militants merged the political projects with the social-democratic objectives Nationalist sentiment in Quebec is unpopular (Balthazar 29). In addition to the trade union leaders, a big portion of the province's elites felt that the Quebec is struggling economically as a result of the federation constrains and control on the province economical sector, and the double standards used to support the continuation of English Canada supremacy.

The *Parti Québécois* was elected to power in Québec in 1976, in December of the following year it introduced the Referendum Bill, which would allow for a referendum at a later date. In June 1978, the Referendum Act obtained Royal Assent. The outcome of a referendum held under Quebec's Referendum Act is not binding on the province. In the government of Quebec, the Referendum Bill was written in such a way that it would be compatible with the Referendum Act. As a result, it could not encroach on federal authority. The Referendum Act establishes a Referendum Council, which is made up of three provincial representatives (Smith 5).

The Charter of the French Language, or what is called Bill 101, is a 1977 Quebec legislative act that sets out the state's policy on linguistic rights and the protective measures to enhance the French language, which is described as the distinctive language of a people who are in the majority French-speaking. Bill 101 is a well-written piece of law that aims to give the French people a particular defense. After declaring that French is the official language of Québec, it addresses all elements of the French language's place in Title I, from basic language rights to the usage of French in the government, courts, and civil administration. The legislation includes addresses Linguistic officialisation, toponymy, and francization, as well as the establishment of the *Office Québécois de la Langue Française* and the *Conseil Supérieur de la Langue Française* (Caria14).

Bill 101 carried out more than merely adopting prior language legislation, affirming that the Quebec government is the center of North American francophonie. Even if the bill is passed, it did not add to the translation of Québec society, it improved Quebec's social environment so the French language can evolve. Regardless of this command, the bill has taken on a symbolic significance for Québec as a group, and this is why Quebec lawmakers were cautious about how they changed the law, to avoid public counteraction (Rocher 8).

2.3. Meech Lake Accord 1990

The conservatives won the election of 1984 after Trudeau's Retirement the party was headed by the Irish dissent Brian Mulroney, he ran on the platform of making peace among both Quebec and the rest of the country, which led him to win a large number of seats in Quebec the liberals managed to beat *Partie Québécois* in local elections and Robert Bourassa was re-elected (Bayne27).

Québec is unique because of both public support for local independence and government work and political weight (Meadwell 204). Accordingly, Anglophone Canadians have grown increasingly loyal to the concept of a Canadian nation, and Québec French speakers had also grown increasingly devoted to the concept of a Quebec nation. By 1990, 59 percent of Quebec French speakers classified themselves as Quebecois, compared to only 21% in 1970, and the percentage of people who saw themselves as Canadians has dropped to 9% from 34% in 1970. Furthermore, among Canada's aboriginal peoples, a new concept of nationhood has arisen in the last two decades, that of the "First Nations." This has put the same difficulties of fitting national identities and national demands inside a shared state in a new light. The idea of a Canadian nation-state has been called into question once more (MecRoberts46).

Québec and Ottawa began to negotiate the Meech Lake final version from June 3 to 9 1990, yet it was first proposed in 1987. It included administration reforms and acknowledgment of

Quebec's distinction, it needed unanimous approval as the foundation for any modification in the upper house between the national government and all the provinces, and it gave a three-year time limit to be accepted by the ten Canadian provinces. However the agreement was hard to achieve, due to the difficulty to have the majority consent, the leaders of the provinces collaborated to come up with a middle ground. But the bill was rejected in two provinces (James 149-150).

The Meech Lake Agreement can be viewed as an initial step approaching intrastate sovereignty, in which states have a powerful effect on federal offices like the High Court and Parliament. On a structural level, it is also a legal acknowledgment of somewhat unequal federalism. The pact aims to ensure that future legal reading, especially Charter interpretation, is sensitive to societal norms other than those of the reference society (English Canada). In the exactly same manner that the United Nations Charter of Human Rights, the MLA is secondary to multiculturalism and aboriginal rights. The distinct society clause will be added to the list of interpretive directives (Bezdera 220).

2.4. Charlottetown Accord 1992

Extreme constitutional negotiations took place between 1990 and 1992. Many of the Meech Lake Accord's provisions were included in a bigger constitutional text agreed upon in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island's provincial capital. The agreement had a distinct society clause for Quebec, but many of its provisions were viewed unfavorably by the Quebec public, particularly the lack of recognition for Quebec and the lack of a meaningful clarification of the powers between the two levels of government. A majority of Canadians (54.3%), including a majority of Quebecers (56.6%), rejected the deal in a pan-Canadian referendum held in October 1992. The most serious impairment to a new constitution is the ideology of the English. Canada and Québec are now firmly committed to mutually incompatible ideas of political community.

Future constitutional proposals will very certainly be judged in these terms. What is acceptable to one party is extremely likely to be objectionable to the others on these grounds (Rocher 13).

Although Trudeau and Chrétien did not like Meech Lake Accords, the federal liberals and general opinions approved it because the revising mechanism had been altered, as it has to be confirmed by all states during the next three years. As time passed, public opinion about the accord changed because they believed it gave the province special advantages; two states rejected Meech lake Accord in 1990 due to the lack of time the accord expired. (Bayne28).

The Meech Lake Accord aimed to provide Quebec more authority over exclusive matters, nevertheless, this stimulated feelings of resentment and concern in the other provinces; many Canadians felt absent from the agreement and were afraid that Quebec may jeopardize their collective identity

This was interpreted by Québec as a cruel denial by Canadians, separatists feeling awakened again. Only if Canada provided the province with a charter did premier Bourassa feel obliged to promise a referendum on Quebec by October 1992 Maloney was inspired to attempt new things as a result of this, nonetheless the rest of the provinces had different conditions, and Aboriginal people also had other demands, they sought acknowledgment and attention to the economy, they were fed up with constitutional rounds, the rise in depth forced Maloney to make cuts and increase taxes, this was received with resentment (Bayne28).

In 1992 Mulroney made another effort during Queen Elizabeth's visit to Ottawa for the 125 celebrations of the confederation, a meeting between federal and state cabinets was held, and the queen advised the parties to reach an arrangement, as a result, a settlement was reached, Prime Minister Mulroney and all other ministers including Quebec's premier Bourassa officially approved Charlottetown Accord in late August in Prince Edward Island (28).

Compared to Meech Lake this was a more confusing proposal, Quebec will still be considered a distinct culture, extra functions would be taken from Ottawa, and reforms will need all provinces' consent. Moreover, the Senate would select using a new strategy, new rights and freedom were given, and indigenous people would be allowed self-rule. The complicated pack was authorized by federals and all provinces as well as the Liberal Party and its new leader Chrétien, and the indigenous society and media. Mulroney announced he told London about it. In October 1992, a national referendum was announced in response to Bourassa's demands for a deadline (28-29).

Criticism over Meech Lake inspired the Charlottetown, the government held the largest round of public discussions on the constitution ever held in Canada. The Liberal Party Report and the Bélanger -Campeau Commission represented Quebec. The national government replied with the Citizen's Forum on Canada's Future, which tested over 400,000 Canadians on its own, and the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons on the process of altering Canada's law, which heard over 200 witnesses. To study its planned structure, the national government established the Beaudoin -Dobbie Committee on the Renewal of Canada, which interviewed over 700 people and received over 500 briefs during the second step in the process (Brock 29).

The negotiations were done behind closed doors in Charlottetown contrasting the Meech Lake procedures. Officials appeared to be working more slowly and transparently The Meech Lake was formulated into two meetings, at Meech Lake and Lungevin building. Whereas. Charlottetown stemmed from several dialogues that were kept open between March 12 and August 28, 1992. In comparison to Meech Lake, the third phase of the Charlottetown project was substantially different. For a variety of reasons, the government included the public in the

ratification step through a non-binding vote. The arrangement considered individuals' ambitions and was improbable to be overruled (29).

The distinct identity between the English and French Canadians and unresolved history was revealed in the separatist movement that turned the province into a political landscape since 1960, and several laws and acts were delivered in a relatively brief time to accommodate Quebec's character. Quebec went through a complicated process to gain control over its political status, however, these arrangements were not unsatisfactory for Quebec.

It can be concluded that both the Meech Lake and Charlottetown Accords failed to secure and independent Quebec. Indeed the quest for statehood will resume in 1995 with the sovereignty referendum initiated by the largest political party in Quebec the PQ. In the light of this, the next chapter will explore the circumstances and the preparations for the referendum trying to comprehend the constraints that reduced the prospect for independence in the province of Quebec and concluding that the doctrine of separatism had been substituted by the doctrine of federalism which suits best Québec ethnocentric nationalism and offers a better coexistence between Quebec and Canada which does not mind that Quebecers keep their national and cultural distinctiveness with a strict emphasis on the French language.

Chapter Three

The 1995 Sovereignty Referendum and the Prospect of an Independent Québec

This chapter will basically focus on the second sovereignty referendum trying to understand how the province of Québec nearly became an independent entity following the misfortunate attempts of Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accords. This chapter aims to identify and understand the strategies used by the *Parti Québécois* in the 1995 sovereignty referendum in order to convince the Quebeckers to vote in favor of independence. It also seeks to expose the current situation of nationalism in Québec wondering whether it is still motivated by the doctrine of sovereignty and whether it has the intention of organizing a new referendum.

3.1. The PQ's Quest for Independence

Since the failure of the Meech Lake Accord, the search for independence has been political. The Quebeckers are second-class citizens of Canada, claim Parizeau and Lucien Bouchard, the leaders of the Bloc Québécois in the House of Commons. The constitutional structure of the country does not support them being a minority in Canada (Meadwell 214).

Meech Lake and Charlottetown accords collapse left the fate to offer the constitution in an unsettled position, Québec started to arrange for a public vote in late 1994. Premier Parizeau's artful strategies began with the 1993 shift in the House of Commons political climate. Quebeckers eliminated the Conservative Party which was associated with Mulroney because of the unsuccessful accord. Whereas Jean Chretien's National Liberal Party secured leadership proposed bill was prepared and public consultation was performed, the vote was supposed to take place in the spring of 1995 but was postponed to October of that year (Gall).

The P.Q started to arrange for the public note in late 1994 in the face of Premier Parizeau's strategies like the establishment of provincial commissions to change the party principles. Only 45% of booths were in favor of "sovereignty," this percentage did not change much in the following months. The urge for a June referendum was held back scared of the "no" vote. In September the campaign become intensive, the nationalists were winning but further along their popularity declined when the sovereignists highlighted the economic damages close dead to the nationalist's stubbornness (Bzdera 13).

On 6 December 1994, Jacques Parizeau presented the ballot plan, which consists of three components. The first one was legislation submitted to the General Assembly that recognized Quebec's sovereignty. Quebec was designated as a "Sovereign Country" in Section 1. Negotiating an economic affiliation with Canada, agreeing on obligation and asset partition and writing a Québec constitution were among the remaining substantial elements. There were further provisions outlining the sovereignists' positions on other topics such as the integrity of Québec territory, Québec citizenship, the use of Canadian currency, and maintaining the continuity of law, including pensions, courts, and government administration (Young15-16).

The poll question contained in the law was the plan's second component. "Are you in favor of the National Assembly's act declaring Quebec's sovereignty? Yes or No." The event's duration was determined as a result of this. According to the law, the act would be ratified by the assembly following deliberation, but it would not take effect until the referendum was accepted by a majority of the voters. Even then, only the part sparing Canada from negotiations and the drafting of a new constitution would take effect immediately. The rest, including the declaration of sovereignty, would take effect after a year unless the assembly speeded up the process (Young15-16).

The ballot paper was the plan's second component and the general discussion was the third component. Québec scheduled to create regional commissions to hold hearings around the state, as well as a national committee comprised of regional chairs. Each commission would be made up of many appointed members representing diverse regional and national interests. The commissions would meet to review the draft bill and the entire sovereignty project, as well as accept ideas to fill in the blanks in the bill (Young16).

Lucien Bouchard had many strong conveniences over his opponents, he was a mild separatist, he did not think that the French Canadians are fully prepared for independence and had to go through a time phase before such a big decision, his perspective attracted voters from *Action Démocratique du Québec* headed by Mario Dumont, Bouchard gained the support for leaving Maloney after the failure of Meech Lake, and after he endured a life-threatening disease, in which he lost his leg he was considered a national hero (Bayne 31).

Polls turned to the separatist's advantage fast, 10 days before the poll the 'yes' vote was headed by 54% to 46% "No" Attaining 7 points in one week. A press announcement by the Minister of Finance highlighted the possible economical risks in the case of sovereignty. This was viewed as a scare tactic and did not affect the poll. The national government plan was crumbling, and Ottawa was afraid, Johnson objected and urged Québec Premier Chrétien to confirm his promise, but the latter declined, and the media interpreted this as proof of a lack of unity. Under Johnson's pressure Chrétien finally stopped resistance and offered a new pact in Montreal, this pact would define Québec as unique and provide more control for it. Chrétien also performed two speeches on television in French and English. Chrétien's cabinet backed by Brian Tobin, the Newfoundland fisheries cabinet, could no longer bear the idea of Canada breaking apart. Three days before the vote, they defied his command to be silent and staged a massive rally in Montreal. This drew a gathering of nearly 100,000 people, including Chrétien, Johnson, and

four provincial premiers. The protest sent a message to Québec that the rest of Canada wanted it to stay (Bayne 31).

The aftermath of nearly all separation affairs is tolerated only if the dominant group can earn from it. The view of democratic principles is in the hand of the majority, and if it decides to separate the minority of the citizens who wish to stay with the state are not excluded from the decision-making, and this can be achieved by maintaining good relations with the surrounding state (Gagnon et al 79). A final note that referred to the necessity to make discussions after the referendum in under a year, as Parizeau had demanded when the due date was near, the leader of the official opposition Daniel Johnson the leader of the Liberal Party held his composure expecting that the Québec would win, on the other hand, Québec premier Chrétien wishes to avoid the previous government's steps although he played with caution, he was still a relentless leader who went with his intuition, he preferred to keep a low key and they trusted the Quebeckers, to come up with the correct option (Bayne 30).

On the 30th of October 1995, 93.5 % of eligible voters cast ballots, up to 18% from the previous poll of Charlottetown Accord three years ago. With 50.6 % of valid ballots cast in favor of "No" and 49.4 % in favor of "Yes." the "No" side won by a razor-thin margin. Unfortunately, neither party gained in terms of total votes cast, the difference was only 52,000 votes or 34,000 fewer than the number of damaged ballot papers. The national government was compelled to reconsider its national unity strategy when narrowly defeated the sovereignists' alternative. The federal government decided to file a reference case with the Supreme Court, effectively judicializing the political dispute. The national government petitioned the Supreme Court if Quebec's unilateral withdrawal, as suggested by the province, would be legal (Rocher15).

The Quebec vote on independence in 1995 was a landmark episode in more ways than just one. It was, of course, a landmark moment for Canada, as it managed to pull itself back from the

edge. This event sealed the fate of Quebec's quest for independence, not only because of the outcome of the vote but also because of Jacques Parizeau's memorable address (Gagnon and Hérivalt 6).

The close win of the "No" campaign in 1995 sparked intense condemnation, primarily from English Canada, of the referendum method used by politicians to maintain Québec within Canada. The federal government approached the Supreme Court of Canada in September 1996 as part of a package of legal and political actions aimed at preventing a third referendum. The National Assembly overwhelmingly approved a resolution on May 21, 1997 underlining the primacy of Québec legislation and confronting the whole political class, including members of Parliament from Ottawa. The National Assembly urges that the men and women parliamentarians of Québec acknowledge the democratically expressed decision of Quebecers in the referendum held by the Referendum Act on October 30, 1995. As a result of this Act, Quebecers have the basic right to select their future. The federal minister of intergovernmental affairs declared in the House of Commons that Quebecers' freedom to choose their future did not exist (Rocher and Gilbert 143). Despite Québec's political efforts, it has not realized the political dreams of francophone Canada.

3.2. Post Referendum Québec: from Separatism to Federalism

According to Nielsen, the right to secede should be considered similar to the right to divorce. There should have clear secession plans as well as clear division of properties, if the parties choose to split; they have the freedom to do so as long no harm affect either party. Similarly, if Quebec decides to withdraw, it should be able to do so as long as there is a fair settlement of shared assets (35). The Quebec request should be straightforward. If a community or nation wishes to become a nation-state, it has the right to do so. It is all about what Quebecers want, and that is up to them to decide democratically. The situation is a majority decision. That

decision can be made without compromising anyone's rights. In such conditions, a political order would be necessary (30).

For Gagnon and Hérivault, democratic societies are exceptional, to adjust their institutions to accommodate regional entities wanting greater autonomy. This is not a safe technique for avoiding potential independence efforts, nobody can claim with certainty that this will not lead to a rise in demand for freedom, and eventually independence. Yet, it is the only way to fulfill the democratic conditions that have been established. Such requests are valid as long as they are essentially democratic and liberal in character (15).

People tend to believe that once people have set their minds on independence, the feeling will develop until independence is either attained or suppressed by political or military repression. This may not be the case for all movements, however; sometimes independence movements, even when they have a lot of support at a period, it seems to disappear with time (Ker-Lindsay).

Québec's nationalist leaders have been outspoken about Ottawa's famous Backup Plan, which was a confrontational stance against Québec after the 1995 vote. The Clarity Act a legislation that set conditions for negotiations over secession in Canada was opposed by every major party in the National Assembly. This project was introduced by former Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and the Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs Stéphane Dion (Caron225).

Categorizing independence demands as leverage, and blackmail, or simply turning ones back on them will almost certainly result in a rebel group's forces. This action is what the Ottawa had been attempting to damage in the first place. However, the fact that Canada has been unable to cease Quebecers' endless and repeated demands for recognition is frightening (Gagnon and Hérivault 15).

The experience of the Quebec Liberal Party under Jean Charest also demonstrates a major link between the concept of Québec nation and progressive social policies. During the provincial election campaign of 1998, Charest declared the end of the Quiet Revolution and the start of a new era in Quebec politics. This was largely seen as a liberal threat to the Quebec model. Then the PQ leader Lucien Bouchard responded by insinuating that Charest's beliefs were foreign to Québec, and linked it to Quebec Premier Mike Harris' liberal policies. The Liberals were badly defeated by the PQ in these elections. References to welfare cuts and liberal restructuring are often seen as attacks on Quebec's national identity, especially when they come from the PLQ, whose nationalists' claims are widely questioned (Béland and Lecours 85).

Ethnicity is seen as an overbearing issue to address. The sovereignty aspiration was reduced resulting in the PQ's worst defeat in 34 years in the 2007 Québec election. Following this setback, the PQ admitted that it lost its good image and has since revised its tactics. This new tactic was put to the test in the 2008 election in Quebec. Since the PQ reclaimed second place in the Québec legislature with 51 members, this was a little improvement above the 31 seats won in the 2007 election. Nonetheless, because the PQ has lowered calls for sovereignty, this increase should not be understood as a rebirth of separatist support. The Bloc Québécois (BQ) has likewise softened its anti-secession position (Changfoot and Cullen 669). As a matter of fact, it is only fair to say the type of independence that was introduced by the PQ presented and demonstrated by the Quiet Revolution has been disappearing, on the ground that the new generations have developed their own set of political attitudes. With the emergence of new political generations, each with their own set of political priorities, and who are slowly but surely replacing how politics should be carried.

This situation has been one of the decent options, with the creation of a new alliance between Québec and Canada liberal federalism has provided Québec with the ability to reinvent

itself and dictate the terms within Canadian federalism, both about and alongside the other provinces and the federal government. Québec has sculpted itself a new place in the Canadian federation as a result of this process (Changfoot and Cullen 718).

The rebalancing of authority that has characterized recent decades has allowed concerns to develop that were either disregarded or were just beyond the scope of Canadian politics. Finally, it appears that Canadian political analysts have mostly, embodied moralist and protective intellectual models; that their rationalist and protective cognitive models to recognize the codes needed to put Canada and Quebec on the same page or that gives Canada more power to face Quebec challenges. The main focus has been on identifying the normative principles that should govern the compromise between Canada and Quebec, on the other hand, strengthening the Canadian political system in response to the difficulties highlighted by Quebec political dynamics. Contends that interest in Quebec politics has declined as a result of two factors the first factor is the insistence created by the national unity issue is no longer felt, and the second factor is the Canadian political arena has subsequently been calmed, displaying fewer signals of instability. This progressive exclusion might also be explained by the fact that Canadian society has new concerns (Rocher “The Parliament of Quebec: The Quest for Self-Government, Autonomy, and Self-Determination.” 635).

The federal government’s liberal approach to intergovernmental relations adds more reasons for why the separation option has been limited since the 2000s. There was an expectation that when the liberal regime took hold in 1996, separatists would likely expand since reductions in federal transfers damaged what they considered a crucial source of national unity. Rather than facilitating a place of cooperation between the federal and Quebec states, as they predicted, having a liberal state, was enough of Quebec’s demands have been met to show that federalism still fits for Québec (Changfoot and Cullen272).

Nationalism is frequently portrayed as an autonomous, often contentious force that provides scattered reactions and expresses alternative options inside conventional society. Nationalist feelings may attempt to forge an ancestral link between the individual and the state or organization (Canuel 88-89). Quebec does not want to revenge on the Seven Year's War, nor is it attempting to return to France. This perception is extremely inaccurate, Quebecers wanted to establish an independent nation for the Quebecers, and transforming Quebec into an American state may be similar to any other American nation.

It is difficult to say if there are significant differences between Francophone and other Canadians when it comes to ideals like equality of opportunity and broad policy goals like poverty reduction. Some polls on social values and policy choices reveal significant variations, whereas others do not. Health care reform is one area where there is a lot of disagreement. The study results suggest that Quebecers are far more inclined than other Canadians to embrace private-sector engagement in the health-care system, contradicting the Quebec nationalist narrative (Béland and Lecours 84). Quebec exercises more power than other provinces, however, the rest of the provinces prefer to give more power to the federal government.

Many commentators are concluding that Quebec is no longer approaching the idea of separatism favoring the status quo. For example, Choudhry proclaims that the fact that the Supreme Court said explicitly that Quebec's independence would be legitimate only with a constitutional change the discussions will most likely reach a dead end. So, at that point, Quebec will always remain inside its Canadian borders. Nevertheless, if Quebec pursued independence under the requirements of the Constitution, it will declare independence on its own even if the other party was to reject it (9).

Sharing the same opinion as Choudhry, Ker-Lindsay assumes that Quebec liberation feelings have vanished with time. In the latter quarter of the last century, the advertisement for an

independent Quebec became widely regarded as one of the most substantial secessionist movements in the world; indeed, it would have been closer to the top of any list of territories viewed as future independent nations and it came seriously near to doing so in 1995 when a referendum for independence was narrowly lost by the smallest of margins (Prof James Ker-Lindsay). It can be concluded that Quebec is far from independence, mostly because the biggest pro-independence parties; *Bloc Québécois*, and the provincial equivalent, *Parti Québécois*, do not seem to prioritize it over the economy, and Quebec has gained so much autonomy that the question of independence is no longer a concern. Is it likely that Quebec will become independent shortly? Probably not because they do not need it as compared to similar movements. It appears that as long as the central Canadian government respects Quebec's unique culture, they will not have a problem.

However, for Ryder and Russell the separatist camp may resort to a third referendum, and in the event of a future Referendum discussions between both the Quebec officials and other parts of the Canadian federation about the parameters of new political status will be held. In case such negotiation is productive and the disputes are approved there will be another problem on the horizon of how can this agreement have legislative approval (3).

3.3. Quebec Ethnocentric Nationalism

Whether Quebec will become independent or not remains unknown yet the preservation of the Quebec identity and distinctiveness is a fact. In light of this, Changfoot and Cullen assume that Quebec may have missed out on independence, but it did not lose its culture or language. The province spends 34 million dollars each year encouraging new residents and immigrants to learn French, and the current generation of Quebecers is proud of their language. For Changfoot and Cullen Quebec's identity, originality, and autonomy shall be preserved through the evolution of federalism under a neoliberal umbrella. Furthermore, because many Quebecers have double

loyalty to both Quebec and Canada, and do not want to choose between the two, a new collaboration between Quebec and Canada is not only promising but also vital. For the first time in recent memory, if Canadian democracy keeps going path under neoliberalism without substantial setbacks, then it might continue offering a real alternative to a separatist narrative, which has been disseminated in part by neoliberal forces inside Quebec itself (782).

Quebec's multicultural model seeks a compromise within the demands of unity a shared identity, and the acceptance of minority cultures. Recognition does not mean considering a diversity of cultures as a problem and treating them as static, its dedication to cultural heterogeneity, Quebec's incorporation approach is not assimilationist, nor does it logically slide into cultural belief and fragmentation (Béland and Lecours 343).

The largest party in Quebec is considered to be nationalist in outlook and supports greater autonomy. As a result, more steps appear to have been taken to preserve the French language. While pro-independence support tends to be greater among the youth in many locations, it seems to be the contrary in Quebec, where those advocating separation likely to be over 55. The young felt significantly more comfortable with having a Canadian and a francophone identity (Ker-Lindsay). As a result, the current character in Quebec is tolerant of other religions, yet it is founded on a socially progressive vision. Quebec institutions support French cultural identity in the arts, education, and industry within its borders. This led to a demand for increased autonomy for Quebec and a long-running internal dispute about the province's status.

Although the province's population may alter over time as a consequence of immigrants and refugees, the new citizens hold back the province's cultural heritage or political drive for autonomy. The fundamental reason is that Quebec takes protective measures when it comes to immigration, whereas the rest of Canada takes a multicultural approach. This seems to be crucial to comprehending how Quebec remains distinct from the rest of the country since it

welcomes anyone who wants to settle in the province as long as they study and live within the host society's culture. Quebec fights to preserve its distinct culture because they know that if they don't, it would gradually disappear. Young generations depend less on French words in their daily lives, and the French language in Canada will definitely disappear (France 24 English).

Over the years integration is seen as a requirement for full involvement in the formation of a shared public culture. Although involvement in and identification with a diversity of cultures is not ruled out as a foundation for citizenship status, the prospect of limitation is avoided since the acceptance of specific cultural characteristics is the admission of the whole population (Béland and Lecours 343). The conflicts between English and French are not an issue nowadays. English Canadians have adapted to the element that French is the second official language, while Quebecers are no longer concerned about the survival of their culture as they used to be. There was a time in Quebec when the English felt superior and did not bother to learn French or use it on the streets and forbid its use.

Quebec's identity is changing, In the face of expanding Franco-ethnic variety; the sovereign forces that were a mix of the French language, ethno cultural background, social justice, and increased state interventionism are recombining. In addition, a liberal state in Quebec has mainly marginalized social groups that seek sovereignty and have taken advantage of stronger Quebec recognition and federal-provincial accords (Changfoot and Cullen782).

In reality, Quebec separatist speech shows significant similarity to its earlier ethnic nationalism, since it abandons the inclusive self-governance argument in favor of one that focuses on Quebec becoming fundamentally distinct from English Canada in terms of general norms. Being a Quebecer is no longer defined just by the fact that one lives in Quebec and participates actively in its political life. Its definition currently emphasizes objective components like principles inherent in social democracy and peace. The issue is that these principles are not

universally accepted. They are unavoidably factual and specific to people who fall on the left side of the political spectrum (Caron 234).

Organizing a third sovereignty referendum in modern Quebec is somehow irrelevant mainly for the same reasons that undermined previous attempts, but also for economic assumptions. Yet, if independence is achieved and depending on the geographical and economical terms reached, Quebec may endure substantial damages; Quebec would lose a big part of its land to Canada and the aboriginal people, and economically speaking it would assume a big portion of Canada's national debt. However, for Rioux economic goals can change throughout time, just as they can be numerous at any one time. When the governments of Quebec, for example, allocate large sums of public funds to the strategic development of their aircraft industry and food service industry, they do so with broader aspirations. As a result, economic nationalism is not only about preferring one linguistic group over another, but also about employing economic nationalism to further one's interests. Since the francophone economic community has become properly established and has distinct requirements, Quebec separatists and politicians do not utilize the rhetoric they used in the 1960s and 1970s. This is not to say that economic nationalism has vanished; rather, it has been modernized to meet new requirements (28).

Quebec and the federal government have been quietly and slowly altering their relationship, even if it continues to allow for very public dispute. This partnership looks to be built on compromise, avoiding the problems that provoke the other half to take a severe standpoint. The process has been slow in approaching, it has eliminated the possibility of secession due to the considerations listed above since the mid-2000s, political and economic factors have made it possible for Quebec and Canada to maintain a cooperative partnership (Changfoot and Cullen 718).

It can be concluded that Quebec has felt marginalized from Canada since it was dominated by Britain, on the ground of the French Canadian identity. The 1960 was a defining decade in the province's history these separation feelings intensified to political action and Quebec politicians argued that Quebec should have sovereignty to further develop the social and cultural conditions of its people. This is partly why Quebec held two referendums on the case of self-determination. Quebec now lost interest of independence and no longer represents a threat to the Canadian federation.

Conclusion

This dissertation discussed the emergence of the sovereignty movement in Canada, more specifically in the province of Quebec. It found out that the province of Quebec had been able to preserve and maintain its national identity and cultural distinctiveness amidst a predominant different culture, while in the meantime tries desperately to give the Quebecers a free and independent state that would strengthen its national identity through political means that had been embodied by the PQ since the 1960's. Nevertheless, and despite its influential position in Quebec political sphere as the leading political party, the PQ was not able of convincing the majority of Quebecers that separatism or sovereignty is better than federalism for Quebec underlying the advantages of an independent state for Quebec culture and identity.

The above assumptions had realized throughout three chapters following a precise outline and the methodology of historical analysis. The first chapter provides a historical background of Quebec's culture and national identity by first demonstrating the province history and geography. It thoroughly illustrated the origins of Quebecers and the French language legacy which is the result of French colonialism and the discovery of Quebec by Frenchman and of two centuries of rule by the New France before the rule of Britain. The chapter's objective is to present a true view of Quebec's national identity and culture and how they were able to preserve it. It concluded that politically speaking, Quebec province looks for freedom and autonomy, Quebecers and supporters of the *Parti Quebecois* try to protect the French language in the whole country since they consider it a significant factor of Quebec identity. The chapter also investigates the educational system in Quebec which is public and secular from preschool to college.

The second chapter tackled the history of nationalism and the nationalist movement from the late 1960's to the 1990's. Quebec nationalism among Francophones was on the increase at the time ascending from the notion of decolonization; this new sort of nationalism was based on global events. This second chapter discussed in full details the "Quiet Revolution," a time in Quebec during the 1960s highlighted by secularization, educational changes, and growing demand for autonomy from the rest of Canada. Quebec nationalists denied Canadian involvement in World War II, although their province endured the same penalties as the rest of Canada. The war effort altered the country's economic and social institutions, widening the difference between Quebec society and the other Canadian provinces. In addition, the Quiet Revolution was connected with the Liberal Party's victory in the 1960 provincial election. The party posed as an opponent to the government of Premier Maurice Duplessis, which dominated the political scene in the 1950s, but with no tangible results. Duplessis was still a conservative politician, preferring stability and mild advancement over modernization, and his term of office saw many controversies involving political corruption in terms of progress. Because of the numerous requirements associated with increasing the province's authority, the Quiet Revolution turned Québec upside down. French-Canadians demanded equal opportunities and rights as the rest of Canada. Québec defined itself, compelling the seven Anglophone communities to evaluate their own perspectives and question their relationship with Québec. The Quiet Revolution was premised on the flexibility of governmental action through a succession of actions aimed at conferring new status on Quebec. The province of Quebec intended to take control of its economic and social development. For a long time, French Canadians were regarded as a lower-class society, despite the fact that they made up the majority of the population where they lived.

This second chapter also examined the *Parti Québécois* or PQ which won power by promising to be a good administration in public management and to hold a referendum on the

issue of national sovereignty on the legislation site. The vow to hold a referendum before the end of the first term compelled even the most obstinate administration. The Charter of the French Language or Bill 101 is a 1977 Quebec legislative act that establishes the state's policy on linguistic rights and protective measures to strengthen the French language, which is regarded as the unique language of a people who are majority French-speaking. This chapter also examined the Charlottetown Accord of 1992 that sought to address long-standing disagreements over the distribution of responsibilities between federal and provincial authorities. The Failure to ratify the Meech Lake Accord was perceived as a rejection by English-speaking Canada by Quebec. In 1992, the federal government, provincial and territory governments, and many Indigenous councils developed the Charlottetown Accord, which was defeated in a nationwide vote.

The Sovereignty Referendum of 1995 and the possibility of an independent Quebec was the concern of the last chapter which tried to understand to what extent Quebec had reached to get independence following the disastrous attempts of Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accords. The purpose of this chapter is to identify and comprehend the techniques utilized by the Parti Quebecois in the 1995 sovereignty referendum to persuade Quebecers to vote in favor of independence. It also aims to reveal the current state of nationalism in Quebec, questioning if it is still driven by the theory of sovereignty and whether it intends to hold a new referendum. It examines the present and future of nationalism and whether a third referendum is expected.

Quebec's history, culture and national identity have had an important effect on the will of Quebecers to become independent and have a free state. Will Quebec organize another sovereignty referendum or did it drop the doctrine of separatism forever? It seems that Quebecois nationalism has been reshaped since its appearance in the 1960's, modern nationalism may not necessarily mean absolute separatism, but it could be also relevant with the federal

system which also offers abundant liberties and political powers which may satisfy the majority of separatists and nationalists.

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