The Structural Stability of the Quebecer Public Sphere, 1956-1966
An Inquiry in the Elites' Power Struggles

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SUMMARY

While the normative debate on the "ideal" public sphere is ongoing and did not reach any form of agreement since Jürgen Habermas's thesis publication in 1962, the study of public spheres in actually existing democracies did not lose its relevance. Our thesis therefore joins this field of study by envisioning the public sphere as a conflict-centred source of legitimacy of the state. Guided by Jostein Gripsrud's (ed.) framework in the study of the history of the Norwegian public sphere (2017a), the following pages dig into Quebec's francophone political public sphere between 1956 and 1966. This period includes governments from two adversarial parties, and covers the transition between what has been called the "Great Darkness" and the "Quiet Revolution". To do so, we study in a socio-historic perspective two main elements of the public sphere. That is, the media system and, in line with Terje Rasmussen's study on Norwegian parliamentarianism (2015), the parliamentarian legislative work. That leads to an analytical description of the public sphere in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. Two important findings emerge from it: the structure of the public sphere is stable, yet the government change comes with a rise to power of a previously oppositional elite.

Keywords: public sphere, socio-historic approach, agonistic democracy, elite theory, Quebec, mid-20th century

RÉSUMÉ

Si le débat normatif sur la conception « idéale » de la sphère publique n'est toujours pas arrivé à une sorte d'entente depuis la publication de la thèse de Jürgen Habermas en 1962, l'étude des sphères publiques dans les « démocraties réellement existantes » demeure toujours pertinente. Notre mémoire s'inscrit donc dans ce champ d'études en envisageant la sphère publique comme étant imprégnée de conflits et comme une source de légitimité de l'État. Guidées par le cadre théorique de Jostein Gripsrud (dir.) dans une étude de l'histoire de la sphère publique norvégienne (2017a), les pages suivantes s'intéressent à la sphère publique politique québécoise francophone entre 1956 et 1966. Cette période comprend les gouvernements de deux partis adversaires et elle couvre la transition entre ce qui a été appelé la « Grande Noirceur » et la « Révolution tranquille ». Pour ce faire, nous étudions deux des principaux éléments de la sphère publique dans une perspective sociohistorique. Ces deux éléments étant le système médiatique et, suivant l'étude de Terje Rasmussen sur le parlementarisme norvégien (2015), le travail législatif parlementaire. Cela mène à une description analytique de la sphère publique au Québec entre 1956 et 1966. Deux constats importants en ressortent : la structure de la sphère publique reste stable, mais le changement de gouvernement s'accompagne d'une accession au pouvoir d'une élite auparavant oppositionnelle.

Mots-clés : sphère publique, sociologie historique, démocratie agoniste, théorie des élites, Québec, Révolution tranquille, Grande Noirceur

SAMMENDRAG

Mens den normative debatten omkring den «ideelle» offentlighet pågår og ikke har nådd noen form for enighet siden Jürgen Habermas' avhandling ble publisert i 1962, studier av offentlighet i faktiske eksisterende demokratier har ikke mistet sin relevans. Oppgaven vår vil derfor bli en del av dette fagområdet ved å betrakte offentlighet som en konfliktsentrert kilde til statlig legitimitet. De følgende sidene vil etter Jostein Gripsruds (red.) rammeverk i studiet av historien om norsk offentlighet (2017a) fokusere på Quebecs fransktalende politiske offentlighet mellom 1956 og 1966. Denne perioden gjør det mulig å inkludere regjeringer fra to motstående partier, og dekker overgangen mellom periodene som har blitt kalt «Det store mørket» og «Den stille revolusjon». For å gjøre dette, studerer vi, med et sosiohistorisk perspektiv, de to hovedelementene i offentligheten. Det vil si mediesystemet og, i tråd med Terje Rasmussens studie av norsk parlamentarisme (2015), det parlamentariske lovgivningsarbeidet. Dette vil føre til en analytisk beskrivelse av offentlighet i Quebec mellom 1956 og 1966. Ut ifra denne analysen dukker det opp to viktige funn: offentlighetens struktur er stabil, men regjeringsskiftet gir likevel makten til en tidligere opposisjonell elite.

Nøkkelord: offentlighet, historisk sosiologi, agonistisk demokrati, elite teori, Quebec, midten av 1900-tallet

CHAPTER 1: Introduction and conceptualisation

1. Introduction

The legitimacy of liberal democracies and institutions is seen as being in crisis around the world. Nevertheless, the question of legitimation is a long-standing one (Habermas 1975) since "modern capitalist societ[ies are] prey to recurrent 'legitimation crises'" (Taylor 1985, 288). The symptoms of the current crisis could be the alleged rise of populism and populist discourses in Western democracies; the media, as a whole, being seen as an enemy; the spread of so-called fake news; etc. Some scholars investigating the French case even describe the present times as a "social and political schism" (Algan et al. 2019; our translation). Ascertainments of these kinds about various institutions are multiple. This crisis, like others, can lead to a new legitimation – a new political formula – or a new political regime. Here, we propose to look deeper in the theoretical aspects of political regimes. We won't do so in a political philosophy perspective on democracy, but rather with a socio-historic approach (Schwartz 1955; Dufour 2015). This field of studies has shed light on "different mesosocial mechanisms behind the legitimation of political power and processes underlying the institutions and conditions of exercise of citizenship" while including the "sociohistorical trajectories that allowed the emergence of democratic regimes" (Dufour 2015, 315; our translation). Some looked at the development of democracy through the evolution of citizenship – e.g. T. H. Marshall and Sandra Halperin – ; others have directed their attention on origins of the variation of political forms of government and the factors explaining them – e.g. Barrington Moore Jr. and Michael Mann – ; and there has also been interest in the mechanisms of democratisation and the normative conditions of democracy and democratisation – e.g. Charles Tilly (Dufour 2015, 317–36).

In parallel of those, researchers from various fields looked at the legitimation of democratic regimes from the angle of the "role of the public sphere, of deliberative democracy and of civil society" (Dufour 2015, 322; our translation), this is to say in the communication and mediation of democracy between citizens and with institutions. One of the founding works on this issue is the book ensuing Jürgen Habermas's thesis: *The Structural Transformation*

of the Public Sphere (1989), not only because of its content but also for the debates it provoked and the critiques it received (Dufour 2015, 322–23).

In the following pages, we will put our attention towards this approach and its subsequent academic developments. More specifically, we will look at the study led by Jostein Gripsrud (2017a) on the history of the Norwegian public sphere with a more important focus on the period between 1945 and 1980 (Rasmussen 2017; Gripsrud and Lindtner 2017) in order to, then, study the history of the shifts in the francophone political public sphere in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. The latter part being the core this thesis.

Various elements led us to focalise on this geographical space and this historical period, which we will discuss shortly here and in more details in the section on the case of Quebec. First, no work on the historical development of the public sphere in Quebec has been done. Even some researchers who centred some of their work on the public sphere (Gingras 1995) in Quebec, did not put light on this aspect. Others, at the turn of the millennium, made an account on the history of the media in Quebec and concluded with "a research program" that suggests taking a social history turn that would focus more around the press as a social actor and around the "media sphere" in a multidimensional perspective (Roy and De Bonville 2000). Indeed, the authors insist on taking into account the "media space" (Roy and De Bonville 2000, 20; our translation). For them, the media deploy themselves in a space which has multiple aspects:

> geography (circulation of information and reach of newspapers), demography (number, language and degree of alphabetisation of citizens), economy (nature and density of the relations of production and exchange), politics (the way in which power is distributed in the society), social (classes, ethnic groups, interest groups, movements, associations, churches, etc.). Those dimensions being interdependent, and we qualify them of exogenous as they exist outside and independently from the media (Roy and De Bonville 2000, 20; our translation).

This is to say that there is a lot of work on the history of Quebec, including the history of this period and history of the media (e.g. Lamonde 2016; Lamonde and Trépanier 1986; M. Lévesque 2005; De Bonville 1995; Dickinson and Young 1993; Linteau et al. 1989; Jocelyn Létourneau 1995; Latouche 1974), but not much about "social relationships" (Weber 1964), including those who would take place in a public

sphere. Indeed, "apart from Jean Charron and Jocelyn Saint-Pierre, few researchers looked into the relations between the press and the political sphere" (Noël 2014, 33). We did find some description of the evolution of the cultural and the political public spheres in Quebec, but very briefly and only in the approach of the history of ideas, ideologies and intellectuals (e.g. Lamonde et al. 2015; Behiels 1985). When it comes to the time frame – between 1956 and 1966 – it includes two "historical periods": the Great Darkness (*Grande Noirceur*), from 1944 to 1960, and the Quiet Revolution (*Révolution tranquille*)[1], from 1960 to 1976 (Linteau et al. 1989, 7; Behiels 1985, 4–5). Those 10 years allow the possibility to study the state of the public sphere at a moment when the "clerical parafascist" (Griffin 2007) leader of *Union nationale*, Maurice Duplessis, was well in place and also to study the shift that followed. Just like in Gripsrud's book on the history of the Norwegian public sphere, the choice of the period is of course "debatable" because it is based on an arbitrary choice which reflects "events of political history" (Gripsrud 2017b, 42; our translation). Nonetheless, we hope that this time frame and the framework chosen for this study will contribute to enlighten those dark areas of the knowledge mentioned. Further discussion on the reasoning behind the choice of studying the period going from 1956 to 1966 will be done in the section 5.1.1.

As for why the latter study seems to be relevant as a basis for the study of Quebec's public sphere, it can be explained by different factors. To begin with, this "Norwegian approach" is the first attempt to describe the history of the public sphere in a single state. It is therefore an obvious starting point for our own study. Second, Quebec has more to do in terms of size, population, geography and others with Norway than with the United Kingdom and Continental Europe, which were studied by Habermas. Third, in terms of political history, even though Quebec's parliament is inherited from the Westminster model, the development of a strong welfare state distinct from the rest of North America after the Second World War (Zorn 2017, 19–35) puts the province in a position that shares certain elements with Norway, and the Nordic countries in general. Finally, even if Quebec is not an independent state, unlike Norway, because of its linguistic situation, it has its own media system, and political, cultural and other institutions. But those also have a certain level of interaction with their English

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[1] The label 'Quiet Revolution' appeared in 1960 in the Toronto daily *Globe and Mail* (Gervais 1998), while the origin of the 'Great Darkness' expression is less clearly traced.

Canadian counterparts, a somewhat similar pattern than the one of Norway with other Scandinavian or Nordic countries.

In a broader way, we also see the relevance of our thesis in terms of integrating academic literature that is otherwise not interacting. Indeed, even if this thesis is written in English, we advocate for a relativisation of the status of this language in academia. Since globalisation has affected science (Warren 2014), anglophone research has risen as literature *par excellence* and is enjoying a dominant hegemonic position within the scholarly field (Hamel 2007; Paasi 2015; Cassen 1978). Therefore, because dismantling the system behind this is, to say the least, impossible on the individual level, working for the inclusion of as much diverse knowledge as possible within the English-language research is one of the solutions to it; in opposition to the current norm, being the integration of the dominant language literature into peripheric ones. In this case, we produce knowledge in English on a topic which is usually addressed in French, while also integrating French, Norwegian, and Italian literature from social sciences and humanities together with anglophone literature. To exemplify, we are the first, to our knowledge, to evaluate or use Gripsrud (2017a) in a published paper in a non-Scandinavian language, which makes it now more easily available for non-speakers of Norwegian, Danish or Swedish. And we are among the few to discuss Quebec as a political entity in English, especially outside of Canada, next to others who have shown such interest in their theses published in Norway (Seland 2002; Johansen 2002).

That being said, we will build our thesis by starting with an assessment of the public and private realms, to continue with an overview of the notion of the public sphere. Jürgen Habermas's conception will be placed at the centre of this review, first in a genealogical perspective, then facing its criticisms and rejoinders. This will allow a better appraisal of Jostein Gripsrud's (2017a) framework which served to study the Norwegian public sphere, on which we will be able to build our own study for the francophone Quebecer public sphere between 1956 and 1966.

2. Prior to the public sphere: the public realm

The public sphere, as a constructed concept, to which we referred and will refer to throughout this thesis builds on "the historically varying boundaries between private and

public realms in a society" (Tjønneland 2018, 95; our translation). These categories, and their boundaries, "which are constructed, mobilized and fought over in public debates, are not just intellectual or ideal constructions and concepts, but have social effects" (Enjolras 2017, 317). Those moving boundaries – and their social effects – are debated from their "Greek origins transmitted to us bearing a Roman stamp" (Habermas 1989, 3) up until today:

> In the fully developed Greek city-state the sphere of the *polis*, which was common (*koine*) to the free citizens, was strictly separated from the sphere of the *oikos*; in the sphere of the *oikos*, each individual is in his own realm (*idia*). The public life, *bios politikos*, went on the market place (*agora*), but, of course, this did not mean that it occurred necessarily only in this specific locale. The public sphere was constituted in discussion (*lexis*), which could also assume the forms of consultation and of sitting in the court of law, as well as in common action (*praxis*), be it the waging of war or competition in athletic games. […] Status in the *polis* was therefore based upon status as the unlimited master of an *oikos* (Habermas 1989, 3).

This discussion goes on to the feudal times onwards where Habermas observes that the notion of "public" passed from being related to the publicness of certain people – i.e. the "nobleman" as a public person (Habermas 1989, 13) – to an understanding referring "to the functioning of an apparatus with regulated spheres of jurisdiction and endowed with a monopoly over the legitimate use of coercion" – i.e. a "depersonalized state authority" (Habermas 1989, 18–19). In opposition to this public realm, comes the private life which could be associated, in his work, notably to the market, but also the "intimate sphere" a corollary of the bourgeois family (Calhoun 1992b, 10).

The political aspect of the division between the public and the private realms were left more or less undiscussed in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* and they had effects that were later recognised by Habermas. Indeed, this division had the impact that "the most consistent [exclusion] is based on gender" (Eley 1992, 308). The Greek reference to the "unlimited master of an *oikos*" also became obsolete with the enlargement of the franchise to citizens not on a basis of means or of power. That led to a multiplication of the rights to vote within an *oikos*, therefore a multiplication of – theoretical – access to the *polis*. It had the effect to blur the status of privateness of the family since *lexis* and *praxis* could come inside the family with dissension between individuals. Plus, there was no more a single "master" leaving the household and discussing solely external affairs, but

there could be conflicts on the socially accepted structures of such households by members with different statuses in it; which leads, potentially, to a publicisation and politicisation of the structure of the family. The further discussion on the division of what is public and private inducted from the bourgeois family had also a patriarchal quality, which was recognised by Habermas. As he pointed out after criticisms: there are no doubts "about the patriarchal character of the conjugal family that constituted […] the core of bourgeois society's private sphere" (Habermas 1992, 427).

This discussion on the characterisation of "public" versus "private" also found echo in the empirical inquiry on the Norwegian public sphere (Gripsrud 2017a). As a matter of fact, the first "thread" (*tråden*) mentioned for the study of an existing public sphere is the following: "(1) the distinction between the public and the private sphere in a given time frame" (Gripsrud 2017b, 44; our translation).

We postulate that the case for the enlargement of the public realm towards elements that were left in the shade due to patriarchal understanding of what is private has been done by various scholars, notably Nancy Fraser (1992) and Eley brought up above. Yet, another element, too often kept aside in the public sphere tradition, should be included explicitly in the definition of what is in the public realm: the economy. This demand for expansion is not new, in 1972, Negt and Kluge found "striking […] the prevailing interpretations of the concept of the public sphere is that they attempt to bring together a multitude of phenomena and yet exclude the two most important areas of life: the whole of the industrial apparatus and socialization in the family" (Negt and Kluge 2010, 122). We then propose to include the organisation of the economy in the public realm – on which the public sphere builds – since it is both social and political. By economy, we refer to the current dominant signification of this polysemic term: "the domain of production of commercial goods and capital hoarding" (Deneault 2019, 6; our translation). It is one definition in a multitude of meanings that "'economic science' strive to erase or to recuperate" (Deneault 2019, 5; our translation). While being aware of a larger meaning of "economy" – with a shared reference as "the knowledge of good relation between elements, people, seeds, things […] the deliberations on the ends" (Deneault 2019, 6) – we direct our focus on the market.

If we start, as Habermas does, with the Greek city-states, it is important to highlight that the firm distinction that exists between the *polis* and the *oikos* is not put forward when it comes to the *agora*. That being said, the *oikos* should be understood as the household and its finances or accounting, and not as the economy of a city-state, while the *agora* more directly refers to the market place. Therefore, the *agora* in Habermas's description of the Greek city-states (1989, 3) is subject to the *lexis* and the *praxis* of the people who had access to the *polis*, which constitutes, in the author's words, the public sphere. Hence, this *agora*, or market place, is not including the very exchanges and individual trades occurring on its floor, but it does include the structure surrounding these economic interaction.

It is not a surprising account of the Antique reality since "historical and anthropological research" shows that "man's [sic] economy, as a rule, is submerged in his social relationships" (Polanyi 2001, 48). Weber corroborates this assessment when he suggests that political corporate groups have significance in various respects on the economic order, other than the narrow monetary matters (Weber 1964, 309–10), and that the "state, except for the socialistic or communist type, and all other corporate groups [...] are engaged in economic action if they manage their own financial affairs" (Weber 1964, 172). Since the state, or political corporate groups, draw legitimacy of action from their members, notably through elections and deliberations and conflicts of the public sphere, the economic organisation put forward by the state is social, political, and subject to debate. Then, the market place and the organisation of the economy should be understood part of the public realm, so, included in the public sphere just like "the question of the wealth repartition, which will always have this eminently subjective and psychological dimension, irreducibly political and conflictual, that no allegedly scientific analysis can solve" (Piketty 2013, 17; our translation).

It could, of course, be said that under capitalism as an "institutionalized social order" (Fraser and Jaeggi 2018, 52), there is the attempt, whether it is completely successful or not, of "division between economy and polity" (Fraser and Jaeggi 2018, 38). However, that does not mean that the critical studies of society should follow this pattern. Even various scholars advocate, yet in broader perspectives on epistemology and history of science, for a clear integration of (political) economy in the larger field of social sciences

rather than a separate, non-social, non-political science (e.g. Durkheim 1975, 31–36; Piketty 2013, 945; Lefort 1986, 19).

To be clear, what is implied here with the inclusion of the economy as part of the public realm, then in the construction of the public sphere is not the market exchange or the trade occurring between individuals themselves. The inclusion of the economy and the market organisation in the public sphere in our perspective is somewhat similar to the feminist inclusion of the family in the public sphere: the family and the market themselves are private entities, nonetheless questions regarding them are public and political. Therefore, the political public sphere is not only a critical estate to the sovereign as Habermas puts it but it can also be one to the organisation of the political economy and the market.

3. The public sphere as a legitimation entity in democracies

Above the dialectical distinction between publicness and privateness, we can suggest the public sphere as more than just the public realm – or than publicness. Indeed, as we have mentioned earlier, we approach here the public sphere as the constructed body participating in the legitimation of the state. Indeed, in a somewhat similar way to Jüri Lipping, we propose a public sphere – "*Öffentlichkeit*" – as the basis for the legitimation of the power, a "post-foundational conceptual framework" in order to talk about sovereignty (2010, 186). Indeed, even if Lipping refuses to perceive this political space as the public sphere in the traditional Habermassian sense, we propose that our conception of the public sphere corresponds to the "*Öffentlichkeit*" that he is describing by drawing from both Carl Schmitt and Hannah Arendt. He develops this notion as a "certain fundamental openness of a public space that precedes […] the well-established distinctions between the individual and the community" (Lipping 2010, 200).

To develop this idea, we will suggest a genealogy of the idea of the public sphere based on Gripsrud et al.'s *Idea of the Public Sphere* (2010), to which we add Aristotle and Machiavelli's thought, before to have an overview of Jürgen Habermas's contribution to the field. This regard will be mostly complemented with critiques gathered in the book from Calhoun (1992a) and with Mouffe's (2002) agonistic approach, in all meanings of

the word. Following that, we will review the methods used in Gripsrud (2017a) to study empirically the Norwegian public sphere.

3.1. Pre-Habermassian public sphere

Gripsrud et al. (2010) root the idea of the public sphere in the Enlightenment. Yet, it seems to us that two political philosophers, one Antique and one neoclassical, could be stereotypically seen as forerunners of this idea of the public sphere, at least in the political sense.

In the Antique, Aristotle discusses the notions of the political, of the franchise and of discourse in both *Rhetoric* and *Politics*. Even if his exclusion of – and his views on – women and slavery should be noted (Triadafilopoulos 1999, 742), part of his theory can be seen as precursors to contemporary public sphere studies. It can even be seen in a contention between Hannah Arendt and Habermas where the latter argues that her communicative action is too close to Aristotle's (Triadafilopoulos 1999, 741). Basically, Aristotle's work contributed to the view in which the "truth and justice do not automatically win the day in the public sphere" but that a rhetorical conception of that sphere could "champion the cause of truth and justice" (Chambers 2009, 335). Even if "Aristotle's suggestions fall short on a comprehensive theory of the public sphere", it could be added as a third way – to use social-democratic vocabulary – between "agonistic and rational/deliberative types" (Triadafilopoulos 1999, 742, 751). And like other public sphere theorists that we will describe later, such as Arendt, Aristotle believes, as we can read in the first lines of the "Book One" of *Politics*, that the "political community" is the "highest" form of community in aiming "at good in a greater degree than any other, and at the highest good" (Aristotle 350AD).

As for the neoclassical Niccolò Machiavelli, it is mostly in his *Discourses on Livy* – "his longest and most ambitious work of political philosophy" (Skinner 2019, 27) – that we can find hints at a public sphere. Indeed, the first two books of this oeuvre "concentrate on matters handled by public deliberation" (Skinner 2019, 73). For Quentin Skinner, the "first general conclusion of the *Discourses* is thus that […] the city and its citizens can alike be said to be living in liberty" (Skinner 2019, 75). That condition of liberty in the city through "popular control" to reach "common good" (Skinner 2019, 75) is not so

extraneous from Kant's condition of publicity in the context of the time. Indeed, one of the liberties necessary for deliberation is publicity – to the enfranchised people in the middle of the second millennium. In a more directly related contribution to the idea of the public sphere, Machiavelli points to the different levels of deliberation with the different locations of power in confederations like the Swiss one (Machiavel 1980, 168–69). Therefore, in parallel to Machiavelli's work on the qualities of the *Prince*, he developed a view of a republic, compatible to monarchies, in which citizens enjoy a certain degree of liberties, particularly the possibility of deliberating on public affairs.

This tandem of examples added to Gripsrud et al.'s genealogy (2010) had for purpose to enlarge the length of the discussion around the public sphere, which would predate the Enlightenment. During that period, the works of Immanuel Kant, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and John Stuart Mill are the ones put forward in *The Idea of the Public Sphere* (Gripsrud et al. 2010). While Kant proposes the concept of publicity as a corollary of reason, Hegel bases his view of civil society as the space where the various subjectivities can reach a certain universality in its manifestation as public opinion (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 1–2). The attention of Mill, in parallel, focuses on the freedom of expression as the tool to reach the truth (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 2). Though they all have specificities in their own approaches, they all argue in a similar perspective that from a free and public discussion emerges better outcomes, in contrast with a private or restricted discussion. Indeed, Kant suggests that the "*public* use of man's [sic] reason must always be free, and it alone can bring about enlightenment among men [sic]; the *private* use of reason may quite often be very narrowly restricted" (Kant 2010, 4). In a similar way, Hegel expounds that the "formal subjective freedom of individuals […] is collectively manifested as what is called 'public opinion', in which what is absolutely universal, the substantive and the true, is linked with its opposite, the purely particular and private opinions of the Many" (Hegel 2010, 9). And Mill adds that not only the hitherto consideration of the conflict between two divergent opinions let us find the true one out of both, but "instead of being one true and the other false, [conflicting doctrines] share the truth between them: and the nonconforming opinion is needed to supply the remainder of the truth, of which the received doctrines embodies only a party" (Mill 2010, 20).

This discussion continues in the first half of the 20th century with the famous debate between the pessimistic view of democracy of Walter Lippmann and the more optimistic one of John Dewey in the 1920s, both critical of their contemporary democracy (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 23–24). On the one hand, Lippmann argues that one "must adopt the theory that, by their occasional mobilizations as a majority, people support or oppose the individuals who actually govern. [One] must say that the popular will does not direct continuously but that it intervenes occasionally" (Lippmann 2010, 37). On the other hand, Dewey rejects the idea that the people should be only involved in the political sporadically while mostly being governed by technocrats. "A class of experts is inevitably so removed from common interests as to become a class with private interests and private knowledge, which in social matters is not knowledge at all" (Dewey 2010, 49).

Joseph Schumpeter echoed somehow the arguments of Lippmann with "another theory of democracy" than the "classical doctrine" (Schumpeter 2010, 54, 67). Schumpeter's alternative approach is that "the democratic method is [the] institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" (Schumpeter 2010, 67), in a market-like perspective. For Carl Schmitt, as a Nazi and supporter of "Hitler's suspension of the German constitutional order" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 24), it is no surprise that he saw parliamentary democracy, "born in the struggle against the secret politics of absolute princes" (Schmitt 2010, 83), as ineffective. Not more surprising that he had no faith in public discussion, and "legitimized dictatorship" and the "use of violence in the public interest" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 24).

Finally, in 1958, Hannah Arendt, in *The Human Condition*, proposes her vision of democracy and of the public sphere. The latter is a "sphere for human cultivation and self-realization and political life as the highest form of human life" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 91). Furthermore, she explains that "being seen and being heard by others derive their significance from the fact that everybody sees and hears from a different position" (Arendt 2010, 108), reminding the more recent work of Axel Honneth's notion of "recognition" (2005). This optimism for the public sphere can be explained by some of her critics of representative democracy in favour of "civic engagement and collective deliberation" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 91).

It is following this ongoing discussion in philosophy and political theory that Habermas publishes his groundbreaking work in German in 1962, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989). He develops there a normative ideal for a public sphere in the perspective of deliberative democracy, after having investigated the empirical development and the structural change of the bourgeois public sphere in France, the United Kingdom and Germany in the 18th, 19th centuries, and slightly the first part of the 20th century. His conclusions follow a critique of "bourgeois society both (1) its internal tensions and the factors that led to its transformation and partial degeneration and (2) element of truth and emancipatory potential that it contained despite its ideological misrepresentation and contradictions" (Calhoun 1992b, 2).

Habermas's opus combines different epistemological perspective mostly drawing from Hegelian-Marxist and Kantian orientations (Calhoun 1992b, 2). Hegelian-Marxist partly because of the importance given to the structures of society on the state of the public sphere. It is shown in Habermas's view on the shifts in the mediated public sphere, among other things. That sphere would have moved from a culture-debating sphere to a culture-consuming one (Habermas 1989, 159) notably because of the changes in ownership structure and advertising model. Kantian also in the sense of the moral assumptions of rationality behind the bourgeois public sphere (Habermas 1989, 102).

It is in this framework that Habermas looks into the evolution of the notion of publicness from the Greek city-state to the 19th century passing by the Middle Ages, which we have shed the light on in the previous section. He also develops the genealogy – again from Hellenic origins – of different notions like publicity and public opinion throughout the book. Even if that genealogy is exposed over a long period of time, Habermas focuses on the "changes that had occurred in both capitalism and state structures through the period of Western modernity", with the goal of developing "an account of intersubjective communicative processes and their emancipatory potential in place of any philosophy (or politics) of the subject" (Calhoun 1992b, 5–6).

It is also at this turning point that the political public sphere would emerge from its "literary precursor": the "public sphere in the world of letters (*literarische Öffentlichkeit*)" which was not "autochtonously bourgeois" (Habermas 1989, 29). In both those spheres,

the importance of deliberation and of rational-critical discussion for Habermas is evident. And, in the case of the political bourgeois public sphere, those discussions, then their outcomes, are self-interpreted as the crystallisation of public opinion (Habermas 1989, 89). After the institutionalisation of democratic parliaments, of a set of basic rights and of the press, "the degree of the public sphere's development was measured by the state of the confrontation between government and the press" (Habermas 1989, 60).

In this perspective, the individuals, coming out of the intimate sphere, become the political public sphere by discussing state administration and take part in the private sphere through work, for example. The "public sphere of civil society" (Habermas 1989, 23) could then be seen as a critique of the sovereign, which became possible by "the elimination of censorship" (Habermas 1989, 58). Or, more generally, as Habermas describes it:

> The bourgeois public sphere may be conceived above all as the sphere of private people come together as a public; they soon claimed the public sphere regulated from above against the public authorities themselves, to engage them in a debate over the general rules governing relations in the basically privatized but publicly relevant sphere of commodity exchange and social labor. The medium of this political confrontation was peculiar without historical precedent: people's public use of their reason (*öffentliches Räsonnement*) (Habermas 1989, 27).

After going through the emergence, the state and the conditions of existence of the bourgeois political public sphere, Habermas suggests a "'refeudalization' of society" because "private organizations began increasingly to assume public power, on the one hand, while the state penetrated the private realm on the other" (Calhoun 1992b, 21). This provoked a "shift in function of the principle of publicity" (Habermas 1989, 181) because "the equation between the intimate sphere and private life broke down with a polarization of family and economic society, rational-critical debate gave way to the consumption of culture" (Calhoun 1992b, 21). This description of the change in the public sphere, and therefore in the public opinion's functions, is pretty pessimistic. It is a "dark portrait of the subversion of the principle of publicity central to the bourgeois public sphere in the 19th century" (Dufour 2015, 322; our translation).

Indeed, Habermas postulates: "Publicity once meant the exposure of political domination before the public use of reason; publicity now adds up the reactions of an uncommitted

friendly disposition. In the measure that is shaped by public relations, the public sphere of civil society again takes on feudal features" (Habermas 1989, 195). There, the author of *The Structural Transformation* describes the change in public opinion that became a space of advertisements more than one of deliberation, in which the "public authority too competes for publicity" (Habermas 1989, 195). Then public opinion becomes "the object to be molded in connection with a staged display of, and manipulative propagation of, publicity in service of persons and institutions, consumer goods, and programs" (Habermas 1989, 236). As Calhoun summarises it: "Special-interest organizations use publicity work to increase the prestige of their own positions, without making the topics to which those positions refer subjects of genuine public debate. The media are used to create occasions for consumers to identify with the public positions or personas of others" (Calhoun 1992b, 26). As we will discuss it in the following section, that proposition seems excessively deterministic and exaggeratedly critical of "the masses". The transposition of bourgeois *salons* to the mid-19th-century mass media with no form of adjustment of parameters does not render justice to the changes that occurred.

Here, we have attempted to summarise the complexity of Jürgen Habermas's thought on the key notions exposed in his book on the public sphere (1989), but we, of course, could not cover it completely. We therefore focused on what seemed the most relevant for the following pages. In a few words, we have described how the distinction between public and private – and intimate – are central to understand the relation that has the political power with its subjects. In the case of the bourgeois public sphere, the civil society is composed of bourgeois – usually patriarchs of the family in the intimate sphere – who gather together and discuss rationally and critically the depersonalised state authority. This sphere has been made possible through the experience of the literary sphere, existing in *cafés* and *salons* beforehand, and by the gains of liberal rights which limited censorship. Then, industrialisation and advanced capitalism – in opposition to mercantilism – limited the possibility of a rational-critical public sphere and of a "real" public opinion according to Habermas.

3.3. Rejoinders to The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere (1989)

Various scholars have criticised Habermas's book, especially in the years postdating its publication in English in 1989 – it was originally published in 1962 and translated into

Norwegian in 1971 and French in 1978. Among other things, the critiques have addressed the following aspects:

> the deliberative institutions prior to the bourgeois era are neglected; the bourgeois public sphere is over-embellished; its deterioration is exaggerated; the workers' and plebeian public spheres are indisputably neglected; the development of rationality within the religious and scientific institutions is left aside; the importance of the print revolution in the development of the public sphere is not stressed enough; the social movements which have been crushed due to their struggles for the franchise are evacuated; the gendered restrictions of access to the public sphere are not sufficiently problematised, neither is the gendered division between what is public and private (Dufour 2015, 315).

That being said, we will go further in certain of those critiques and others. One of the "early critique of Habermas [which] was launched by the sociologist Oskar Negt and the filmmaker Alexander Kluge in their *Öffentlichkeit und Erfahrung (Public Sphere and Experience)* ([1972] 1993)" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 92). Negt and Kluge criticised the "positive presentation of the classical bourgeois public sphere" which reflected the beliefs of the bourgeoisie on "the borders between the public and the private, between economy/work and the sphere of intimacy, between politics and arts" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 92). Therefore, they suggested a "counter public sphere": the "'proletarian public sphere' [that] does not refer to actual organization forms but to processes of learning made possible in certain social situations" (Gripsrud et al. 2010, 121).

A lot of other rejoinders were gathered by Calhoun 20 years later (1992a). Calhoun himself identifies a central weakness in Habermas's argumentation who "does not treat the 'classical' bourgeois public sphere and the postransformation public sphere of 'organized' or 'late' capitalism symmetrically" (1992b, 33). Indeed, as we have written, Habermas seems to compare the 18th century and the 20th century by putting side by side Locke and Kant with the "typical suburban television viewer" (Calhoun 1992b, 33). Calhoun adds to this criticism that there is no need for the assumption that any state must have "*one* public", so he suggests "rather to think of the public sphere as involving a *field of discursive connections*. Within this network there might be a more or less even flow of communication" (1992b, 37). We would also add that, even though the state-level is still central to the organisation of public discussion, it should not impeach us to apprehend potential international, not to say global, public spheres. This echoes to the – sometimes

abusively used – notion of "global village" coined by Marshall McLuhan, a contemporary of Habermas (McLuhan 1962, 31).

In a similar perspective, Habermas himself continues to use the concept of "public sphere", but about a multiplicity of publics and of public spheres. Indeed, he agrees with the idea of exclusion "in Foucault's sense […] meaning when the same structures of communication simultaneously give rise to the formation of several arenas where, beside the hegemonic bourgeois public sphere, additional subcultural or class-specific public spheres" (Habermas 1992, 425). It is also part of Eley's contributions to the debate on Habermas's work, who made an important point on the importance of acknowledging "the existence of *competing* publics" (Eley 1992, 306). In parallel, Schudson looked into the participation in the public sphere in the United States and notes the exclusion of parts of the population, whether it is legally or through the absence of spaces for rational and critical discourse (Schudson 1992, 146). Those exclusions from the hegemony of the dominant public sphere usually affect – or affected – "working-class people, peasants, women, racialised people, etc." (Eley 1992, 308). As Fraser puts it, "subordinated social groups – women, workers, peoples of color, and gays and lesbians" constitute "*subaltern counterpublics*" (Fraser 1992, 123). An updated construction of the public sphere should therefore consider the level of inclusion of every group of a population at every unit of analysis at a given moment in history. This can require to blur the lines between what is understood as the cultural or literary public sphere and the political public sphere. Indeed, the cultural sphere's "*public* nature" should be emphasised even if the "rigid distinction between the political and cultural spheres [is] reinforced by contemporary political institutions" (Hohendahl 1992, 108). We link the inclusion of larger scales of the population with the inclusion cultural spheres because the "subordinated" groups, like women, have taken more space in the cultural sphere. In fact, "much of contemporary feminist theory has been developed within literary theory" (Hohendahl 1992, 108).

As we have briefly evoked earlier, we propose that, even if the state legitimation purpose of the public sphere can guide the study of actual democracies, the condition of a given public sphere is changing and, therefore, the study of it should be done on a limited historical time frame. The title of Habermas's book itself puts emphasis on that possibility since there is "structural change" and the "second basic thesis in this work is that the

nature of a public sphere and the conditions of its possible existence must be understood historically" (Postone 1992, 164). In short, "the structural transformation of the public sphere is embedded in the transformation of state and economy" (Habermas 1992, 430) because the role of the state partly defines what is part of the public and the private life, in relation to the place given to the economy (Habermas 1992, 434–36). So to say, the historical condition of those central institutions of social life should be investigated to determine the state of the public sphere. And this type of investigation in history, according to Lloyd Kramer, is not only relevant for history's sake but also for "what it tells about our contemporary society and because of how it shapes the way we understand ourselves" (Kramer 1992, 250).

3.4. Alternative propositions for a public sphere

In parallel to those direct rejoinders to Habermas, certain contemporary scholars have propounded different approaches to the public sphere. We will concentrate here on Chantal Mouffe, Gerard A. Hauser and Pierre Bourdieu. These should be seen as core parts of our own conceptualisation. Mouffe's framework is in quite a clear opposition to Habermas's deliberative democracy or "discourse-centered concept of democracy" (Habermas 1992, 447). She aims for a "democratic political public sphere" in opposition to the latter. In other words, in opposition to what she describes as the "moralization and juridification of politics" (Mouffe 2002, 55). She sees in the deliberative democracy model the will for "the creation of a rational consensus reached through appropriate procedures whose aim is to produce decisions which represent an impartial standpoint equally in the interests of all" (Mouffe 2002, 56). That focus on rationality and procedures evacuates the necessity of passions in politics and the so-called impartiality favours a "consensus at the centre" instead of putting the political forward (Mouffe 2002, 56). She therefore puts forth a democratic "model of 'agonistic pluralism', one which acknowledges the role of power relations in society and the ever present possibility of antagonism" (Mouffe 2002, 58). This leads Mouffe to support a democratic model which places at its centre the confrontation of political positions, including the ones that mobilise passions. One could then say that there is a risk of stratification and division of society, but Mouffe claims that it is "a consensual society [that] might in fact be jeopardizing democracy by creating the conditions for the emergence of antagonisms that will not manageable by democratic

institutions" (Mouffe 2002, 63). As it has been noted in the reference to Piketty earlier: certain issues are impossible to solve "rationally" or scientifically, they require political, conflictual, subjective negotiations.

This proposition could very well be associated with Hauser's who assume that "political communication is inherently rhetorical, and rational consensus is not always a rhetorical possibility. […] The political environment of a public sphere is marked by naturally occurring oppositional encounters" (Hauser 1999, 46). As others evoked earlier – including Habermas – have suggested, Hauser also suggests apprehending the public sphere in a multiplicity of ways. He postulates that "a rhetorical model would require openness to those conditions that produce a plurality of spheres within the Public Sphere" (Hauser 1999, 55). And like Mouffe, Hauser does not think that the rationality of the arguments should be the only aspect considered during the communication processes. According to this rhetorical model of public sphere, the discussion should include the engagement "in civic conversation on particular issues with specific interlocutors and audiences" (Hauser 1999, 56). In short, that approach leaves the rational-critical aspects of Habermas's model on the side to put forward the rhetorical component of political deliberation, like Aristotle's stumbling upon the subject. Those contributions to the debate on the constitution of the notion of the public sphere, on a normative level, can then guide further research on it by not only looking at the outcome of the debate or at the state of the public opinion but at the formation of those in conflictual social relations between adversarial actors.

On this level of public opinion, so to say the crystallised content of the public sphere which should guide the political decisions, Bourdieu has interesting insights. He postulates, provocatively, that "public opinion does not exist" (Bourdieu 1973; our translation) – before to nuance his position, which we will bear out. He clarifies that what does not exist, actually, is public opinion through surveys; and that what is often understood as public opinion is not what it stands for (Bourdieu 1973, 7). It is important to note here that Habermas himself does not believe in the capacity of surveys to adequately describe the situation of the public opinion (Blondiaux 2003, 149). What surveys or other similar measures represent is nothing else than an "artefact, pure and simple, whose function is to dissimulate the state of the opinion at a given moment"

(Bourdieu 1973, 3). The reasons behind that are multiple. Bourdieu mentions that a number of people do not have an opinion on the given topic and that it is not considered; that the level of "political competence" varies but is not measured; and that the "class ethos" from which a system of values emerges and is interiorised from childhood gives an additional bias (Bourdieu 1973, 3–4).

More importantly, when one considers the state of the public opinion on a given subject, it often comes with a certain problematisation which frames the possible positions – or answers in a survey. Bourdieu refers to it as the "dominant issue making" which can blind parts of an issue from its angle (Bourdieu 1973, 5). Another effect, being put forward by Bourdieu as a limit in the understanding of public opinion, is the "politicisation effect" which means that within the public debate, individuals generally have to side with one of the different available options for opinions laid out through struggles between organised groups (Bourdieu 1973, 6). For those reasons, rather than talking about *a* public opinion which can give the impression of shared views across the population, Bourdieu prefers the notion of "mobilised opinion" which manages to show potentially a dominant position, but also that this position is or can be contested by different "groups around explicit formulated interest systems" (Bourdieu 1973, 7; our translation). That mobilised opinion can only emerge "from an exchange, a public confrontation of those individual [or group] opinions" (Blondiaux 2003, 143; our translation). That assessment has an effect that resonates with Mouffe's approach in the sense that it implies that even though there is a dominant public sphere in which is found a dominant public discourse, there is space for contestation whether it is within the hegemony of this public sphere or from subaltern counterpublics trying to make certain ideas emerge in it. So the study of the state of the public sphere cannot just rely on opinion surveys on particular issues, but it has to look at the mobilised opinion through places where idea-producing processes, debates, and conflicts take place.

In sum, those rejoinders and indirect contributions to the public sphere concept developed by Habermas are touching on various elements: the exclusion of certain publics; the patriarchal feature of the division between the public and private spheres; the historical aspect of the conditions of the public spheres; the possibility of moving from a rational-critical discussion to a broader one that also includes agonistic,

passionate, and rhetorical elements; and the limits of the conception of public opinion. These are useful in apprehending an alternative and more complete approach to the empirical public sphere.

CHAPTER 2: The study of an existing public sphere

4. The case of Norway and Gripsrud (2017a)

What has been exposed in the previous sections contribute to enlighten our assessment of the methodological approach of Gripsrud's *Allmenningen* (2017a), and its relevance for the study of the Quebecer public sphere. In the study he edited, the public sphere has been addressed as, in a similar way to what we have invoked so far, as "the widely available space of discussions and experiences that form the political and cultural 'public spheres' (*Offentlighetene)*. Nevertheless, the public has always covered special, sub- and counter-public spheres that have had a more limited audience" (Gripsrud 2017b, 42). This construction of the public sphere can be studied, according to Gripsrud, as a "historical presentation that *exceeds the boundaries between traditional forms of historical writing –* especially between political history and different forms of cultural and art history" (Gripsrud 2017b, 42). Also, like Hohendahl (1992), he suggests putting the cultural – or literary – public sphere as a part of the analysis. Media-wise, that translates into the inclusion of the radio that appeared in the 1920s and the television that became more popular in the 1960s (Gripsrud 2017b, 42). Not only should the media be studied, but also "elements of political and economic history" as well as the judiciary system, the Church, sports, the public spaces in themselves, and any other elements that can tell us about what is communicated in addition to "*how* it is communicated – i.e. the forms and terms of public conversations" (Gripsrud 2017b, 42).

To assess these aspects, the author proposes to dig into "ten 'thematic threads'" ("*ti 'tematiske tråder'*") which will build the "fabric" ("*vev*") of the public sphere (Gripsrud 2017b, 42; our translation). They are the following: (1) the distinction between the public and the private sphere in a given time frame; (2) the degree of freedom of speech and of information; (3) the level of interaction and of embedment between the sub and counter public spheres with the common public sphere, what one could call the dominant public sphere; (4) the role of the public sphere in the decision-making process; (5) the meaning of reason in the public sphere or, in other words, the way and the degree in which facts and logic cooperate and interact with morals and emotions; (6) the exclusion and the inclusion of public(s) in the common public sphere; (7) the relation between the cultural and the political public spheres; (8) the famous figures or cultural

referents present in the public sphere; (9) the degree and the type of interactions between a domestic public sphere with foreign ones, in a globalisation context; (10) the Norwegian specific context, its national particularities and the possibility of the application of the public sphere theory (Gripsrud 2017b, 44–51).

This study framework draws on various normative ideals from Habermas, which left it open for similar criticisms. Indeed, Eivind Tjønneland dedicated a pamphlet on *Allmenningen* in which he addresses various issues in Gripsrud's edition whether it is on its framework, on historical precision, or on missing elements. The most prevailing ones overlap with some elements put forward in the rejoinders and alternative propositions on the public sphere mentioned earlier. Tjønneland reproaches an over-formalistic or legalistic approach to the public sphere (2018, 43–59) and to freedom of expression (2018, 84), which does not consider enough who is *actually* the public and what is (im)possible to be said for ethical, economic or social reasons. He also addresses the issue of affects "in rational public debate" (Tjønneland 2018, 72; our translation), basing his argument on the contributions of Martha Nussbaum and Sharon Krause to criticise Gripsrud's "idealisation of reasoning" (Tjønneland 2018, 72; our translation). Another comment touches the lack of problematisation of popular culture which leads to neglecting it before 1890 where it "emerges" for the first time in the book "without any form of chronological or concrete clarification" (Tjønneland 2018, 60; our translation). This summary of the limits of Gripsrud's work mentioned by Tjønneland seems to be relevant to our own investigation in Quebec's public sphere, especially in the way we will articulate the threads mentioned in the previous paragraph.

4.1. The Norwegian public sphere, 1945–1980

Nevertheless, in *Allmenningen*, the ten threads have been translated into various elements for the period from 1945 to 1980 in Norway. Those years are marked with various historical elements. Among those, a lot are related with the post-war context – i.e. the trials connected with the Nazi collaborationists – the adhesion to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), the start of the Cold War and the influence of the United States on internal Norwegian politics (Rasmussen 2017, 342–83; Gripsrud and Lindtner 2017, 434). Still on the level of international conflict, the Norwegian public

sphere unfolds in parallel with the Spanish dictatorship and the Vietnam War (Rasmussen 2017; Gripsrud and Lindtner 2017).

This historical context is the framework in which evolve the citizens, the society and the institutions of Norway between 1945 and 1980. In order to assess the state of the public sphere, in both chapters of *Allmenningen* treating of this period, various facets are put forward and analysed. As a general perspective, both Terje Rasmussen (2017), and Jostein Gripsrud and Synnøve Skrasbø Lindtner (2017) look into conflicts and debates, mostly on the political level, but also on the cultural level – within literature, art, theatre, cinema, etc. (Rasmussen 2017, 353–55, 379–86; Gripsrud and Lindtner 2017, 409–12, 445–56) –; in terms of judiciary processes and about sports (Rasmussen 2017, 342–43). Of course, those divisions between different fields of society are sometimes blurry. For example, the language conflict between *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk* or the cultural assimilation policies towards Samis cannot be placed solely centered in the cultural sphere since they have mostly political implications even though the outcomes of the political debate affect Norwegian culture.

That being said, within the political public sphere, a hegemonic public sphere seems to emerge from both analyses without being namely mentioned. In this, we include elements from both chapters mentioned above like the main political actors – usually elected – and their positions; the electoral and parliamentary debates; the election results and the proportions of votes; the presence of the broadcaster and its content – whether it is radio or television; the mainstream newspaper landscape; and the presence of think tanks and their agenda. In what could be described as sub- or counter-public spheres, labour and student unions seem to be the main ones analysed in both chapters. But the "indigenous" public sphere – mainly composed of Samis; the women's public sphere; and, in a marginal way, the LGBTQ+ public sphere are also included in the Norwegian field of discursive connections, to use Calhoun's words.

Those various political public spheres, as well as the alternative public spheres that are the cultural, the sportive and the judiciary ones, are mediatised – at different degrees – in a variety of media. Indeed, before 1960, Rasmussen looks into a newspaper landscape marked by the party press and the rise of *Verdens Gang* (*VG* nowadays) and describes the very widespread presence of radio (2017, 338–40, 361–63). While after 1960, Gripsrud

and Lindtner are acknowledging the proliferation of television which became a "new centre of the public sphere" and the state intervention in the media market and transformation of the party press and of the practice of journalism (2017, 395–408).

In summary, we have presented the historical context in which evolved the public spheres between 1950 and 1970 in Norway. This context, though it is important to deepen our understanding of single events, is not the only explanation behind the nature of debates. Those debates occurred in different public spheres, whether it was political or cultural; and dominant, "sub-" or "counter-". Finally, we have briefly evoked that not only the public spheres exist through physical infrastructures and are mediated, but they are also mediatised and the transformation of the media landscape also had an impact on the state of the public sphere in Norway. Here we did not go in depth in the Norwegian public spheres on the thematic level by discussing the topic of debates, the events that occurred, the trends in art, etc. but we stayed at a meso-level of analysis in order to enlighten how the thematic threads can be adapted to the empirical reality in Quebec.

5. The case of Quebec and how to study it

Before initiating the study of Quebec's public sphere in a more direct way, we will draft a basic portrait of the province, followed by an explanation of the time frame chosen, then a socioeconomic description during this period. We will finish with the relevance of using *Allmenningen* (Gripsrud 2017a) to study the case of Quebec.

5.1. The case of Quebec

In a very basic aspect, what is known as Quebec today – and between 1956 and 1966 – is the result of two waves of European colonisation which led to a contemporary "Canadian ruling". Indeed, France had a continuous settlement from 1608 in the capital of the province, Quebec City. At this time, the Indigenous population on the seignorial area of the Canadian territory of New France is estimated at 500 (Dickinson and Grabowski 1993, 61). A century and a half later, as a North American result of the Seven Years' War, called Conquest War (*Guerre de la Conquête*) in Quebec – the land of New France was ceded to the British in 1760 (Miquelon, Massicotte, and McIntosh 2006). After the exile of a part of the French population back to the metropolis, the settlers' population of the colony at this time was between 60 000 to 70 000 (Miquelon,

Massicotte, and McIntosh 2006), in addition to the estimated 2 000 slaves – Indigenous and Black (Bessière, n.d.) – and the approximately 4 000 Indigenous people on the seignorial area (Dickinson and Grabowski 1993, 60). Following that, the British period relegated the French population to the backseats of power, especially between 1837 and 1867 (Massicotte 2009, 21). There was an intention to assimilate this "people with no history, and no literature" (Durham 1839, 132) after the Rebellion of the Patriots in 1837–1838 (Martin 1972, 11). This was done, in part, through "the union of the two provinces [Lower and Upper Canada]" to "give a clear English majority" so that French-Canadians "would abandon their vain hopes of nationality" (Durham 1839, 139). A few decades later various colonies federated into a Canadian so-called confederation with the British North America Act of 1867 (Creighton 1970, 2), which will be completed in March 1949 with the inclusion of Newfoundland (Creighton 1970, 277). Quebec's borders remained more or less the same after this last enlargement of the Dominion of Canada, boarded by other Canadian provinces and the United States – with the states of Vermont, New York and Maine[2]. Under this political project, Indigenous people were forced to settle and register under the Indian Act in an Apartheid-like way which prevented them from obtaining citizenship rights, while the French-speaking population gets on paper the same rights as English Canadians.

5.1.1. 1956–1966

This leads us to the time frame – or period divisions (Bastiansen 2008, 105) – of the current study. From the 1930s to the 1960s, Quebec was under a heavy religious influence and governed "through an all-pervasive system of patronage and political corruption" (Behiels 1985, 22) by both Maurice Duplessis's *Union Nationale* and Louis-Alexandre Taschereau's *Parti libéral*. Indeed, the "Catholic church remained, in 1950, one of the most powerful social institutions in Quebec, sharing power with the predominantly anglophone commercial and industrial institutions and the francophone-dominated institutions" (Behiels 1985, 70). This was followed by the rise to power, between 1960 and 1976 with a brief interruption, of a "rejuvenated liberal party" (Behiels 1985, 240) led by Jean Lesage and Robert Bourassa. These two periods are often referred to as the Great Darkness (*Grande Noirceur*) and the Quiet Revolution (*Révolution tranquille*). The focus

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[2] See Appendix 1

will therefore be around the very shift between both periods. If for us, it is a deliberate choice in order to see the transformation of the francophone public sphere on the territory of Quebec between two different periods, it was a random one for Beaulieu et al. but they did mention that it allowed giving a better contrast and relativise the processes that happened (1989, vii). Others, like Lemieux (1969b) also chose to study the period 1956 to 1966 explicitly, to better assess changes and continuities during periods often seen as radically different.

If some dissent exists on the accuracy of the meaning of these labels, it is hard to deny that these years are central to the foundation of the Quebecer state as it is known today and the completion of its entry in sociopolitical modernity (Behiels 1985, 4). There is indeed a historiographical debate on the advent of modernity in Quebec (Noël 2014, 35–36), whether it came with the Quiet Revolution or there were seeds present before. This debate is not solely dual, but it is one of the issues in Quebec's history that is contentious between four approaches identified by Ronald Rudin: the successors of Lionel Groulx; the Montreal Approach; the Laval Approach; and the various revisionisms (1997). We might contribute to enlightening it by the choice of our time frame which overlaps both labelled periods. Despite their importance, wide-ranging aspects of these decades are left in the shade, maybe because they are recent history, maybe because of their mythical quality. Among these left aside areas, debates surrounding the interpretation Duplessis's regime are incomplete and still alive today, therefore studies of it remain relevant (Livernois 2018). Moreover, as we have mentioned earlier, empirical studies on the Quebecer public sphere are inexistent, at any time of its history. In parallel, and in a broader way, the role of Quebec's press as a social actor remains understudied (Roy and De Bonville 2000; Noël 2014).

Nonetheless, there is a lot of information on this founding moment in Quebec's history. To give some context on that period, it occurred while its population was augmenting[3] because of the post-War baby boom – after an exodus of francophones to the United States from 1840 to 1930 (Lavoie 1979) – and this population was increasingly urban[4]. Indeed, 46% of the population was concentrated in the three biggest agglomerations of

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[3] See Appendix 2
[4] See Appendix 3

Quebec: Montreal, Quebec and Chicoutimi[5]. But while this large younger and more urban generation was on the verge of taking power[6], the socioeconomic situation in Quebec was not gleaming. Quebecers, all ethnicity combined, were globally less educated than the average of Canadians in 1961[7] and the ethnic group of French-Canadians within Quebec, even if it was consisting of the vast majority of the population[8], was in a worst situation economically. As a comparison, French-Canadians in Quebec had a slightly lower level of education than the Black people in the United States – prior to the Civil Rights Act (The Editors of Encyclopaedia Britannica 2019) – and they earned approximately the same wages, when compared to the dominant group in each state (Fortin 2010, 2). Indeed, "the francophone majority was manifestly worse off than the anglophone minority by virtually any measure one wished to use" (Whitaker 1984, 74). Of course, despite those shared traits at a given state of affairs and the ethnic discrimination experienced by French-Canadians – e.g. the "Speak White" slur (Meney 2003) – this ethnic group is far from having gone through similar atrocities as Black Usonians[9]. The comparison merely serves as a heuristic description with an internationally better-known situation.

5.2. The use of Gripsrud (2017a) in Quebec

As we have mentioned in the introduction, the "Norwegian approach" of the public sphere as proposed in (Gripsrud 2017a) seems to be relevant for the study of Quebec's public sphere due to certain similarities between both states. Moreover, to our knowledge, the study conducted in *Allmenningen* is one of a kind, worldwide. There has not been any attempt to dig into a single state's public sphere, but the one edited by Gripsrud. Also, Quebec has more to do with Norway notably in terms of size, population, geography than with the United Kingdom or the other Continental European countries studied by Habermas. The same can be said about the development of a distinct Quebecer welfare state after the Second World War, in a somewhat similar way than Norway, and the other Nordic countries. Furthermore, even if Quebec is not an independent state, unlike

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[5] See Appendix 4
[6] See Appendix 5
[7] See Appendix 6
[8] See Appendix 7
[9] We use the term "Usonian," as attested in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Stevenson 2010) to refer to the United States, America being a continent.

Norway, its linguistic situation created a fertile context for it to develop its own media system and political and cultural institutions, among others.

5.2.1. Moving the "threads" from Norway to Quebec

Apart from the general sociopolitical situation which allows us to be guided more or less easily by the study of Gripsrud (2017a), we will follow the way Rasmussen (2017), and Gripsrud and Lindtner (2017) studied similar historical periods than us, as we have shown in it the section 4. The international historical context in which evolved both states is pretty similar since we are looking at a 10-year period within the 35 years covered by the three Norwegian authors in two Western democracies. The main difference between both states is the fact that Norway is an independent country while Quebec is part of the Canadian federation. This has some implications in the Quebecer public sphere, since that leads to less interest for international conflicts and politics as diplomacy is a rather federal competence (e.g. Beaudoin, Bélanger, and Lavoie 2002, 41). But for other aspects, there are similarities. For example, the effect of Cold War and the influence of the United States on internal politics (e.g. Gow 1970; Brunelle and Deblock 1988).

In the case of the study on the Norwegian public sphere in those years, the conflicts and debates were put forward as central to what constitutes the public sphere. Those were looked at in parallel – sometimes intertwined – fields of society: the political sphere, the cultural sphere, the judiciary processes and the sports field. Even though the matter of the conflicts and debates within those fields are not replicable in the Quebecer public sphere as it is, the way it has been looked at for the Norwegian case (Rasmussen 2017; Gripsrud and Lindtner 2017) is relevant for Quebec. Indeed, elements looked at for the case of Norway can be found in Quebec, but with a different content. More precisely, in the case of the political public sphere, we can use a similar method to the one used by the authors in Gripsrud (2017a). For the dominant public sphere, as it has been described earlier, all of the main components of the Norwegian study are relevant for the Quebec political public sphere: the main actors and their positions; the electoral and parliamentary debates; the election results and shares of the votes; the public broadcaster's role; the think tanks and their discourse. All of the above can be found in Quebec. That being said, there is shade left for the study of Quebec's public sphere if we follow the study on the Norwegian one's logic. To use an example of an incompletely covered aspect, we can look

at the broadcasting situation. Even though the public broadcaster was, and is still, strong within the French-speaking Canadian public, especially in Quebec (CRTC 2017, 159), there has been a continuous important private presence in broadcasting. It is a common trait of "liberal" media systems like the Canadian one – and incidentally Quebec's too to a certain extent – unlike the "democratic corporatist' systems like Norway's media landscape (Hallin and Mancini 2004). Indeed, the private sector in broadcasting is so important that CKAC, the first French-speaking radio station in America, was created by a privately owned newspaper, *La Presse*, in Montreal in 1922 (Dupont 2007) before the public broadcaster, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation/*Société Radio-Canada* (CBC/SRC) created its radio station. For television broadcasting, *Radio-Canada* had a de facto monopoly for about 10 years before the first private TV station was created. Therefore, in addition to the main points studied in the Norwegian case mentioned above, a study on Quebec's public sphere should also include the private sector of broadcasting for a complete view on the hegemonic political public sphere. The same can be said for various elements. We therefore need not to simply duplicate the Norwegian study; rather using it as a guide or an inspiration.

For what we have labelled as sub- or counter-public spheres earlier, the situations are, again, comparable for both states. Indeed, we have pointed to five sub- or counter-public spheres: the labour unions; the student unions; the indigenous people; the women; and the LGBTQ+. All of those are present in the public debate in Quebec between 1950 and 1970, but in probably a differing way. Both types of unions are existing in what seems a more pluralistic form than in Norway (e.g. Tremblay 1972; Rouillard 2004; Simard 2013; Leduc 2010; Association pour une solidarité syndicale étudiante 2005). For the indigenous people, the Canadian law known as the Indian Act creates quite a specific situation which differs in this counter-public sphere in comparison with the Sami case. Also, the geographic concentration of First Nations in the North where a lot of the hydroelectric development happened during the Quiet Revolution – which is part of the period studied – increases the potential of debates by adding another layer of tensions to the cultural one (e.g. Savard 2009; C. Lévesque and Cloutier 2011; Arnaud 2014). The women also consisted of a specific public in Quebec, but the feminist struggles were different and reached different levels in both societies at that time. The body of research

available in this matter is quite important which will enable a better groundwork from Gripsrud's study using this available data (e.g. Descarries 2005; Maillé 2000).

One aspect that was not considered in the Norwegian study and should be added to this list though is the manner in which political violence should be understood in an empirical study of the public sphere. In the case of Quebec, the Quebec Liberation Front (*Front de libération du Québec*) used political violence as a tactic from 1963 to its dissolution in 1970. This has led them to be able to have their manifesto read on the public broadcaster due to the kidnappings of a minister of Quebec's liberal government and a British diplomat (Linteau et al. 1989, 712–14). We suggest that political violence should be understood as a non-democratic form of communication, but still as communication, part of a counter-public sphere. It can also be telling about how opened the dominant public sphere hegemony is since, as Mouffe proposes, an overly consensual sphere that evacuates passion can create "the conditions for the emergence of antagonisms that will not manageable by democratic institutions" (2002, 63). In short, if the threads can easily be pulled from the Norwegian study to guide Quebec's one, there are elements of differentiation. Whether it is on the political institution level, on norms or on forms of communication, we have to build a divergent study to later be able to make sense of Quebec's public sphere's history.

5.2.2. Operationalisation of the study

Concretely, in order to manage a study of the transformations of the francophone political public sphere and its composition within the limits imposed by a master's level thesis, we propose to translate those threads as following. First, we will draft a general portrait of the media system in Quebec. That includes: (1) the national daily press; (2) the local daily press of the three biggest agglomerations; (3) the specialised media addressed to specific publics notably women, farmers and unionists; (4) the intellectual magazines – that can be seen as the think tanks of the time – ; (5) the public and private broadcasting both on radio and television. The list of media will be based on various research made in Quebec, in order to, then, proceed to collect information from secondary sources, e.g. research made on specific media and primary sources, where needed. Those will be assessed as artefacts from the public sphere of the time, since media can't capture everything nor can't

academic studies about media. Therefore, we see media products as signs from the public sphere not as the public sphere itself.

Then we will examine the institutional politics aspect of the public sphere. Indeed, we will look at: (1) the main actors of the public sphere, their positions, and the conflicts they are involved in to maintain their position; (2) the electoral and parliamentary debates; (3) the election results, the shares of the votes and the conditions for the right to vote. Those elements will be assembled through data coming from the parliamentary and electoral institutions themselves, but also from various other works.

Once those two main elements of the public sphere are assembled and put forward, we will propose an evolution of the public sphere at the turn of 1960 in Quebec. This will be made by analysing the previous information in the light of the ten threads mentioned in the section 4; and by proposing a reading of the elites' interactions within the public sphere, supported by Gaetano Mosca's elite theory.

CHAPTER 3: Elements of the Quebecer public sphere

6. The media in Quebec, 1956–1966

As we have said earlier, the history of the press in Quebec is incomplete and weakly studied (Jacob 2003, 8–9), notably on the matter of studying it as a media system or, in other words, as social institutions who interact with others in a given society (Roy and De Bonville 2000). Even if the purpose of our thesis itself is not to make the history of the media between 1956 and 1966, but rather the larger perspective of the public sphere, we propose here an overview of Quebec's media. Indeed, we see the media as an intrinsic part of the public sphere, with a multifaceted role. The media system is a structuring element of the public sphere. It is some kind of superstructure, to use a Marxian term, that lets the mediated communication happen, but it also has an impact on the way the discussion unfolds. To continue with Marxian notions, the media, in the sense of the multiple individual outlets, is an infrastructure of the public sphere. The newspapers, television and radio channels, magazines, etc. contain the conditions of production of discourse. Therefore, their products – i.e. articles, columns, shows, essays, etc. – are artefacts of the public sphere, to now use Bourdieusian terms. The same goes for the agents appearing in the media – i.e. journalists, columnists, hosts, interviewees, etc. They are – together with their action and their interaction between them and with society as a whole – elements on which we will focus when we look into the media in Quebec between 1956 and 1966, to make sense of the history of the public sphere.

On the history dimension, we understand historical inquiries on the media – and in general – as on "explanation and understanding" rather than a simple "collection and description of evidence" (Hardt and Brennen 1993, 131). However, even if the "study of media systems [has] a much wider set of aims than the pure description and explanation of the individual media and their importance" (Bastiansen 2008, 110), the following section will be mostly descriptive in order to give better analyses and explanations later. We will be attempting to "establish something as fundamental [in historical studies of media systems] as a chronology" (Bastiansen 2008, 105). It should not be seen as a flaw as such since it will be picked up when we provide an understanding and an explanation in the analysis section. It also serves the purpose of contextual comprehension for the reader, especially since Quebec's media is somewhat unknown outside of its borders.

Nonetheless, we will avoid falling into another flaw which would be confining history in "continuity and permanence" by rather looking at "indications of challenge and struggle; […] instead of stressing linear notions of progress" (Hardt and Brennen 1993, 132). We will therefore show stability versus change where it is possible. This will unfold by starting to discuss the knowledge available on the "media system" (Hallin and Mancini 2004; Mouillaud 1968) in Quebec between 1956 and 1966, before to consider the state of the techniques of communication during that time. We will then be able to brush the portrait of the media present at that time and assess their actions in the public sphere.

6.1. The historiography of the media in Quebec

The first studies of the media in Quebec date from the 1960s with the work of Marie Tremaine, John Hare and Jean-Pierre Wallot who focused on the 19th century, followed by André Beaulieu and Jean Hamelin who created a directory of the Quebecer press, from its origins to 1975 (Roy and De Bonville 2000, 16). Since various researchers continued the work of building the history of the press whether it is through biographies of certain actors related to the press, the ideology of the press, or other less preponderant angles of research (Roy and De Bonville 2000, 16–17). It has been noted, on the other hand, that there has been "a disproportionate interest for outlets valued by the sociocultural elite (*Le Devoir*, *La Minerve*, *Le Canadien*, etc.) and disinterest for publications that, however, impose themselves as by their reach (*La Presse*, *La Patrie*, *Montréal-Matin*, *The Montreal Star*, etc.)" (Roy and De Bonville 2000, 18; our translation). The earlier date of creation and the length of the existence of the more studied media could be an additional factor of explanation for the high interest in scholarly research, but, indeed, not a sufficient one. The elite versus popular division remains the key element. For example, there has been almost no studies on the newspaper *Montréal-Matin*, which was published in Montreal in the period studied here. Apart from Mathieu Noël's doctoral thesis (2014), there has only been three publications on the newspaper itself: the ex-journalist Joseph Bourdon wrote a book in 1978 about it, but from the perspective of one of the actors of this newspaper; and two studies – one from Jean de Bonville and one from Sophie Dubois – included it as part of the sample in comparative frameworks (Noël 2014, 50–53). On the other hands, *Le Devoir*, for example, has been the focus in so many publications that the list could not be done here.

In a similar way, the knowledge on the television in Quebec, especially in a historical perspective, is lacking (Demers 2003, 235) and the one existing is usually centered around *Radio-Canada*. The main research existing on the subject is Gérard Laurence's articles following his thesis (Demers 2003, 245). As a matter of fact, in "Quebec, there is no sustained research dedicated to the history of television in its social and political dimensions" (Demers 2003, 235; our translation) even though it has been said numerous times that this new media has played a role in the launch of the Quiet Revolution (Laurence 1982, 213). It has been repeated so often though it is not backed by any relevant argument that it became some kind of "'axiomatic' truth" over time (Demers 2003, 244; our translation). Notwithstanding, we do not wish to take part in the debate of the role of that medium in the start of the Quiet Revolution, at least not in the prevalent perspective of its role through the effect it had on the audience. Notably because it would be hard to reach something close to a certain assessment of the effect of television – in itself, distinct from other media – on the audience. Indeed, confirming or invalidating this hypothesis more than 50 years after the fact, and with the state of the research on the media effects that tend to show that they are limited (Bélanger and Proulx 2003, 217), would prove itself to be arduous if not impossible. So, like for the other media, we will present the state of television during our time frame and its social role as an institution.

As for the radio, it is a much better studied medium than its younger electronic counterpart. Pierre Pagé and his collaborators contributed to a good amount of the knowledge that we have on the radio in Quebec from its implementation, whether it is on the history of the radio in general (Pagé 2007; Pagé and Belleau 1982) or on certain aspects like the literature broadcasted on this medium (Pagé, Legris, and Blouin 1975). To this we can count some more specialised work on a given radio station or region (e.g. Du Berger, Mathieu, and Roberge 1997; Baulu 1982) or on the relation of the medium with society (e.g. Filion 1994; Proulx 1979).

Therefore, even if we are attempting to create knowledge on the history of the media system in Quebec in a new perspective – i.e. our conceptualisation of the public sphere – , we might come short on certain missing elements from the historiography for which our constraints impeach us from enlightening.

6.2. Media and technology

We will now take the three types of media together on the aspect of technological change. We do so because as part of a system, each medium has an impact on the others. More largely, the rise of a new medium or a new technology for a medium affects a society through the network they all inscribe themselves and participate.

First, as it can be understood from the previous section, both the radio and the television technology were present in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. Though they were already existing, it does not mean that their situation was stable. If radio was a media of shared use, mostly in family, at its launch and until the 1940s (Pagé and Belleau 1982, 117), it quickly became a more individualised activity with the increased accessibility to this technology and the rise in the numbers of receptors (Pagé and Belleau 1982, 121). In an international perspective, Montreal was the North American capital of radio auditors per capita from the mid-1940s onwards. In parallel, Canada, in 1950, was the second country with the most receptors per household, Quebec would be the ninth if it were a country, before to end up the third in 1976 (Pagé and Belleau 1982, 118).

Simultaneously, television took the place of the latter as the social medium. The launch of the first television channel available in French in Quebec, *Radio-Canada,* created by the federal public broadcaster, occurred in 1952 (Laurence 1978, 25). It started as a bilingual station based in Montreal before to become a fully francophone station in 1954 with the creation of an anglophone television station in the city (M. Filion 2002, 14). Only a few years later, in 1957, already 76% of Quebecer households owned a television (Laurence 1982, 213) and, in 1960, around 89% did, which is above the Canadian average of 81% (Demers 2003, 255; Linteau et al. 1989, 390). The importance of the presence of a television receptor within a home appears to be significant if we consider the "high price of the device [in the 1950s], being in average 425 dollars, an important amount for an average Quebecer whose annual income was approximately of 1 300 dollars" (M. Filion 2002, 14; our translation). Since it was not yet as accessible as radio receptors were, it often served as a "family activity, a social gathering practice, an occasion to tighten the relations with others", etc. (Demers 2003, 253; our translation). As Gripsrud and Lindtner (2017) put it in the case of Norway: it became a "new centre of the public sphere".

This rise in popularity is important for the whole of the media system. We can, as an example, see the impact of the television on the newspapers' ecosystem: "most Quebecers watched television shows broadcasted from the end of the afternoon onwards, which led them to neglect the evening newspapers" (Noël 2014, 127; our translation). This is one of the factors of the rise in popularity of morning newspapers like *Montréal-Matin*, *The Gazette*, and *Le Devoir*, at the expense of the *Herald* and *La Patrie*; in 1957 the first closed down, and the second passes from a daily to a weekly (Noël 2014, 127).

In concomitance to this relation between television and dailies, the adaptation of the offset press to the newspaper industry by Staley McBrayer in the 1950s (Sterling 2009) made the task of printing easier and cheaper. Therefore, it participated in the multiplication of printed papers and their thickening – weeklies contained around 20 pages (Malo 2008, 37–57). Indeed, between 1955 and 1963, 704 new publications with various periodicity were created across Quebec (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, viii). In a similar model to the local radio and television stations, the proliferation of periodicals continues after 1963, but with very niche audiences, whether they were urban neighbourhoods, associations, organisations, institutions, or else (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Le Vallée Laflamme 1989, viii).

We can therefore see that the three types of media evaluated here have a common trend, they all multiply in number partly because of the widening of the access to the technology behind each media. Nonetheless, there are also diverging elements between 1956 and 1966, like the individualisation of the use of radio beside the rise of television as a media that became a common and social activity. An activity which occurred after work, to the disappointment of the owners of evening newspapers who were affected by it.

6.3. Media system in Quebec

Now that the academic and technical contexts of Quebec's media have been shown, we will describe the portrait of the media system between 1956 and 1966. With the concept of media system, we understand "a descriptive term for the totality of all media forms in a given society during a given time period" (Bastiansen 2008, 104). Due to constraints, we made the choice of focusing on three geographical areas. The first two are, in a way, self-

explanatory since they are the metropolis of the province, so the economic centre – Montreal – and its capital, the political centre – Quebec City. The third one is Chicoutimi. As a disclaimer, the author of this thesis is born in what was called Arvida a part of Chicoutimi's agglomeration at the time, which is in today's Saguenay, but it is not a kind of pride that justifies that choice. Indeed, the more rational reasons behind this choice relate, first, to its size. In the 1950s and 1960s, the agglomeration of Chicoutimi was the third biggest in the province, closely followed by Hull, St-Maurice and Sherbrooke. Also, its geographical isolation compared to the other main agglomerations which are in the St-Lawrence valley or near; the representativeness of its economy with other areas of Quebec since it had both aluminium and pulp and paper factories in addition to agriculture; the availability of scholarly knowledge on the region; and the presence of an important media scape and media use (Maistre 1970, 222–28), are all factors that explain the interest of including it next to the two most populous areas of the province.

6.3.1. Newspapers

For the press, we propose to focus on the daily newspapers. This choice relies on the idea that "the written daily press occupies most of the space" (Jacob 2003, 5) of what can be defined as "social communication, this is to say mediatised communication, implying generally the circulation of messages between groups of people or between a person and a group" (Breton and Proulx 1994, 13 as cited in Jacob 2003,5). For Montreal, as the economic centre of Quebec, it is also the media hub of the province having the dailies with the widest distribution: *La Presse* with around 200 000 copies printed (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.); *Montréal-Matin* that published more or less 100 000 copies (Noël 2014, 139–49); *Le Devoir* that less impressive numbers – between 25 000 and 45 000 copies daily (Carignan and Martin 2017, 63) – but reached an educated elite across the province (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). Also, at the end of our period of interest, in 1964, *Le Journal de Montréal* was launched and became later the daily with the most important reach in Quebec (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). We therefore chose to address those four dailies to represent the Montreal mediascape, not only because of their significance in the city but also because they were distributed across the province – in a lesser way for the *Montréal-Matin* – and because they were attempting to reach different publics – i.e. *Le Devoir* aiming at a more elite public, while *La Presse*, *Montréal-Matin* were more popular. There

were also three other dailies in the period, but only for one year each: *La Patrie* that existed since 1879 lived its last year as a daily is 1957; and *Le Nouveau Journal* and *Métro Express* were only published one year, respectively 1961–1962 and 1964–1965 (Jacob 2003, 56–94).

Le Devoir, a broadsheet publication[10], was founded by Henri Bourassa, who described himself as "entirely and uncompromisingly ultramontane Catholic and passionate *Rouge*[11]" (O'Connell 1953, 363). It was first published in 1910 with the aim to be a "patriotic and independent" newspaper (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). It is seen as a more engaged newspaper who "gave prior importance to ideas and interpretations rather than to the dissemination of so-called 'objective' news information" (Behiels 1985, 23). In the period that interests us, *Le Devoir* took its distance from the *Union nationale* (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.) and became a refuge for the neo-nationalists (Behiels 1985, 48). This has been made possible after an internal conflict, prior to the years we are studying, between traditional nationalists and neo-nationalists for the majority at the board of directors of the newspaper. The goal was that the new director and editor would represent the ideology of the winning faction (Gagnon and Lévesque 1997, 14–16). In a similar way than *Le Monde* in France, the *New York Times* in the United States, or *El País* in Spain, *Le Devoir* is seen as "a newspaper of record" or authority in Quebec even though it does not have the largest readership (M. Deschênes and Sauvageau 1994, 99).

La Presse is a somewhat older newspaper founded in 1884 as a "result of a rivalry between two factions between the Conservative Party of Canada" to oppose the Prime Minister John A. MacDonald's group (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). It quickly became a low-cost newspaper for the workers and one of the first newspapers centred on information rather than opinion by taking its distance from the Conservative Party (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). Until the rise of *Le Journal de Montréal*, it has been the most read newspaper in French language in Canada. In parallel, it started to emerge as the leader of an important media group in the province

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[10] See Appendix 8

[11] *Rouge* here refers to the Red Party (*Parti rouge*). "Successor of the *Parti patriote*, the *Parti rouge* was a radical liberal political party from Canada East (Quebec)" (Dagenais 2016)

with the creation of the first French-speaking radio that was highly tuned, CKAC (Cambron and St-Pierre 2016, 3).

However, it has received competition from the *Montréal-Matin*. This periodical was first published under the name *L'Illustration* in 1930 (Noël 2014, 60) before to become under its final name in 1941 (Noël 2014, 99). Between 1956 and 1966, the *Montréal-Matin* was under the control of the leaders of the *Union nationale*. Indeed, from 1947 to 1972, the newspaper is the property of the right-wing party by proxy of its leaders since they were the official owners of it (Noël 2014, 116–17). It is also the first tabloid[12] published in Quebec inspired by the yellow press from the United States especially the *Daily News* and the *Daily Mirror* from New York (Noël 2014, 103).

Later in the period we have chosen, *Le Journal de Montréal* was founded by Pierre Péladeau. He took advantage of a strike at *La Presse* to launch his new daily tabloid in June 1964[13] (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). The newspaper developed its signature by having well-known columnists and by focusing on popular and local content as well as sports (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.).

For the two other geographical areas chosen: Quebec City and Saguenay, the less lively newspaper industry led us to select the only dailies published throughout the period in each region, respectively *Le Soleil* and *Le Progrès du Saguenay*[14]. Both regions had various weekly newspapers targeting smaller cities, a given neighbourhood or specific groups like *Le Lingot* for the workers of the aluminium factory, Alcan, in Arvida (Bourdon 2009, 71–72), but the two newspapers chosen were the main one, not only for the cities in which they were published but the whole regions where the cities are.

Le Soleil was founded in 1896 to take over the role of the previous Liberal Party newspaper, *L'Électeur*, which had been censored by the Church. It was indeed founded immediately as a response and remained a party newspaper until the 1960s (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). Even if the mention "*Organe du Parti libéral*" (Liberal Party organ) was removed from the front page as early as 26 September 1913, it

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[12] See Appendix 9
[13] See Appendix 10
[14] *Le Progrès du Saguenay* was a daily in the period of study, until 1961 where it becomes a weekly and changes name to *Le Progrès-Dimanche* in 1964 (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.; Bourdon 2009, 59).

was relegated to the editorial page up until after the provincial elections of 1956[15]. Our finding puts into question the assessment of Louis-Guy Lemieux who dedicated a book on the newspaper. He proposes that *Le Soleil* gained its "independence" in 1948 and that the Liberal Party already took its distance starting from 1936, but that the public opinion will only "realise" from around 1957 (Lemieux 1997, 43–44, as cited in Jacob 2003, 103).

As for *Le Progrès du Saguenay*, it was launched in 1887 after the closing of *Le Réveil du Saguenay* a conservative and Catholic newspaper (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). Even though it is said to be independent, the editors kept a similar line from its predecessor until 1912, where it mostly became solely an "unofficial organ of the bishopric of Chicoutimi" (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec n.d.). This can also be seen by the slogan of the periodical: Church, Family, Country ("*Église, Famille, Patrie*"[16]). It has mostly been a weekly newspaper apart during our time frame – from 1953 to 1961 – where it was a daily newspaper.

In order to place them in relation to their political stances and observe their social actions, we suggest a heuristic by looking at the explicit backing of a political party at the elections during our time frame. Indeed, the constraints of our thesis do not allow us to do a wider and deeper analysis of the political positioning of the main newspapers of Quebec and no publication provides such kind of comparative study that we could use. To do so, we suggest examining the editorial statements in the week prior to the elections. This was conducted through the use of microfilms and digital archives – from the *Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec* – of all the newspapers enumerated above. While a lot of our thesis relies on an original assemblage of secondary sources, this is one of the empirical primary sources-based segments of it.

There are two only two newspapers who took explicit positions for a party: *Le Devoir* and the *Montréal-Matin*. Indeed, our study confirms the assessment made by previous research on both newspapers (Bernard 1994, 322; Noël 2014, 289–91) – individually and only for certain elections of our time frame. Like them, we found that *Le Devoir*, after having supported the Union nationale since 1935 (Bernard 1994, 313), recommended voting for the Liberal Party at the elections of 1956, 1960, 1962 and 1966

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[15] See Appendix 11
[16] See Appendix 12

(G. Filion 1956; 1960; Laurendeau 1962; Ryan 1966). The *Montréal-Matin*, on its part, systematically recommended voting for the owner of the newspaper, the *Union nationale* for the same elections (*Montréal-Matin* 1956; *Montréal-Matin* 1960b; Langlois 1962; 1966). As it is possible to notice by the references, the *Montréal-Matin* has changed its approach by adding the name of the person who signed the editorials at the last two elections, while they were anonymous before. There is also one exception to this, *La Presse*, through the pen of Gérard Pelletier – who was amongst the liberals and social democrats who contributed to the magazine *Cité libre* (Behiels 1985, 62) – took sides with the Liberal Party in 1962, in favour of the nationalisation of electricity which was the central theme of this campaign. (Pelletier 1962).

All the other newspapers only addressed the elections in the perspective of the importance of the vote in democracies (*La Presse* 1956; Champoux 1966; *Le Soleil* 1956; *Le Soleil* 1960; *Le Soleil* 1962; *Le Soleil* 1966), except three editorials that slightly differed from that trend. First, both *La Presse* and *Le Progrès du Saguenay* published, before the elections of 1960, the recommendations from the Catholic religious authorities in Quebec which placed the vote as an act that should reflect the morality and the faith of the electors (*La Presse* 1960; J.-G. Lamontagne 1960). It should also be noted that, in 1956, *Le Progrès du Saguenay* did not publish any editorial in the week preceding the vote on the election. Then, the third more original editorial approach from this group comes from the first election coverage made by *Le Journal de Montréal*. Indeed, not only the columnist/editor[17] of the newspaper, Jean Côté, reminded the importance of the vote, but, more prominently, he condemned the "interventionism" ("*dirigisme*") of the other newspapers who supposedly told the citizens how to vote (Côté 1966). Ironically, as we have shown, most newspapers in Quebec did not give advice on who to vote for. This editorial was adjunct by an article summarising the predictions of "ordinary people" ("*Monsieur* [sic] *tout-le-monde*") collected throughout the elections through vox pops (*Le Journal de Montréal* 1966).

That portrait of the dailies in Quebec during those years leads us to question the assessment of the "journalistic paradigm" in place at the time as described by Charron

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[17] There is officially no editor nor editorial line in this newspaper, but one can notice the prevalence of certain columnists who act in a similar way to editors.

and de Bonville (1996). They postulate that "from 1880, [written press] journalism [in Quebec] enters in a paradigmatic crisis phase, which leads to the decline of the opinion press and the emergence, then the domination from the 1920s, of information journalism" (Charron and de Bonville 1996, 64; our translation). They come to this conclusion by placing the Quebecer press in the North American context and suggesting that there is no significant continental difference (Charron and de Bonville 1996, 91). If the paradigm of "communication journalism" that they proposed was contested in France and in Quebec (Mathien 2001; Gauthier 2010), the prior presence of an "information journalism" paradigm was not. Their assessment alleges that the information journalism paradigm appeared "almost simultaneously in most large American cities, including Montreal, between 1880 and 1910" (Charron and de Bonville 1996, 70; our translation). This paradigm translates itself into four elements: (1) a commercial goal, which means that the newspaper owners are trying to reach as wide of a public as possible by publishing news expected to interest a large audience since they rely mostly on advertising for their income; (2) the notions of newsworthiness, objectivity and universality, referring to the increasing independence from political and religious groups, notably due to the advertising income – the authors still admit that the information newspaper still has an ideological function, just that it would not be under an external direction –; (3) this paradigm would limit the editorial aspects of its work to the ordering of news and to the opinion pages in a distinct area of the newspaper; (4) according to the authors, the newspapers would distinguish themselves from other institutions, would offer an internal diversity of voices, the practices of the journalists would converge and the content of various newspapers would be more uniform (Charron and de Bonville 1996, 70–74).

Of course, "election campaigns create a particular moment for public discourse and may distort the material found" (Herkman 2016, 151), it is not only the electoral positioning – or non-positioning – that questions the said paradigmatic view. As we have described, there were two dailies – *Montréal-Matin* and *Le Soleil* – that were still under the control of political parties and they were respectively the second and first newspaper in their markets in terms of reach. *Le Devoir* was directly involved in a political struggle against the government of Maurice Duplessis, left aside objectivity *per se* to put forward analysis, and took part in debate of ideas, which supposedly would be "neglected" in this new paradigm (Charron and de Bonville 1996, 73). Yet, as we have mentioned before, *Le*

Devoir has been one of the most studied newspapers – maybe because of this political stance – so this is not newly available knowledge. In addition, *Le Progrès du Saguenay* was the voice of the Catholic Church in the region it served, which distances it from the said objectivity. The only newspaper that seems to fit in the so-called "dominant paradigm" from 1920 until 1970 is *La Presse*. It was indeed the most popular newspaper, it did not have a clear political agenda – even if it was somehow close to the clergy as the 1960 editorial shows it – and it had an explicit commercial goal that could be exemplified by the launch of the radio station CKAC. But can one say that a paradigm is dominant if only a single newspaper actually fits in it, no matter how distributed is this newspaper? We doubt it. In addition, the authors suggest that there were shared journalistic practices at the time. Actually, those were formally established through the creation, in 1969, of the *Fédération professionnelle des journalistes du Québec*, the association of virtually all journalists in the province that is in charge of a code of ethics (Raboy 1982) and of the *Conseil de presse du Québec*, a press council that acts as a court of honour for journalists, since 1973 (U. Deschênes 1996, 169).

In sum, it seems like the authors imported the paradigmatic notions from Usonian literature and applied them to Quebec. Studying the specific case of Quebec and putting it in perspective with the United States context would probably come to different results. We would say that, using Hallin and Mancini's notions (2004, 38), especially on the professionalisation and on the political parallelism the media system in Quebec differs. The professionalism aspect being lower than in the idealised "information journalism paradigm", and, than in the United States, while the political parallelism is higher. Together with the elements mentioned above, that pushes towards the necessity of reviewing the general acception of the dominant paradigm described by Charron and de Bonville (1996).

These precisions are important, not only for the scholar purpose of building knowledge but also to put forward reference points for a better grasp of the state of the Quebec newspaper ecosystem between 1956 and 1966.

6.3.2. Electronic media

As for the electronic media, it has been mostly a dual system if we exclude the beginning of television (Sauvageau 2007). From its start, radio is open to the private sector in

Canada and, indeed, the first radio stations directed to the public in Quebec were the work of private companies in Montreal: Canadian Marconi created the English CFCF; and La Presse, CKAC (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020d). The opposite happened for television where the public television broadcasting network was created first, but then faced competition a few years later by the private sector. We will develop more on the state of the electronic media in this section, but since the focus is on the French-language public sphere in Quebec, we will address the francophone radio and television stations.

From the creation of CKAC and CFCF in 1920 until our period of interest, other radio stations were created: three anglophone and one francophone in Montreal; and two francophone in both Quebec City and Saguenay (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020d; 2020e; 2020f). On the French-speaking side, in addition to the CKAC, the public broadcaster CBC/SRC created a fully francophone station, CBF, in 1937 (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020d). It became the head of the French-speaking public radio network, *Radio-Canada*, since its programs were relayed on the other stations of the network beside their local programming (Pagé 2007, 128). Before this creation, between 1933 and 1937, the waves from the English-speaking public station – in our period – were then bilingual. The programs of both CKAC and CBF shared enough characteristics to seem identical from an external point of view with, as an example, very few imported emissions were broadcasted (Pagé and Belleau 1982, 121). The main difference is on the angle of the types of programs: while the public broadcaster, CBF, attempted to offer a "high culture" programation, the private one, CKAC, produced more "popular" emissions (Pagé and Belleau 1982, 121). This public and private ownership cohabitation also prevailed in Quebec City and in Saguenay. In Quebec City, CBC/SRC's station, CBV, has been established in 1934 and received competition from CHOI since 1949, owned by an independent private company (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020e). In Saguenay, it was in 1933 that the public broadcaster started emitting and was the only one until 1947, year when CKRS was founded by an independent private company (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020f). From those years to our period of study, the, then, newly created private market grabbed most of the radio audience: in 1958, they had 70% of the shares, while they had 25% of it in 1938 (Linteau et al. 1989, 394).

On the side of television, as we have mentioned, the first station in Quebec was a bilingual one from the public broadcaster in 1952, which transformed into two stations: a francophone and an anglophone one in 1954 (M. Filion 2002, 14). The francophone and the anglophone public television networks took two different paths, while both being in a nation-building aim. The English-speaking television kept ties with Britain, in part to serve "as a bulwark for a large section of the population against both the French culture of Quebec and Americanizing influences from across the border" (Hilmes 2010, 33). The francophone public television network, on its side, continued on the path of creating and diffusing local culture, while it expanded as soon as it was created with a station in Quebec in July 1954, and in Saguenay in December 1955. Like for radio, the Montreal station led this network (Laurence 1990, 24).

In parallel, CBC/SRC affiliated privately owned television stations to its public network in the mid-1950s both in Quebec City and in Saguenay. In Quebec, *Radio-Canada* was broadcasted through CFCM from 1954 to 1964, date until the public broadcaster owned its own station, CBVT (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020g). Therefore, CFCM became independent but, the year after, it started relaying programs from CFTM (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020a) the private station based in Montreal. The same goes for the private channel in Chicoutimi CJPM which, from its creation, relayed Montreal-based programs. A few years earlier, in 1958, the federal parliament, to whom the sovereignty over telecommunications incumbs (Nielsen 1995, 206) had liberalised the market. The rationale behind the legislative change was a switch of the mission. The broadcasting regulations ceased to be a "tool for the political 'nation-building'" and started aiming at the preoccupation of the private sector interests (Sauvageau 2012, 14; our translation). This led, in 1961, to a change in the television landscape in Quebec: the creation of CFTM under the name *Télé-Métropole* (or *Canal 10*) (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020c; Jacob 2003, 137; Sauvageau 2012, 15). Those two stations, CFCM and CJPM, later joined *Télé-Métropole* – CFTM – in 1971 to formally create the first private television network under the name TVA (The Canadian Communications Foundation 2020b).

In terms of content on television, we first have to mention the challenge that it is to find studies on this media as we have mentioned in the historiography section (Demers 2003,

235). There is virtually no study on *Télé-Métropole*. We mostly found sparse information in studies on the public broadcaster. But, let us focus, in a chronological order, on *Radio-Canada* since it was, then, the only main broadcaster between 1956 and 1966 in Quebec. The public broadcaster "provided a broad range of variety of programs to suit all tastes" though its "real strength was the novelty or fun show" (M. Lamontagne 2013, 435). Besides news programs, public affairs shows, theatre, and "televised serials adapted from popular novels" (*téléromans*), the most watched program was "*La Soirée du hockey*" with as many as two million people watching Montreal's *Canadiens* – and the very popular player Maurice Richard (Linteau et al. 1989, 393) – on television (M. Lamontagne 2013, 435; Laurence 1982).

Nonetheless, the popularity of cultural programs, like the *téléroman* "*La Famille Plouffe*," and of sports programs on the waves of *Radio-Canada* does not reduce the importance of public affairs which corresponded to 6% of the on-air time but were widely watched (Laurence 1982, 215). The core programming of this genre consisted of "*L'Actualité*," "*Conférence de presse*" – in a clear lineage from the Usonian "Meet the Press" – "*Les Idées en marche*" and, later, "*Carrefour*" (Laurence 1982, 215–18). Those shows were addressing political questions in a wide sense, but also social, cultural, and other subjects, and usually on the national level of Quebec, or the international scale, but rarely the federal level in part due to the vast unilingualism of Canadian representatives (Laurence 1982, 238). An interesting element from Gérard Laurence's study is the integration of *Radio-Canada* in the broader media system through the co-optation of media figures, especially written ones. He names the following – in alphabetical order – as frequent guests:

- François-Albert Angers, *L'Action nationale*;
- Roger Duhamel, *La Patrie*;
- Gérard Filion, *Le Devoir*;
- Jean-Louis Gagnon, *CKAC*;
- André Laurendeau, *Le Devoir*;
- Pierre Laporte, *Le Devoir*;
- Jean-Marc Léger, *La Presse*;
- Jean Marchand, trade unionist at the *Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada*;
- Gilles Marcotte, *Le Devoir*;
- Roger Mathieu, *La Presse*;
- Jean-Marie Morin, *La Presse*;
- Gérard Pelletier, *Le Devoir* and *Le Travail*;

- Roger Provost, trade unionist at the *Fédération des travailleurs du Québec*;
- Paul Sauriol, *Le Devoir*;
- Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *Cité libre*. (for the list: Laurence 1982, 233–34; for their affiliation: Laurence 1982, 233; Behiels 1985, 95, 119; Guay 2020).

The "progressive intelligentsia" is therefore very present on public television, but not as much the conservative voices, like the ones from the party in power in Quebec, the *Union nationale* (Laurence 1982, 235). If it could be tempting to see there some kind of partisanship from the channel, it should rather be seen through the numerous refusal from many conservative, including the Prime Minister Maurice Duplessis himself, to go on the waves of *Radio-Canada*, seen as a "federal tool and a liberal nest" (Laurence 1982, 236).

What can also be seen from those names, apart from their links with certain printed media, is their maleness. Indeed, women hosts were mostly relegated to programs that were addressed to "feminine publics" which existed from the launch of the channel (Laplanche 2016, 17). The targeted public of the shows like "*Place aux dames*" (1956–1967), "*Bonjour madame*" (1958–1960), "*L'éternel féminin*" (1961–1965), and "*Femme d'aujourd'hui*" (1965–1982) were women, perceived as "married women, mother, francophone, white and heterosexual coming from the middle class" (Laplanche 2016, 17). At the end of our period of interest – 1956–1966 – the new show, "*Femme d'aujourd'hui*," marked a shift in the genre of "feminine programs". It goes beyond the "didactic formula" about being a housewife of the previous ones to tend towards a communication tool among women (Laplanche 2016, 18). "*Femme d'aujourd'hui* aimed, then, at bringing viewers to situate, to position themselves regarding various questions touching women" (Laplanche 2016, 18).

In sum, the programmers at *Radio-Canada* "were continually faced with trying to balance such popular programs with their cultural and educational mandate" (M. Lamontagne 2013, 435) which led to the type of programming we described above. We can also notice both the importance given to this medium by "some of the most creative and inventive minds in French-Canadian society" and the "progressive" intellectuals unlike any "comparable groups in anglophone Canada" (M. Lamontagne 2013, 434) and the absence of women in what we could call the general program.

Just like it was the case for private radio, *Télé-Métropole* "developed a popular style that contrasted with the sometimes stilted *radio-canadian* tone and created, in turn, programs and celebrities which contributed, in their own way, to shape the identity and became part of the Quebecer cultural heritage" (Sauvageau 2007). There were certain emissions on the private channel that had become popular, but it had to wait until 1965 before to reach a level that competes with *Radio-Canada*. It is with Quebec's first sitcom (M. Lamontagne 2013, 436), "*Cré Basile,*" in 1965 that the station "truly takes off" (Sauvageau 2012, 16). On the information level, though, even 10 years after the foundation of *Télé-Métropole*, their news service was very constrained with only a few journalists, without support and no one assigned to cover the Quebec and Canada's parliamentary works (Sauvageau 2012, 17). Due to a lack of secondary sources to discuss any further this television station and constraints that impeach us from assessing potential primary sources, we have to limit our comment on *Télé-Métropole*. No matter how unfortunate that is, with the audience reaching more importance only in 1965 and with its network formally starting in 1971, it is less of interest for our period of study, i.e. 1956 to 1966.

6.3.3. Alternative printed press

In order to extend our overview of the media in Quebec, we propose to look into various "alternative" periodicals and specialised magazines. This allows seeing whether or not there were sub- or counter-publics who had their own media offer. To do so, we follow Fraser and Eley's assessment of traditionally subaltern publics and looked for press targeting working class, peasants, women, racialised people, and LGBTQ+ people (Fraser 1992, 123; Eley 1992, 308).

In that order, we suggest looking at what is absent from the media scape: Indigenous[18] and LGBTQ+ press. Indeed, the first actor from the Indigenous press seems to be *Akwesasne notes* and it emerged after our period of study. It came from the Mohawks in 1968 and became "the most influential aboriginal newspaper of the twentieth century" (George-Kanentiio 2011). On the LGBTQ+ side, no "gay newspaper or other periodicals

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[18] The notion of Indigenous peoples, sometimes called Aboriginal peoples, "refers to First Nations, Metis and Inuit peoples" (Parrott 2019). On the territory of nowadays Quebec, there are ten First Nation groups in addition to the Métis, and the Inuits.

existed before the 1970s. Only the mass media press sometimes mentioned certain police actions done against homosexuals or trials including one" (Roberge 2008, 28; our translation). Therefore, those two typically subaltern publics did not even have access to a written support for their communication between 1956 and 1966.

The racialised part of society, though, did produce a press. We will not go into a detailed discussion of racialisation processes here, so, for the purpose of our thesis, we understand it as the "ethnic groups", as defined in the Canadian census of 1961, that are not from French or British origins and that are not Indigenous since we treated this group separately. Therefore, apart from the French and British "ethnic groups" who consisted respectively of 80,6% and 10,8% of the population of Quebec, the other main groups were Italians (2,1%), Jews (1,4%) and "other Europeans" (1,8%). The other groups represented less than 1% of the population (Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1964b, 13). The federal statistics do not include data on skin colour, even if a Black presence is attested since at least 1760 as we mentioned in the section 5. It is estimated that around 7 000 Black people lived in Montreal in 1961, and that there were approximately 50 000 seven years later (Nicolas 2019). We also know that this community was politically active and had allies, especially among students. Indeed, one can find examples such as the creation of the first important Black union in North America in 1917 in Montreal, the Order of Sleeping Car Porters, or a student protest led by essentially Black students in Concordia University in 1969 (High 2017; Nicolas 2019). As for allies, there has been solidarity shown for Black people in the United States – obliviating pressing political issues among Black Quebecers – by more than 3 000 students from colleges, McGill University, and *Université de Montréal* who protested for civil rights in front of the United States Consulate in Montreal (Guay and Gaudreau 2020e).

Therefore, we looked at the existing press from those communities in Quebec. Our research is based on the early issues of the journal *Canadian Ethnic Studies = Études ethniques au Canada*, which published articles listing the periodicals emerging from most ethnic groups present in Canada. We did not find any study on a possible Black press, nor did we find any Black outlet, but there is information on Italian and Jewish press. Although, none of the newspapers that we found were published in French, which excludes them from our study into the francophone public sphere in Quebec. Also, those

newspapers were barely studied which would leave us without secondary sources on which to base our analysis. Indeed, even if three Italian periodicals, published essentially in Italian, were found – *il Cittadino Canadese*, from 1941; *Corriere del Quebec*, from 1947; and *Tribuna Italiana*, from 1963 (Bianchini and Malycky 1970, 122–25) – only two studies featured *il Cittadino Canadese*, the only one of them still existing today (Cittadino Canadese 2020); yet those PhD theses do not include our period of interest (Gaggino 1990; Iuliano 1994).

For the Jewish community, a plethora of publications were created in Montreal, either published in English, Yiddish or Hebrew, which excludes them from our study too. But, to give an idea, Pearlman and Malycky found: *Canadian Jewish Magazine*, from 1938; *Canadian Zionist*, from 1931; *Congress Bulletin*, from 1945; *Jewish Times*, from 1897; *Di Tsait*, from 1887; *Canadian Jewish Chronicle,* from 1941; and *Keneder Adler*, from 1907 (1969, 45–47). The two last ones are probably the most important ones, as they are the only one included in other scholarly studies. The English one, *Canadian Jewish Chronicle*, is almost fully archived online ('The Canadian Jewish Chronicle', n.d.) and was included on a study of the Canadian Jewish press between 1880 and 1980 (Levendel 1989). The Yiddish one, *Keneder Adler*, was included in a larger study on Yiddish press between 1900 and 1945 (Margolis 2008) and in one that addressed precisely gendered advertising between 1920 and 1935 in the periodical (Lerner 2007).

Examples of newspapers from other communities were created during our period of interest and still alive today, like *A Voz de Portugal*, from 1961 (A Voz de Portugal 2020); and *Greek Canadian Tribune*, 1964 (Manikis 1990). We looked for those examples to see if there were studies on the newspapers of well-established immigrant communities in Quebec. And, like for the Italian and Jewish press, they remain understudied. So, even if we exclude those newspapers from further analysis, it should still be noted that a whole fold of the press in Quebec has not been studied, or is under studied.

A much less marginal part of the population in terms of number, the women, remained peripheral in the media as we can see by the names mentioned in the sections on the newspapers and on the electronic media. In what we have called the alternative press, though, there was a somewhat lively scene, with the most popular one being *La Revue moderne/Châtelaine*. There were also other ones like *Idéal féminin* published by Irénée

Tremblay; *Terre et foyer*, *L'UCF en marche*, *Femmes rurales*, *L'Essor*, published by various feminine associations; and *La Revue populaire* a commercial magazine (Dumont-Johnson 1981, 10–11). More "radical independent outlets produced by feminist collective and associations in complete breakage of the dominant ideology of separate spheres" namely *Québécoises deboutte* et *Têtes de pioche* (Brun and Laplanche 2012) appeared only later, respectively in 1971 and in 1976. *La Revue moderne* was created in 1919 by Anne-Marie Gleason, also known as Madeleine, as a periodical allying the literary and mediatic style in the goal of gathering "the intellectual and cultural French-Canadian elite" to a "properly feminine readership" (Rannaud 2019, 335). As Hohendahl posits, it blurred the distinction between the political and cultural spheres and tends to confirm that women, as a public, often take more space, and emerge, in the cultural sphere (1992, 108). The monthly magazine reached a distribution of 100 000 copies at its best (Rannaud 2019, 338–39), which is considerable, knowing that it was the reach of *La Presse* – with another periodicity.

In the 1950s, *La Revue moderne* acted like a "true media enterprise" and adopted "the principles of the market economy based on the structuring axis of the middle class: domesticity, travels and holidays, fashion and consumption, development of the feminine public" (Rannaud 2019, 339–40). It consisted of five sections: novels (*roman*), short stories (*nouvelle*), articles, feminine columns, monthly columns; the first two being the literary part of the magazine, while the last three mark "the generalist and specialised information" mission (Rannaud 2019, 340; our translation). In 1956, the magazine had a first-known interaction with the public broadcaster with the collaboration of Michelle Tisseyre, a television host (Rannaud 2019, 352). The content of the magazine found a "logical follow-up" (Rannaud 2019, 356) in *Châtelaine*, that replaced, in 1960, the previous title in a will of renewal (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix). This new magazine enriched by the presence of certain women like Fernande Saint-Martin and Michelle Lasnier, who left the "feminine" pages of *La Presse,* gave itself the goal of positioning the women as social transformation agents (Brun and Laplanche 2012, 60). This purpose found itself in an equivocal situation where the editorials usually had a "reformist tone" while certain rubrics contrasted by idealising marriage, pathologising homosexuality, encouraging sexual stereotypes and putting the husband as a reason and authority figure (Brun and Laplanche 2012, 61–62).

But, it should be said that, usually, Fernande Saint-Martin offered "feminist responses to such discourses" and to others, sometimes presented in the men's column of the magazine "*La Pomme d'Adam*" (Mayer and Dupuis-Déri 2010, 22–23). As an example of their feminism even with its equivocal columns, "*Châtelaine* and the chief editor applauded the creation of the *Fédération des femmes du Québec* in 1966, seen as an important evolution for women" (Mayer and Dupuis-Déri 2010, 23; our translation).

For the workers and the peasants, we noted through various readings that two publications seem to be the main ones for each of those groups. For the workers, it appears that the organ of the union *Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada* (CTCC) – or *Confédération des syndicats nationaux* (CSN) after its secularisation in 1960 (Confédération des syndicats nationaux n.d.) –, *Le Travail* (from 1944), was the most prominent one (Behiels 1985, 66). For the peasants, it is the weekly *La Terre de chez nous* published by the *Union catholique des cultivateurs* (UCC), that took this place (Rouillard 2004, 286–87; Behiels 1985, 22). There was also a more commercial magazine targeting farmers, the *Bulletin des agriculteurs* (Rannaud 2019, 338). But, that being said, there could be other media outlets existing at the time, it is just another segment of the history of media in Quebec that has been, to say the least, neglected. Even if both *Le Travail* and *La Terre de chez nous* are not the subject of any study which could tell us more on the format, the reach, or the content of those media; we will at least describe their insertion in the printed press ecosystem. They were both in direct relation with *Le Devoir*, it is partly what shows a certain level of importance. Indeed, Gérard Pelletier had been the director *Le Travail* (Behiels 1985, 66), before to additionally collaborate with *Le Devoir* "under the tandem of Gérard Filion and André Laurendeau" (Léger 1994, 380). He also reveals a relation between *Le Travail* and *Le Devoir* with *La Presse* as he had been editor in chief of the latter for some time – which we have shown through our study of the editorials on elections – and he was the figurehead, with Pierre Elliot Trudeau, of the magazine *Cité libre*, which we will discuss in the following section (Behiels 1985, 51; Livernois 2011, 63; Gagnon 1994, 64). For *La Terre de chez nous*, its relation with *Le Devoir* can be expressed through Gérard Filion who became director of *Le Devoir* in 1947 until 1963 (Allard and Baillargeon 1994, 258), following its role as the general secretary of the UCC and director of their weekly (Rouillard 2004, 286–87).

As a summary of the alternative press, the absence of a press destined to certain groups was noted, namely the Indigenous, Black and LGBTQ+ communities. This is perhaps an indicator of the less-organised state of those groups at that time when compared to today. On the other hands, the two "ethnic groups" that constituted more than 1% of the population of Quebec each, the Italians and the Jews, had their own media with different levels of liveliness, but none of them were published in French. Even less important groups numerically like the Greeks and the Portuguese saw local newspaper being created between 1956 and 1966. The feminine press was somewhat dynamic as well with the main outlet *La Revue moderne/Châtelaine* emerged from a semi-literary magazine before to become "properly" a feminine periodical. As for the workers and peasants, they both had their voice expressed through the media organs of the biggest organised groups – i.e. the CTCC/CSN and the UCC.

We can therefore distinguish three levels in the alternative press: (1) the missing; (2) the external; and (3) the integrated. The missing one is referring to the community press that certain existing groups do not have, like for the LGBTQ+, Black and Indigenous people. The external one would refer to media that are not in relation, at least directly, with the mainstream media. In this case, the "ethnic" press that we studied could be included since we did not find any personal link between the individuals behind the media from the Italian and Jewish communities. We can also assume that the publication in different languages mutually exclude the francophone mass media and the Italian and Jewish ones. Finally, the integrated one could have two sub-levels. The fully integrated, like the workers' media, corresponds to media that interact with both electronic and printed press. The partially integrated, like the feminine and peasants' press, corresponds to the interaction with solely one type of media. In the case of the feminine press, we saw a strong relation between the newly popular television and the feminine press, even if there are weaker ties between *La Presse* and *Châtelaine*, for example, since the former provided writers to the latter. The peasants had some interaction with newspapers. Of course, we do not suggest that this is a universal rule, but we postulate that this is the case in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. It allows us to draw a hierarchy between the various types of press for further analysis.

6.3.4. Intellectual printed press

In parallel of this community-specific alternative press emerged an important number of periodicals in Quebec from the 1950s that could be put, as Ivan Carel does it, under the label of an "intellectual press" (Carel 2007). They were symptomatic of a multiplication of groups who, feeling that society was changing, were proposing their visions for the future of the state. Never before the "feverish" last two years of the 1950s has there been "so much talk" in Quebec (Hamelin and Montminy 1981, 49; our translation). Indeed, "the evolution of social movements brought with them a critical attitude towards mass media", a will to diffuse their ideas and, derived from that, an increase of publications (Raboy 1982, 21; our translation). Therefore, in order to understand this period, "it requires to keep in mind the contribution from intellectual activities of disparate groups" (Gagnon 1994, 63). Accordingly, in this section, we will enumerate a variety of periodicals that correspond to this idea of "intellectual press" and were published between 1956 and 1966. All of them happened to be published in Montreal. This will be followed by a description of those titles and by an analysis of the interaction of such press with women, with the more mainstream media, and with the official political institutions.

Among those periodicals, certain precede the period of interest of this thesis. Notably, *L'Action nationale,* and *Cité libre* which have been presented by Michael Behiels as regrouping adversaries in terms of ideology: the former being a refuge for nationalists and neo-nationalists while the latter attracted liberals and social democrats (1985). The others were created between 1956 and 1966. *Maintenant* was launched by, as for *Cité libre*, left-wing Catholics, and they were "nourished by the effervescence of [the council of] Vatican II" (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix; our translation). Other contemporaries of *Maintenant* were born in an objective of rather strong "political critiques and contestation" (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix; our translation). It was a contestation of the "social, political and cultural order of the *Union nationale*" prior to 1960, before to turn "against the orientations taken by the Liberal Party after their election" (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix; our translation). Those periodicals are *Liberté* (1959); *La Presse Socialiste* (1959); *L'Indépendance* published by the party *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (1962); *Directives* (1963); *L'Indépendantiste* (1963) and *Parti pris* (1963) (Beaulieu,

Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix–x; Carel 2007, 271). A title that had a fairly ambiguous position towards both periods was also created. It was the periodical *Laurentie* (1957) published by the party *Alliance Laurentienne* (Carel 2007, 168).

Cité libre was "a small periodical" of around 200 to 500 copies (Behiels 1985, 51–62) which counted as one "that influenced most of the intellectual elites, the popular groups and, on a larger basis, the citizens during the 1950s and the 1960s" (Gagnon 1994, 63; our translation). It was published until 1966 (Livernois 2011). It should though be relativised since its influence was "seemingly exaggerated by certain disciples of Trudeau" notably on its struggle against the Maurice Duplessis (Clavette and Comeau 1994, 366; our translation). Nonetheless, this "major periodical in the history of ideas in Quebec", created in 1950, was published in the goal of opposing "the practices of the Duplessis government and what was perceived as the apathy of French Canadians" (Carel 2007, 166; our translation). It promoted "a modern humanism under the influence of personalism" coming from France (Dumont 2008, 104). Therefore, in line with modernism, it placed the individual subject at the centre with its freedoms, what "resulted all other positions: secularism, fought against social inequalities, promotion of the role of the state, and antinationalism" (Linteau et al. 1989, 352–53; our translation). More precisely, *Cité libre* was opposed to nationalism both ideologically and politically. Indeed, as "Christian humanists and liberal and social democrats, the *citélibristes* considered nationalism to be irrevocably and inherently conservative, antidemocratic, and reactionary" (Behiels 1985, 96).

Two voices emerged as the most important ones in this magazine: Pierre Elliott Trudeau and Gérard Pelletier, with various collaborators like Jean Pellerin, Pierre Vallières, Fernand Dumont and Pierre Vadeboncoeur (Livernois 2011, 63). Pierre Elliott Trudeau "was and has remained the more elusive and complex [voice]. Born on 18 October 1919, Trudeau was the product of a small but growing French-Canadian business-oriented upper bourgeoisie" (Behiels 1985, 63). In a society where the ethnic group of French Canadians had a very low education level as it was shown earlier, Trudeau's "formal education was, in both range and depth quite impressive": a law degree at the *Université de Montréal*; a Harvard master's degree in political economy with Louis Hartz and Adam

Ulam; studies at the *École de sciences politiques* in Paris, and an unfinished doctorate with Harold Laski at the London School of Economics (Behiels 1985, 63–64). On the other hand, even if more educated than the average French Canadian in Quebec, Gérard Pelletier, born in a more modest family, had a humbler study path by graduating "only" at the *Université de Montréal* (Behiels 1985, 65). Pelletier "was critical of the traditional political parties for their external ability to destroy the vigour and idealism of successive generations of French Canadians and he chastised Paul-Émile Borduas for his existentialist manifesto – *Refus Global*[19] – because it proposed no concrete plan of action" (Behiels 1985, 65). Trudeau and Pelletier with Jean Marchand, another collaborator of the periodical, joined the Liberal Party of Canada (Guay and Gaudreau 2020c) – entity distinct from the Liberal Party of Quebec – for the 1965 federal elections. Unlike other collaborators of *Cité libre* and most actors of the "intellectual press" they chose to do politics on the federal scene instead of the provincial level.

If Michael Behiels presents the opposition between the "*citélibristes*" and the nationalists and neo-nationalists of *Le Devoir* – described above – and *L'Action nationale* – which we will talk about later – as the central one before 1960, we propose, like Jonathan Livernois, to see the main opposition to *Cité libre* coming from *Parti pris*. As a matter of fact, *Le Devoir* welcomed *citélibristes* in its pages, while the collaborators of *Parti pris* mostly opposed the "symbol, the myth" that the *Cité libre* became rather than the internal content of the magazine (Livernois 2011, 63). This conflict between both groups represented by their own periodical seems more important than the previous polarisation during our period of interest than the one characterised by Behiels who studied the period between 1945 and 1960. We suggest that because both *Cité libre* and *Parti pris* propose their own – diametrically opposed – project after a rupture with the society model in place before the 1960s, while the neo-nationalists were more in a reform path.

Parti pris was created in 1963 as a "political and cultural" periodical, the founders, "André Brochu, Paul Chamberland, Pierre Maheu, André Major, Jean-Marc Piotte, [being] essentially literary" (Major 1979, 1–2). Its first issue "maybe even more than the one of *Cité libre*, became an instant classic" and attracted a somewhat important readership with

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[19] The *Refus global* is a "manifesto […] signed by 15 members of the Automatistes" painters group which "challenged the traditional values of Quebec" published on 9 August 1948 (F.-M. Gagnon 2015).

around 3 500 copies one year after its foundation (Carel 2007, 280). That is more than five times the distribution of *Cité libre*. Everything about this periodical even in the smaller details was attempting to be an original proposition: its physical aspect was square, the proper nouns and names were typed with no capital, etc. (Carel 2007, 280). This magazine was created alongside with other leftist magazines, notably *La Cognée* (1963) who advocated for an armed revolution as the organ of the *Front de libération du Québec* (FLQ) and *Socialisme 64* (1964) (Carel 2007, 280–81). Close to those other periodicals and movements, *Parti pris* – who had a more homogenous ideological approach than *Cité Libre, Liberté,* and *Maintenant* (Major 1979, 8) – was engaged in favour of a "political revolution" (Carel 2007, 281) with the influence of decolonising socialism, Marxism, and Sartrian existentialism (Major 1979, 31; Carel 2007, 281). It both drew from and gave birth to "one of the strongest ideological and literary movement known in Quebec" (Gauvin and Miron 1989, 16; our translation). The ideological aspect of it explains in part that, while *Parti pris* was not the organ of the politically violent FLQ, it "solidarised itself naturally with its 'imprisoned friends' after the first dismantling of an FLQ cell" (Major 1979, 16). Their perspective was obviously influenced by the "new popularity of European theoretical frameworks in all political science departments in Quebec in the 1960s, notably Marxism" (Gagnon 1994, 67). But the periodical articulated those ideologies by "profoundly rooting them in the Quebecer soil" (Major 1979, 31). Until the creation of this magazine, the most common form of "leftism" criticised by the right-wing was mostly "labourism of federalist inspiration" like the one represented by *Cité libre* (Major 1979, 17). So, *Parti pris* was not only in rupture with the status quo but also with one of the most important already existing groups who had partly started to take power since the 1960s elections.

In a much less influential way, another rupture was put forward by an intellectual magazine but on a radical right perspective by *Laurentie* (1957), the organ of the *Alliance laurentienne* (Carel 2007, 168). Potentially because of its radicalness, this magazine is also less studied, like a lot of publications in the historiography of Quebec, which leaves us with fewer details. Only Éric Bouchard's thesis addressed the movement behind *Laurentie* (Carel 2007, 168). Raymond Barbeau was the founder of the political party and the periodical, and his influence on both is undeniable (Carel 2007, 168). In parallel, he also continued to contribute to *L'Action nationale* (Carel 2007, 169) which we will discuss

later. Barbeau's ideology distanced himself from the "provincialist nationalism" of – the pro-Pétain and nazi-welcoming (Nadeau 2009, 172–89) – Robert Rumilly, born in France (Carel 2007, 168–69). In that context, *Laurentie* preferred corporatism, referring to a part of Mussolini's and Salazar's doctrines (Archibald 1984, 353). Indeed, they advocated for a "republican, cooperative and corporatist system" taking example from Salazarism and opposed the "dangers of leftism" (Carel 2007, 245–49).

A more important "nationalist" periodical existed way before *Laurentie* and was more liberal than the latter even if Barbeau was collaborating with it. Indeed, *L'Action nationale* (1933), which was the successor of *L'Action française*, did support the Duplessis regime which "was the incarnation of the petty bourgeois and clerical nationalism" formulated in its pages until the 1940s (Behiels 1985, 20, 85–86). From the 1950s, under the directions of André Laurendeau and Pierre Laporte, the periodical operated a transition (Carel 2007, 272) towards a new form of nationalism, navigating between the "revolutionary nationalism of *Parti pris*" and the independentist movements like the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* or the *Alliance laurentienne* – with *Laurentie* (Dumont 2008, 104). This new approach, what can be labelled as neo-nationalism, was breaking with the traditional French-Canadian nationalism in the sense that neo-nationalists, contrary to the former, "accepted the reality of urban-industrial Quebec" (Behiels 1985, 48). As one of their contributors puts it in the French "review *Esprit*, 'there is no longer a rural and agricultural French Canada, but primarily an urban/industrial French Canada'" (Behiels 1985, 48). This magazine, with *Liberté* is the only one of the periodicals presented here that is still existing today.

Indeed, *Liberté* (1959) was a slightly less important intellectual periodical at the time but it nevertheless marked the media landscape, together with *Maintenant* (1962) and others. *Liberté* is part of the group of periodicals critical of Duplessis's regime, but starting from its very last days (Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix). However, it was seen as quite soft in its criticisms, notably by *Parti pris* (Major 1979, 4). It might be in part because "the principal characteristic" of the periodical in an ideological sense was its varying approach, "a certain disorder that maintained it in a perpetual youth" (Carel 2007, 278). On the other hand, *Maintenant* was somewhat a continuity of *Cité libre* meaning "the left-wing Catholic tendency who are democrats"

with the difference that this periodical "opted for a neo-nationalist ideology" (Carel 2007, 276; our translation). Its relationship with Christianity was, however, more direct and explicit. Indeed, it was founded by the Dominican order to replace the *Revue dominicaine* and was published as a "periodical of Christian culture and news" (Carel 2007, 275; Beaulieu, Hamelin, Boucher, Jamet, Dufresne, Laurence, and Saint-Pierre 1989, ix). To give an idea of its distribution, the reach of *Maintenant* peaked with 20 000 copies in 1966 (Carel 2007, 275).

This proliferation of various titles in the post-War years in Quebec shows a multitude of ruptures with the power in place, mostly its political form. It is so varied that it is hard to group those publications together. If we attempt to do such grouping, *Cité libre*, *Liberté*, and *Maintenant* could be put together as a somewhat liberal critic of the regime of Duplessis, as "they show the ideological rupture in progress" (Raboy 1982, 22; our translation). On the other side, there were *Laurentie* and *Parti pris* who were criticising both Duplessis and Lesage for their different forms of nationalism. The critiques also differed in both publications. *Laurentie* had a Salazarist inspiration in its independentist nationalism, while *Parti pris* was operating from a radical left point of view. Indeed, "'independentist, socialist and secular' *Parti pris* is the prime representative of what will later be called the Quebecer new left" (Raboy 1982, 23). Even the long-lasting *Action nationale* was in rupture with the Duplessis regime after having backed it earlier but came back again on the side of power as the Lesage government who took over was more or less in line with the ideology of the 1950s and 1960s directors. Without using the same vocabulary, our assessment – while including more titles – is in line with Carel's who suggests that, if we look at the Quiet Revolution through the lens of certain intellectual magazines, three revolutions are visible. A conservative revolution, with *L'Action nationale*; a social-democratic one with *Maintenant* and *Liberté*; and a socialist one with *Parti pris* (Carel 2007, 512–13).

One revolution which is absent from those periodicals is a feminist one. As Micheline Dumont has shown it, the women were invisible from the political culture of the Quiet Revolution (2008). While the author does not cover all of the intellectual periodical we mentioned above, both *L'Action nationale* and *Cité libre* mostly disregarded the women's movement and, more generally, women in political action. They had an "essentially

androcentric conception of politics and of the collective 'us'" (Dumont 2008, 122; our translation). That happened though there were women who actively took part in politics throughout those years. It can be seen in various groups whether it was in the pacifist movement during the Cold War around the Social Democratic Party leader Thérèse Casgrain (Behiels 1985, 244; Dumont 2008, 105); or in parliamentary politics with the first woman – Claire Kirkland-Casgrain – elected to the Legislative Assembly of Quebec in 1961 (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2018a).

Nonetheless, the study of those intellectual periodicals is relevant in a public sphere history due to the importance of such publications in the political process. Irrespectively to the size of their distribution, some of them had a large influence in the dominant public sphere, with the prime example of *Cité libre*. Indeed, even if they had among the smallest circulation of all the magazines named above, "its contributors were often invited to express *Cité libre*'s ideology on the airwaves and television screens of Radio-Canada as well as in the pages of *Le Devoir* and other Quebec dailies" (Behiels 1985, 62). If that publication was the most mediatised, it was not the only one who managed to seize power later with many of the authors of various periodicals who participated in parliamentary politics on federal and provincial levels between 1960 and 1990. Among them:

– André Laurendeau, *L'Action nationale* and *Le Devoir*;
– Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *Cité libre*;
– René Lévesque, *Cité libre* and *Radio-Canada*;
– Guy Rocher, *Cité libre*;
– Léon Dion, *Cité libre*;
– Fernand Dumont, *Cité libre* and *L'Action nationale*;
– Louis O'Neill, *Cité libre*;
– Marcel Léger, *Le Devoir*;
– Pierre Vallières, *Parti pris*;
– Pierre Vadeboncoeur, *Cité libre*;
– Gérard Pelletier, *Cité libre*;
– Jacques Dofny, *Socialisme*;
– Marcel Rioux, *Cité libre*;
– Arthur Tremblay, *Cité libre* (for the list: Gagnon 1994, 63–64; for their affiliation: Behiels 1985; Carel 2007; Rocher 1989).

Again, we can see the predominance of men in this group, but also, of *Cité libre*. So if we draw a parallel with the previous section, we could say that both *Cité libre* and *L'Action nationale* are more integrated with both the dailies, notably *Le Devoir*, and with

political power. The other periodicals, like *Parti pris, Liberté, Maintenant, Laurentie*, and others seem to have less ease to interact with the "mainstream" media and with the parliamentary forces, relegating them to a second degree of power in the dominant public sphere.

7. The Parliamentarianism of Quebec, 1956–1966

If the media is a structuring element of the public sphere, and the political public sphere – meaning an area of legitimacy of state power – its interaction with the official state's political institution is crucial. It would be impossible to discuss the history of a public sphere without discussing the legislative body constituting a core part of the sovereignty of the state. In our case, we will focus on the Parliament of Quebec's elected legislative body. It was one of the three institutions of the Parliament, as established since 1867, even if they originate from the Constitutional Act of 1791 (Massicotte 2009, 21). They were: (1) the Legislative Assembly, a lower chamber; (2) the Legislative Council, abolished in 1968 and that resembled "to various degrees both the House of Lords [in Westminster] and the [federal] Senate in Ottawa" (Orban 1969, 312, 325; our translation); and (3) the Lieutenant Governor, the official head of state (Massicotte 2009, 84–128). The legislative body, through its agents and its production, is the main actor interacting with the media system. It is also where an important change occurs during our period of interest: the passage from a clerical-nationalist majority under the *Union nationale* to a Liberal social-democratic government.

Moreover, the study of the history of parliamentarianism in itself is enlightening for the public sphere. Because "parliamentary politics is inherently open and public" (Rasmussen 2015, 9; our translation). It makes it a central area for the discussion of pressing issues for the mobilised minorities – e.g. the political parties – and their representatives. Due to the mode of organisation of this "customary and constitutional scheme" (Rasmussen 2015, 11; our translation), the government emerges from the "citizen-elected assembly" creating "a distinction between position and opposition" (Rasmussen 2015, 11; our translation). Therefore, by studying parliamentarianism as the central element of politics, we can illuminate this "parliamentary triangle", in its legislative branch, between "position, opposition and public opinion" (Rasmussen 2015, 14; our translation).

In order to brush a portrait of politics through the work at the Parliament of Quebec, we will start by a summary of the electoral and party systems in the province. This will be followed by a description of the parliamentary work, with a stronger interest on the main conflictual subjects according to their salience, shown by a study of the commissions of inquiry during that time. To do so, we will divide this work by legislatures which will be introduced by electoral results. Then, we will draw from two principal sources, produced by the National Assembly of Quebec itself, complemented by other literature. One of the sources is the "historical introductions" to the parliamentary activities, which are available until 1962 (Assemblée nationale du Québec n.d.). These are detailed descriptions of each session of every legislature, so on very short-term and contextualised sources. On the other hand, another main source is a book produced on "great parliamentary debates" between 1792 and 1992 (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994). The *longue durée* approach gives a tool for selection of the importance of parliamentary work on various subjects, but also samples of the minutes from the Chamber. It will, of course, be completed with other secondary sources, for the details of elections leading to each legislature but also for context and depth.

7.1. *The electoral and the party systems*

As a state which emerged from a British colony, Quebec's political infrastructure is heavily influenced by its post-1763 metropolis. Indeed, the legislators of the province of Quebec are elected through a first-past-the-post system just like the member of the British House of Commons are. The Legislative Assembly acts in a "federal subunit" – i.e. Quebec – within a relatively centralised federation – i.e. Canada (Braun 2011, 35–38). The powers of the federal government show a theoretical compromise between over-centralisation and decentralisation with a certain devolution of powers. The Canadian federal level keeps the following competences: "defence, post, commerce, monetary system, citizenship, passport emission, banking system, patents, weights and measures, copyrights" (Champagne 2012, 27–28; our translation). Apart from what is called the "residual powers", meaning the competences not defined at the moment of the ratification of the Constitution, all other powers belong to the provinces who can then, at their discretion, let municipalities administer certain of these powers (Champagne 2012, 28).

This is obviously an incomplete summary, but it gives an idea of the realm of powers of Quebec within the Canadian federation.

No matter its membership to the federation, the powers elected in the Quebecer Legislative Assembly are organised in an original way in Canada. Indeed, "we can speak of a party system in Quebec in the sense that it is distinct from its neighbouring provinces, as well as from Canada" at the federal level (Seiler 1993, 1; our translation). Different studies from the 1970s to the 1990s have put their interest on the party system in Quebec with varied angles (Lemieux 1993, 44). In an international perspective, the party system in Quebec is "undoubtedly amongst North American systems" while sharing "various characteristics of European party systems" as for with Great Britain's (Seiler 1993, 3; our translation). At the time of our studies, just like at other moments in Quebec's history, "Quebec represents, with the United States, the only Western industrialised case without a possessing/workers cleavage" (Seiler 1993, 4; our translation).

Instead between 1956 and 1966, as for much of the legislative history of the Parliament of Quebec, two groups dominated the parliamentary politics being the only ones who managed to be elected in important numbers. One group is represented in our period of interest by the Liberal Party (*Parti liberal*), a distant descendant from the Patriot Party (*Parti patriote*) that transformed into the Red Party (*Parti Rouge*) mid-19th century to finally became the *Parti libéral* at the end of the 19th century (Bernier and Boily 1986, 244–45). The second is the National Union (*Union nationale*), the progeniture of the British Tory Group that converted into the Conservative Party (*Parti conservateur*) at the moment of the federal Constitution of 1867 to emerge as the *Union nationale* in the 1930s (Bernier and Boily 1986, 244–45). It was created by the merger of Duplessis's Conservative Party and of Liberal dissidents grouped in the *Action libérale nationale* (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 90). Coincidentally this group's new name appeared in parallel of António de Oliveira Salazar's sole accepted party in Portugal, *União Nacional* (Pinto and Rezola 2007), and both parties shared certain ideological traits. If there are no formal links between both, the historical fortuity is worth noting. At its first election, in 1936, the *Union nationale* broke the Liberal reign that lasted since 1897 (Greffier de la Couronne en Chancellerie 1897; 1936).

The Second World War seems to have been a major catalyser in the multiplication of "extra-parliamentary parties" where a range of communist, social democratic, workers', and social creditist parties were created (Bernier and Boily 1986, 245). Nonetheless, from 1944, the Parliament of Quebec was under the domination of the *Union nationale* until 1960 when the Liberal Party "overturned" it despite an electoral map at the advantage of the *Union nationale* (Lemieux 1992). In short, in our period of interest there is a stability of the bipolar party system, before a "fractioning from 1966 to the beginning of 1980" (Lemieux 1992). In a similar way, the electoral system and the parliament structure remained the same throughout our period, before major changes in 1968, even if there were some from 1960 onwards (Massicotte 2009).

7.2. A selection of conflicts

To be able to structure the following pages of this section, we propose to look at the more salient, therefore public, conflicts of our period. In order to come up with a selection of themes to look at conflicts of position in the Quebecer parliamentary public sphere, we suggest drawing on Dorval Brunelle's approach. In his study on globalisation, he looks at commissions of inquiry inherited from British law (Brunelle 2003, 96).

He postulates that it is relevant to focus on those policy-making tools because it "takes steps back – at least on institutional and normative aspects – from the question of the commission and is situated at the confluence science and public opinion" (Brunelle 2003, 97; our translation). Studying commissions of inquiry was an operationalisation of a "progressive approach" to shed light on various "constituent thoughts" and their "foundations" (Brunelle 2003, 19; our translation). In short, a commission of inquiry is an "entity created by a federal or provincial government with the mandate to investigate, study a problem or a question and to make recommendations" (Brunelle 2003, 96; our translation). They are implemented when an "issue with major incidence on a social, economic and political level *can't* be treated anymore within existing normative frameworks" (Brunelle 2003, 96; our translation). Therefore, by being placed outside of public administration, a commission of inquiry can develop a research program that constructs the agenda, on an already debated subject. Without studying the commissions and their reports in detail, we propose looking at the conflicts of position in public debates made salient, hence politicised and put in front of the public, by the commissions of

inquiry. This allows sorting the information on the parliamentary debate of the following subsections by giving the main themes in the public agenda.

Between 1956 and 1966, there were 25 of commissions of inquiry put in place by the governments of Quebec. The 1960s is the decade when commissions of inquiry flourished the most in the history of the Parliament of Quebec with 31 commissions (our compilation from: Mercier 2020). During our period of interest, the vast majority (16) were addressing corruption and embezzlement, while a large variety of subjects – health, labour organisation, education, fiscality, constitution, culture, natural resources – were covered by one or two commissions[20]. Six men happened to be members and/or president of more than one commission: Jean-Marie Guérard (2); Howard Irwin Ross (2); Élie Salvas (2); Esdras Minville (3); Jean Tellier (3); Victor Chabot (4). Some of them were related commissions on a similar topic and two of them were the continuity of each other – the two commissions presided by Salvas – but for the rest, the Liberals assigned some individuals to different commissions over the years (our compilation from: Mercier 2020).

This selection of conflicts tends to show that what was discussed included the sectors of health, labour organisation, education, fiscality, constitution, culture, and natural resources, together with the issue of corruption.

7.3. The legislatures
There are three legislatures during our period of study with two different majoritarian parties holding power one after the other. The 25th legislature followed the 1956 elections, the last mandate of Maurice Duplessis, but also the last one where his party, the *Union nationale* received a majority of the votes with 51% of the electorate who cast their ballot in their favour. Furthermore, it was also the last election in its history where the party managed to have a plurality of votes in regard to its closest rival. Indeed, if the Liberal Party lost the 1966 elections after being victorious at the elections of 1960 and 1962 – which marked the beginning of, respectively, the 26th and the 27th legislatures – it still received more votes than the *Union nationale*, 6% more votes. The first-past-the-post system combined with a subtle form of gerrymandering of the electoral map in favour of

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[20] See Appendix 13, for the list of commissions, sorted according to the mandate's subject.

Duplessis's party (Massicotte 2009, 65; Plante 2014, 184; O. Côté, n.d.), and the multiplication and popularity of third-parties explain the election victory without the popular vote in 1966[21]. In sum, the period between 1956 and 1966 shows a constant decline of the *Union nationale* and, as a result, a rise of the opposition. This opposition was embodied, first, in the Liberal Party, then also in other more marginal parties.

7.3.1. The 25th legislature, 1956–1960

Before that rise of opposition, the *Union nationale* entered the 25th legislature strong of their 72 seats out of the 93 of the chamber – 20 going to the Liberal Party and one being independent (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2018b). Two other parties presented candidates in multiple constituencies without electing anyone at the Parliament, the Social-Democratic Party (*Parti social-démocrate)* and the Progressive Workers' Party (*Parti ouvrier progressiste*) (Président général des élections 1957). Yet, the Social-Democratic Party managed to gravitate closer to the parliamentary parties as they were part of an electoral alliance with the Liberal Party at the elections of 1956 since the latter supported the candidacies of Pierre Laporte – contributor to *Le Devoir* – in Montréal-Laurier (Montreal) and René Chaloult in Jonquière-Kénogami (Chicoutimi) (Plante 2014, 183; Robert, n.d.). Both of those candidates were not elected.

Their loss and the Liberal Party's poor result can, in part, be explained by Duplessis and his allies' designation of all opposition as communists, including the Liberal Party (Plante 2014, 186). Indeed, they had difficulties of organisation due to the 1937 law banning "communist propaganda", commonly named "padlock law" because of the padlocks put on the doors of so-called communist venues (Plante 2014, 186). This law was rendered anticonstitutional only in 1957 (*Switzman v. Elbing and A.G. of Quebec* 1957). To those difficulties should be added the institutional help that the *Union nationale* received. Notably, the collaboration of an important part of the clergy, partly due to their fear of communism, as it is shown by the distribution of around 800 000 copies of an "anticommunist pamphlet" targeting the Liberal Party (Plante 2014, 186).

Duplessis also had the help of the "English-Canadian and American [sic]" capital and the Canadian state that were "in fact challenged […] only at the rhetorical level"

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[21] See Appendix 14 for the results evoked in this paragraph.

(Whitaker 1984, 74). This support came as a return of favour since the governments of the *Union nationale* helped the latter through "political corruption, patronage, and intimidation" (Whitaker 1984, 74; see also Plante 2015, 127; Behiels 1985, 22; Lemieux 1992). Finally, for the election themselves, the *Union nationale* used fraudulent manoeuvres at the steps of the confection and of the revision of the electoral lists (Plante 2014, 185). In addition to that, the Bill 34 removed the presence of a representative of the parliamentary official opposition for the enumeration of the electoral lists which solely left a representative of the government – in this case of the *Union nationale* (Plante 2014, 184). The edition of Léon Dion and Father O'Neill's "mimeographed newsletter called Ad usum sacerdotum" (B. Fraser 1956, 13) following the election even pointed to a selection of electors at the polls, fake names on the electoral list, purchase of votes, etc. (Robert, n.d.). Those criticisms did not stop the electoral potency of Duplessis and his party with their victory at the by-elections of September 1957, increasing his majority by another four seats (Thériault, n.d.).

Therefore, the beginning of the legislature was palpably tensed between the government and the Liberal opposition (Robert, n.d.). It did not alter Duplessis's usual "waggish and mocker tone" while monopolising the speaking time on his side (Robert, n.d.; our translation). On the other hand, the Liberal Party was facing dissension and René Hamel temporarily took the leadership of the party while Georges-Émile Lapalme was away "in the South" following surgery (Robert, n.d.). This state of affairs changed by the end of the legislature. At the third session of this legislature, "the years passing started weighing heavily on the prime minister. Sixty-eight years old, his health was weakening and he struggled to fight his diabetes" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation). On 2 September 1959, "Duplessis went to Schefferville" and "in Iron Ore's offices, he was attacked by a cerebral haemorrhage and became unconscious" to later die (Turgeon, n.d.; our translation). It has been estimated that more than 100 000 people paid a visit to the chapel where his body was exposed and some adversaries publicly grieved (Turgeon, n.d.). Just over a week after, Paul Sauvé succeeded him as the leader of the *Union nationale*, but his reign was short since on 2 January, he died home from a heart attack (Turgeon, n.d.). If the choice of Sauvé as the new leader was obvious and unanimous, Antonio Barrette – who took the leadership five days later – was a less consensual choice especially among the previous guard of Duplessis (Turgeon, n.d.). Since the party had "no official membership nor internal

consultation or decision-taking mechanisms", his nomination was the outcome of discussions and conflicts among members of parliament, defeated candidates and organisers (Linteau et al. 1989, 362). The party remained without such structures until 1965 (Guay and Gaudreau 2020b). On the Liberal side, Lapalme left his leader's role in 1958 while staying a member of Parliament. In May of the same year, Jean Lesage was chosen by a convention to replace him (Turgeon, n.d.; Racine St-Jacques, n.d.).

To give an idea of the tone during the 1956 legislature, in the first throne speech[22], the Lieutenant Governor referred to the Poznań protests and the "Russian insurrection" in Hungary as "unfortunate events" due to the Soviets (Robert, n.d.). The discourse written by the elected executive showed the "notorious anticommunism of Duplessis and of the *Union nationale*" adding that "the government is 'proud to never have made compromises with communists or their auxiliaries, which are at the source of all the international difficulties'" (Robert, n.d.). Those auxiliaries could include various groups seen as "subversive: communists, Jehovah's Witnesses, trade unionists, and reformist journalists and intellectuals" (Linteau et al. 1989, 362). The later throne speeches were less notable apart from the last one where "*Radio-Canada*'s television had entered the Parliament and broadcasted the event" (Turgeon, n.d.; our translation).

Two main subjects stood out of this legislature: federal-provincial constitutional conflicts through education and taxes, and economic organisation and labour relations. Besides that, the topic of corruption came every now and then, but was avoided by the majoritarian party which did not permit much space for it on the legislative menu. For the "recurrent theme of education, both the role of the State and the Church in this domain were debated, as well as the financing of educative institutions (Thériault, n.d.). To the critics of underinvestment, the government answered both in the chamber and through its newspaper. The *Montréal-Matin* "stated on the 22nd of February 1958 that the government spent 22% of the public income in education" (Thériault, n.d.; our translation). Yet, Sauvé said that he wanted to get the 25 million dollars in subsidies to universities missing in Quebec from the federal government because of the

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[22] The throne speech at the Parliament of Quebec plays the same role as in the Westminster Parliament, but is performed by the Lieutenant Governor of the province, the representative of the Queen of Canada.

constitutional conflict between Quebec and Ottawa on the matter of education (Turgeon, n.d.). To summarise:

> Since the beginning of the decade, the problem of financing of post-secondary institutions of education is in the heart of the constitutional Gordian knot in Quebec. Fiercely in favour of autonomy, Duplessis refuses federal subsidies to universities arguing that, according to the 1867 Constitution, education is a solely provincial competence (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation).

Parts of civil society, along with the Liberal Party, criticised this approach. Indeed, a coalition was formed by the presidents of the student unions in Quebec's universities to join their voice with rectors and demand, in January 1958, a reform in education and its financing, which was not answered by Duplessis (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). As a retort, "the student unions of six universities in Quebec voted in favour of a general strike of three days" starting on the 6th of March (Thériault, n.d.; our translation). It did not have a much better reception from the prime minister, but it showed a certain mobilisation of the students (Turgeon, n.d.). Duplessis argued that "if we open the doors of universities to all, everyone will want to go, and there would not be enough money to maintain the other education infrastructures and Quebec would soon lack less qualified workers" (Turgeon, n.d.; our translation). After Duplessis's death, Sauvé and Barrette kept education as "the great priority": they adopted 15 bills on the question, and managed to negotiate an "opting out" clause of federal programs which solved the long-lasting constitutional contentious on educational financing (Turgeon, n.d.).

In a lesser extent, the constitutional conflicts affected income tax. In November 1956, Duplessis reaffirmed that Ottawa should "respect the provincial competences". Staying on that track, he extended, with the Bill 4, the power of the Quebecer government to tax individuals' income. The Liberals agreed with the goal, but complained that it was overly used in a partisan way (Robert, n.d.). The opposition also complained during the first year of the legislature that the report of the Royal Commision of Inquiry on the constitutional problems – Tremblay Commission – has still not been deposited in the Chamber even if it was given to the prime minister in February 1956 (Robert, n.d.). When it was finally published, in December 1956, the public could see that certain conclusions of the report were not very welcomed by Duplessis; yet, both parties applauded at the adoption of the report (Robert, n.d.). Those constitutional conflicts

became less important after the election of the Conservatives of John Diefenbaker in Ottawa in 1957; they were elected after a Liberal reign without interruption since October 1935 (Thériault, n.d.). "More accommodating with the Conservatives than the Liberals, Maurice Duplessis reduced its attacks on the federal 'centralisers'" (Thériault, n.d.) which also eased the later negotiations like the ones on education financing.

On the economic organisation and labour issues, "the government restated its economically liberal will": free enterprise, supporting employers, and made sure that the rights of "workers and employers" are respected, reminding that "'rights are always accompanied with duties and that work […] remains a fundamental obligation'" (Robert, n.d.; our translation). That position reinforced a certain McCarthyism, "brandishing the spectre of communism at the smallest intention of state intervention" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation). The interim leader of the Liberal Party during Lapalme's convalescence, René Hamel, opposed such view at the beginning of the legislature with a strong position: "totalitarian regimes need myths to conserve power and that anticommunism is a weapon that even hams and thugs sometimes use" (as cited in Robert, n.d.; our translation). Throughout the four years of the mandate, the Liberal Party rather demanded, not always in as strong terms, an increased intervention of the state in the social and economic spheres (Thériault, n.d.). Instead, Duplessis preferred partisan and even personal interventionism with "the redistribution of public money was made informally, behind closed doors or under the seal of confidentiality" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation). This quasi-absence of economic interventionism (Linteau et al. 1989, 363) aggravated the effect of the Western world's economic slowdown in Quebec. The underqualification of the workforce and the low level of research and development done in the province also contributed to it (Thériault, n.d.). That slowdown translated itself into higher unemployment levels in peripheric regions like Saguenay, Gaspésie and Côte-Nord (Thériault, n.d.). All of the above, combined with the "violently repressed" Murdochville miners' strike, led to the "March on Quebec" during the by-election campaign of 1957 – without much electoral impact since the *Union nationale* won this campaign (Thériault, n.d.). There was also an ongoing strike going on in the most important aluminium factory in Quebec, Alcan in Arvida (Guay and Gaudreau 2020d). Unlike the Murdochville strike, it did not seem to have had the same strong reaction from Duplessis – at least according to the issues of *Le Progrès*

du Saguenay, Le Devoir, and *La Presse* of the weeks of the start and the closure of the strike. Perhaps because of the relative calm kept by the workers compared to a previous strike on the plant (Rouillard 2006). In general, though, strikes were not well accepted by the state and the employers until 1959 when, "for the first time since 1954", the government of Quebec modified the main labour relations law (Turgeon, n.d.). Indeed, each strike showed the "fragility of union gains" and the "collusion between the state and the corporations" with the help of the provincial police (Linteau et al. 1989, 315). Adopted in December 1959, the new bill included the "full reintegration of workers who had been fired because of union activity and changed the constitution of the labour relation commission, so that it is composed of equal parts of labour and employer representatives" (Turgeon, n.d.; our translation).

As a final theme, the opposition tried to put on the agenda the, then alleged and now confirmed, corruption of Duplessis's government. From the beginning of the legislature, the Liberal Party "proposed the Bill 99 in December 1956 for 'honest elections' but Duplessis did everything 'to avoid a debate on it' by using multiple points of order in the chamber. So much that Hamel ended up giving up on this bill" (Robert, n.d.; our translation). Later, on 13 June 1958, *Le Devoir* put on its front page an accusation of a "scandal" at the Natural Gas Corporation of Quebec with "five charges that were truly as many variations on the same criminal theme: insider trading activities" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation). According to the daily, ministers favoured a – close to the party – group of promoters in the creation of the Natural Gas Corporation of Quebec by promising to them the sale of the state-owned gas network of *Hydro-Québec* (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). This new corruption scandal had to wait the beginning of the Fall session to be put forward in the chamber (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 112). Then, the interventions about it were blocked (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 112) through the control of the Speaker of the Assembly, who refused any other debates on it from 1959 (Turgeon, n.d.). This Speaker was himself found in controversy when, in September of the same year, it had been put to light that he was one of the directors of a construction equipment company, which would have sold for 102 833 dollars to the government (Turgeon, n.d.). The answer of the Liberals to those accusations was "extraordinary efforts of parliamentary obstruction" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation); the only mean they had since the majority was held by the *Union nationale*.

Finally, a more marginal debate, but that has lasted until 1977, regarded the posthumous tribute for Duplessis proposed by Sauvé: a monument in his name (Turgeon, n.d.). While Lapalme "was hesitating, somewhat uncomfortable in his speech where he highlighted that it was too early to inaugurate such monument" and the Liberals voted against, the majoritarian *Union nationale* voted in favour and the bill was adopted (Turgeon, n.d.; our translation). The sculptor Émile Brunet finished the work in May 1961, after the elections of Lesage's liberal who has never inaugurated the statue; it had to wait until 1977, with the election of the first independentist government, to be inaugurated (Turgeon, n.d.).

7.3.2. The 26ᵗʰ legislature, 1960–1962

The second legislature of the period of study followed the 22 June 1960 elections, announced on 27 April 1960 by Antonio Barrette (Savard, n.d.), where 82% of the population voted, in contrast with 78% four years earlier (Président général des élections 1957; 1960). This increase of participation cannot be explained by the enlargement of the franchise to a vote-enthusiastic segment of the population, but by a true higher turnout. Indeed, it should be noted that, if it had been a federal election, the "Status Indians" would have had the right to vote, since they gained it in March 1960 for this level of government, but it happened nine years later in Quebec (Leslie 2016). Besides, the voting age in Quebec was lowered from 21 to 18 only in the next mandate. That election also marked the end of the reign of the *Union nationale* and the first mandate of the Liberal Party of Jean Lesage (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2018b). It happened at a moment when the Canadian economy was facing a recession (Bonham 2006) since 1957 with, in Quebec, high levels of unemployment – as many as 236 000 people looking for a job (Savard, n.d.). Nearly half of Canadians unemployed were inhabitants of Quebec with, on average, 9,2% of the active population without a job in 1960 (Savard, n.d.).

In such context, not only the fatigue of having the *Union nationale* in power and the death of Maurice Duplessis could be factors of explanation of the change of power, but also the proposal of change of the "Thunder Team" (*Équipe du tonnerre*) put together by Lesage's liberals. Status quo is not a great promise when the times are difficult. Indeed, to "the stability proposed by Barrette's outgoing government was opposed by numerous

contestation movements […] notably representatives from unions, universities, businesses and arts. They were advocating for a more substantial intervention by the provincial state" (Savard, n.d.; our translation). The Liberals also had a list of changes proposed to the electorate touching, notably, "political democratisation, modernisation and secularisation of institutions, social justice, freedom of expression, access to education and healthcare, support to the cultural field, end of censorship, etc." (Savard, n.d.; our translation). This "Thunder Team" was composed of various "prestigious candidates, notably René Lévesque" (*Radio-Canada* and *Cité libre*) and Paul Gérin-Lajoie together with longtime liberals Georges-Émile Lapalme, René Hamel, Alcide Courcy and Émilien Lafrance (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). They were proposing to voters to "elevate the national condition", but unlike the *Union nationale*, not via a pride of traditional and Catholic values of French Canadians but through renewal (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). Yet, the outgoing prime minister and his party also felt the need for change in the population and, even if "he pursued the provincial autonomy theme", he grafted to his program: a hospitalisation insurance plan – started at the end of the last mandate – , the goal of inventorying natural resources, investments in the public electricity producer, Hydro-Québec, etc. (Savard, n.d.). That change towards a certain degree of state intervention did not refrain the new leader of the *Union nationale* from describing Liberals as "leftists" and "socialists" (Savard, n.d.).

One year after the election giving the Liberal Party a majority, two other liberals were elected at the Parliament in a by-election. Pierre Laporte (*Le Devoir*) was elected in Chambly, together with the first woman elected to the Legislative Assembly (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2018a). Indeed, Marie-Claire Kirkland-Casgrain (*Châtelaine*) was elected in the seat of her late father who died in office (Lavallée 2014). Her first speech in the Chamber announced the intention to improve the legal status of wedded women in the Civil Code of Quebec[23], by redistributing the family power that was placed exclusively on the husband (O. Côté, n.d.). This led to the adoption of the Bill 16 that implemented those changes (R. Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 413). On the side of the *Union nationale*, it was rather a departure that happened. Antonio Barrette was shown the exit from the

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[23] Quebec is the only province of Canada to have a dual legal system, conjugating a form of Napoleonic civil law inherited from the French Civil Code and the common law of English tradition. (Tetley 1999, 599, 605–9).

leadership of the party by Gérald Martineau, Jean Barrette and Joseph-Damase Bégin on 15 September 1960 (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). Antonio Talbot assured the role of interim parliamentary leader from that moment, then also interim party leader from January 1961, until Daniel Johnson became the official leader in September (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). That candidate was closer to the Duplessis-apostle tendency than Jean-Jacques Bertrand which was closer to a "democratic tendency" (Hamelin and Garon 1969, 17).

The throne speech opening the first ordinary session[24] of the 26th legislature set the tone of the new government in place since "its partisan neutrality signalised a rupture with habits of Duplessis" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation). That was not going to be the only rupture: the beginning of the parliamentary session had an impressive legislative menu with a reformist tone (Savard, n.d.). The essence of those reforms which had marked the two years that this government last was: "stateisation, nationalism and rationalisation" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation).

The reorganisation of ministries and of the state is telling on that aspect. Three ministries were created: Cultural Affairs, Federal-Provincial Relations, and Natural Resources (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). The latter was, in part, a merging of the Hydraulic Resources and Mines ministries, as part of a rationalisation, and became one of the tools for what was seen as an "essential planning for a modern economy" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation). In a similar perspective of stateisation but also nationalism, a state-owned fund, the *Société générale de financement*, was created with Gérard Filion (*Le Devoir*) at its head, with the goal to "put to work the natural resources of Quebec and to create new enterprises" (J. Côté 1966; our translation) notably by taking control of "foreign capital" (Linteau et al. 1989, 447). The *Office des marchés agricoles* was also established in an interventionist approach to "better ordain the market of agricultural and dairy products" (O. Côté, n.d.; our translation). In parallel, the agriculture sector has known a rationalisation effort with the merging of the Agriculture, the Colonisation, and the Hunting and Fisheries ministries (O. Côté, n.d.). The Ministry of Social Welfare has also converted in a Ministry of Family and Social welfare, while the Ministry of Finance's

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[24] A special session of two days in September only adopted one bill – on referendum projects in Montreal – before that the ordinary session started in November (Savard, n.d.).

structures were reformed "to ensure a more efficient control of public spending" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.; our translation).

The level of reforming intent from the government is both shown by the first ordinary session's length, but also on the number of bills passed. It was the longest in the history of Quebec since the Canadian constitution of 1867 and one of the most productive with 188 bills ratified on the 208 submitted to the Chamber (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). In this first session, the governmental action was implemented through social measures and reorganisation of state structures (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). The sector that was the most reformed during this mandate of two years was education. Indeed, the "Godbout-Duplessis era" can be distinguished clearly from the post-1960 one (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 327–46). Lesage's government put in place a charter of education, ordered a Royal Commission of Inquiry on education – the Parent Commission – , made school mandatory until the age of 16 (Savard, n.d.) – it was compulsory until 14 – , and made school books free, in addition to institute a new school tax (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). The policy and budget planification in education at large were also moved from the general secretary of the province – the highest public servant – to the Minister of Youth, Paul Gérin-Lajoie (Savard, n.d.). To those reforms, the opposition objected a decentralised action, because "the model of welfare state implemented by Liberals forces higher taxes and universalisation of social services for 'people who do not need it'" (O. Côté, n.d.).

Another field of reform was the judiciary one, in a large sense. To answer what was depicted as the scandal of natural gas that we described in the previous section, the government put in place a commission of inquiry on the subject – the Salvas commission. Its mandate was broad enough "to shed to light the corruption of the last government" (Racine St-Jacques, n.d.). Three ministers under Duplessis – Joseph-Damase Bégin, Antonio Talbot et Gérald Martineau – were formally prosecuted in 1963 for criminal charges (Guay and Gaudreau 2020f). Aside that, changes towards more independence and less partisanship included a reform of labour judge attribution, a partial revocation of judges named by the *Union nationale*, the nomination of judges who were members of both the *Union nationale* and the Liberal Party (O. Côté, n.d.). In terms of elections, a special comity was put in place and it recommended improving the revision of the electoral map (O. Côté, n.d.). The Attorney General Georges-Émile Lapalme

reorganised the provincial police, very criticised by Duplessis's opponents, to make it less partisan (Savard, n.d.). It should be noted that before Lesage's mandate, Duplessis was cumulating both the functions of prime minister and attorney general (Linteau et al. 1989, 362), so he was, himself, overseeing the police. Yet, some things have changed, but only in substance not in form. Indeed, certain liberals were "defending the idea of a liberal clientelism" which would be softer because only "at equal competence, equal quality, and equal service, the preference should be given to Liberals for contracts" (O. Côté, n.d.).

In the two years of this mandate, another key piece of legislation was the hospitalisation insurances started by the *Union nationale* government after Duplessis's death. As announced by the Lieutenant Governor, Paul Comtois, at the beginning of the second session, the government pursued this project of insurance through the bill to reform hospitals, towards secularisation (O. Côté, n.d.). Indeed, this bill made healthcare free (Linteau et al. 1989, 644) and of public responsibility rather than being put on individuals, families and charities, notably the Church (O. Côté, n.d.). For the opposition, this reform was a step closer towards a full "stateisation and forced socialisation of medicine and hospital care" (O. Côté, n.d.). The government being majoritarian, the bill passed, and it was, indeed, a step closer towards a full public system which was put in place later, in 1970 (O. Côté, n.d.).

Those reforms and other changes from this new government "received unanimous approbation from representatives of unions, employers, francophone business world, intellectuals, universities, political elites, but mostly technocrats and high public servants" (O. Côté, n.d.; our translation). Until 1965, these elites had a consensual will of reforming society with "neoliberal or Christian reformist principles", with the goal of Quebec "catching up" with Canada and to affirm a new nationalism (O. Côté, n.d.). A nationalism that was less and less French-Canadian and pan-Canadian, hence increasingly Quebecer (O. Côté, n.d.). However, various groups criticised them on various angles. The socialist movements denounced the "timidity of social reforms" of the government, and the remaining people at *Cité libre* founded the *NPD-Québec* and the *Parti socialiste du Québec* (Socialist Party of Quebec) in 1963 as an answer to that (O. Côté, n.d.). With the same diagnosis, other groups chose direct action to answer. The most prominent one being the *Front de libération du Québec* that emerged in 1963 and was

composed of various cells taking different actions, notably political violence which led in 1970 to the kidnapping of the British diplomat James Richard Cross and the kidnapping and murder of the minister Pierre Laporte (O. Côté, n.d.). Certain interest groups had also shown opposition. The students, for example, disrupted parliamentary work in February 1962 to demand the immediate payment of their student loan in addition to sending letters to ministers, and a few days later the Minister Gérin-Lajoie remedied to the issues (O. Côté, n.d.).

On other subjects, as we have mentioned earlier, the government showed a level of nationalism in a certain continuity with the previous one. Indeed, even if it was "with a more pragmatic but affirmative approach" Lesage and his government denounced the centralising tendencies of the federal government, asked for a revision of the Constitution and questioned the current form of federalism (Linteau et al. 1989, 737; our translation; O. Côté, n.d.). They also maintained the pressure to keep the "opting out" from the federal financing of universities, negotiated by *Union nationale* leaders, and finally managed to institutionalise it, with broader effect, in 1964 (O. Côté, n.d.). That led to the withdrawal of Quebec, with financial compensation, from 28 federal programs (O. Côté, n.d.). In its relation with the rest of the federation, the border between Quebec and Labrador remained a tensed issue that Lesage's government "wished" to solve as soon as possible (O. Côté, n.d.), yet it persists as a debated border today[25].

Culture and language were also ways of pursuing the nationalist goals of Lesage's government. First, the Ministry of Cultural Affairs was created to "avoid the drowning of French-Canadian culture in an anglophone ensemble" (O. Côté, n.d.; our translation). Its budget increased constantly through the years from 2,7 million dollars in 1960–1961 to 38,9 million in 1975–1976 (Linteau et al. 1989, 796). The Art Council of Quebec (*Conseil des arts du Québec*) was also launched with the goal, among other things, to "select books that the new ministry would buy a part of the inventory at cost price" in order to help the book production and distribution in the province (O. Côté, n.d.). Those books were indeed distributed to Quebec institutions, in addition to other provinces', to French departments of Usonian universities and to other francophone countries' institutions (O. Côté, n.d.). Language policies were discussed too. If making French the only official

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[25] As it is possible to see with the double border between Quebec and Labrador, visible on Appendix 1.

language was part of the discussion, it was not put legislatively before 1969 (Linteau et al. 1989, 605; O. Côté, n.d.). Yet, a first step was made with the creation of the *Office de la langue française* (French language Office) in March 1961 with the goal of "enriching" the written and spoken language of the administration and the province (O. Côté, n.d.; Linteau et al. 1989, 607). Lapalme, who claimed the defence of French was "not a political question but a pride and survival one", named Jean-Marc Léger (*La Presse* and *Le Devoir*) as the first president of the *Office* (O. Côté, n.d.). That nationalism also translated into the aim of some kind of international recognition through projects like the candidacy of Montreal for the World Fair of 1967 announced in 1962, after the realisation of its metro in 1961 (O. Côté, n.d.). International relations were also part of that goal, notably through a "privileged link" with France and other francophone countries (O. Côté, n.d.; Bosher 1999). The president of France, Charles de Gaulle, contributed largely to it with his presence at the opening of the Quebec delegation in Paris, then its recognition as an official diplomatic office on French territory (O. Côté, n.d.; Linteau et al. 1989, 746). It later led to the "first international agreement signed by Quebec" between the latter and France (Linteau et al. 1989, 747; our translation).

Another element of continuity, while being in a different way, is the investment in *Hydro-Québec*. The difference then was the will of the new Minister René Lévesque (*Cité libre* and *Radio-Canada*) and his team. They "were convinced of the necessity of nationalising electricity" (O. Côté, n.d.; our translation). Lesage was less enthusiastic due to the cost and the necessity of massive loans for the government, which explained the almost silence about it in Chamber (O. Côté, n.d.). The two tendencies – one supporting the Minister René Lévesque and one of the Prime Minister Jean Lesage – debated the question at a secret meeting of the cabinet. The "'council' of Lac-à-l'Épaule' probably has been a confrontation between Lesage-Lévesque on the stateisation [of electricity], where Lévesque's faction won" (Hamelin and Garon 1969, 17). In parallel of those discussions, Quebec rejected the idea of contributing to a federal electricity transport project for autonomist reasons (O. Côté, n.d.). That nationalisation project was the centre of the election that followed the second year of this legislature. It was presented as a referendary election in the fall of 1962 to get the legitimacy from the population for the purchase of private electricity providers in Quebec (O. Côté, n.d.).

7.3.3. The 27th legislature, 1962–1966

After readying themselves for putting forward the project of nationalisation of electricity to the electorate and getting a study report on the subject, Jean Lesage asked the Lieutenant Governor to trigger general elections for the 14 November 1962 (Hamelin and Garon 1969, 17). It surprised the *Union nationale* that chose a new leader barely over a year before that moment. This lack of preparation was also visible – literally – at the first televised debate in the "Canadian political annals" where "Johnson did not appear at its best" (Hamelin and Garon 1969, 19; our translation). The result was clear, 56% of the population voted for the Liberal Party of Jean Lesage and their slogan "Masters in our own place" (*Maître chez nous*); against 42% for Daniel Johnson's *Union nationale*, and their less inspiring "Vote for common sense" (*Votez pour le bon sens*) (Président général des élections 1963). That translated into 65 seats for the Liberal Party, 31 for the *Union nationale*, and one independent. The by-elections during this mandate all confirmed the approval of the policies of the Liberals with their victory in the six constituencies affected by the two polls (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2009; 2017).

As promised during the election, the government started to take ownership of all electricity production, transport and distribution in Quebec to reach a "quasi-monopoly" in 1963 (Savard 2009, 68). Even if the *Union nationale* was promising the stateisation of two hydro-electrical plants and leaving the rest to a popular referendum, as the official opposition they did not protest much and mostly targeted procedures or rapidity surrounding it (Hamelin and Garon 1969, 18). Thereby, they did not oppose frontally the Liberal Party's promise of a "new Hydro-Québec" (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 266). Actually very few organised groups contested the idea of the nationalisation of electricity as such, apart from the anglophone community represented by the Montreal's *Star* and *Gazette*. The English media opposition, even with the tacit approval of the anglophone business world through the words of the Liberal member of parliament Georges Marler (Hamelin and Garon 1969, 18), can potentially be linked to the promises of redistribution of resources acquired by means of this new public corporation. Indeed, the "material" resources would be redistributed via policies favouring francophone emancipation, just like the "immaterial" resources such as prestige, and dignity (Lemieux 1969, 49). Anglophone institutions already had a good status and did not necessarily need state interventions; one can think of McGill University as an example.

Even if the nationalisation of the electricity was the core of the election and was one of the key policies of that mandate, the reformist and nationalist tendencies of Lesage's previous mandate continued. The constitutional conflicts remained an issue, continuously since 1956. During that mandate, it was the "Fulton-Favreau formula" that embodied the matter (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 27). The formula would allow the patriation of the Canadian Constitution from London and its amendment. It was developed over three years, between 1960 and 1963, in various federal-provincial conferences, and proposed in 1964 (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 27–28). At the throne speech of the fourth session of the legislature, in January 1965, the "government announced its intention of ratifying the provinces agreement on the Fulton-Favreau formula" (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2017). One year later, Lesage put back the examination of the formula by the Legislative Assembly indefinitely (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2017), which delayed the patriation of the Constitution (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 28).

Another element of continuity with the first mandate of Lesage has been the reformism through state intervention and regulation in the agricultural production sector in general, and the dairy one more precisely. The Bill 13, on agricultural markets, and the Bill 14, on dairy products, were presented in the Chamber so that farmers are poised to continue their operation (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 218). Indeed, with the industrialisation of the food production market, the offer was saturated and the producers barely managed to cover their increasing costs (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 218). The policies implemented by those two bills included "price control, production quotas, common plans of negotiation between producers, transformers, distributors and consumers" (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 218; our translation). They were going to be managed under the Agricultural Markets Board (*Régie des marchés agricoles*) and remained central until contestations following globalisation processes from the 1990s (Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 218).

The mandate also pursued the democratic reforms launched earlier. It was achieved notably through the lowering of the franchise to 18 years old in 1963; the first recast of the electoral map since 1853 which increased the seats from 95 to 108 in 1965; and the decreasing of

power of the higher chamber, the Legislative Council, in 1965, reaching a step closer to its abolition that happened in 1968 (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2009; 2017).

On the other hand, those years epitomised the end of the Lesage governments. The 1966 election gave 50 seats to the Liberal Party, 56 to the *Union nationale*, and two to independent candidates, even if the outcoming government received 6% more votes than its rival (Assemblée nationale du Québec 2018b; Président général des élections 1967). The first-past-the-post electoral mode explains this difference, mostly because of the important rise of third-parties. The two main ones – the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale* (RIN), who received 5% of the votes, and the *Ralliement national* (RN)*, with 3% (Président général des élections 1967) – built on the nationalist moment and proposed an independent Quebec, in a left-wing approach for the RIN and a right-wing one for the RN (Normand 2010). Their rise was a precursor sign of the federalism versus independentism cleavage of electoral parties for the following decades.

To summarise those three legislatures, we propose an evolution of the tone at the parliament and in public meetings, changes in political officials, and the modification of the role of the parliament. So, the elections at the very beginning of the period set the tone in the tensions between the Liberals and the *Union nationale*, especially on corruption. The Liberals heavily criticised the irregularities of the 1956 elections and the other corruption stories like the "natural gas scandal", to what Duplessis answered with a corrosive anticommunist rhetoric finding its root in his "padlock law". The parliamentary answers of the Liberals, due to their minority, were highly critical speeches and parliamentary obstruction – also known as filibustering. With the elections of Lesage's Liberals, the tensions were diminished. Their first throne speech showed it, with its much less partisan aspect. Perhaps this was because the previous prime minister was in power for several years and they had just gained a new legitimacy, but also probably because of the organisational weaknesses of the *Union nationale* who had to change leaders a few times. That change also affected the translation of nationalism: passing from an inquisitive tone against the federal government beside a promotion of continuity and preservation; it became a promotion of emancipation and of change towards more dignity and prestige.

As we have just said, there was also some change at the head of the *Union nationale*. After the subsequent deaths of Duplessis and his substitute, Sauvé, there has been Barrette and Johnson, before the election won by that party in 1966. For the Liberal Party, there was only one change, justified by strategy: Lapalme quit and Lesage took over with the "Thunder team" impersonated by young men who represented change. A woman, Kirkland-Casgrain, joined their ranks not long after.

In a final perspective, the Parliament's role itself has changed: it became increasingly active. This happened notably with the enlargement of the state by the reforms made by Lesage. Before, it was more a discursive political arena than a policy-making one. The context of the economic crisis with the will of Lesage and his team helped since the stateisation of electricity affected preponderantly peripheric regions, where unemployment rates were high – the electricity being already under public ownership in Montreal. Yet, the nationalism put forward by Lesage was not enough. He did not lose its last election due to the popularity of Johnson and his approach of "equality or independence", but mostly because of the rise of third-parties that had at least one thing in common: they were clearly independentist.

CHAPTER 4: Analysis

If the two previous sections, consisting of around half of this thesis, are descriptive broadly speaking, the following section is an attempt to make sense, explain, and understand it (Hardt and Brennen 1993, 131). On the first hand, we will follow Gripsrud's threads by building on the material put forward earlier. That part allows developing knowledge on the state of the francophone political public sphere and its changes in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. As we have mentioned earlier, this knowledge is absent for any period of history in Quebec; the history of that state has never been problematized in that way. On the other hand, we propose our own reading of the public sphere, as we have conceptualised it, with an elite perspective. If Gripsrud's threads allow a historical analysis for the public sphere, it does not satisfy our will to integrate the history of the public sphere in a larger societal scale. This integration to broader social interactions tends to point at the constant presence of an elite within this public sphere. Indeed, with the assessment that has been presented earlier and the first part of the analysis, we postulate that the study of this period – perhaps like others – shows the political struggles of certain elites for the access to power. To get a better grasp of this phenomenon, we suggest mobilising Gaetano Mosca's thought and sociological diagnosis, as a non-fascist elite theorist – unlike others such as Vilfredo Pareto or Robert Michels (Bellamy 1987d, 30–33; Beetham 1977, 4). Those three, together with Max Weber, produced works in which the origins of elite theories "lie most clearly" (Higley 2010).

8. The fabric of the public sphere in Quebec, 1956–1966

First, we will follow the pattern used in Grisprud's introduction to *Allmenningen*: (1) the distinction between the public and the private sphere in a given time frame; (2) the degree of freedom of speech and of information; (3) the level of interaction and of embedment between the sub and counter public spheres with the common public sphere, what one could call the dominant public sphere; (4) the role of the public sphere in the decision-making process; (5) the meaning of reason in the public sphere or, in other words, the way and the degree in which facts and logic cooperate and interact with morals and emotions; (6) the exclusion and the inclusion of public(s) in the common public sphere; (7) the relation between the cultural and the political public spheres; (8) the famous figures or cultural referents present in the public sphere; (9) the degree and the type of

interactions between a domestic public sphere with foreign ones, in a globalisation context; (10) the Norwegian specific context, its national particularities and the possibility of the application of the public sphere theory (Gripsrud 2017b, 44–51). The 10th element, on the Norwegian specificity, will be fulfilled by the subsequent section. The elitism of the public sphere in Quebec during those years will be envisaged as a specificity of that context, since we cannot assume that a replication of our study in another would result in the illustration of the same power structure.

8.1. The distinction between the public and the private sphere

Drawing the boundaries of the public and private realms with certitude, at any time in history, falls well-nigh beyond the human capacity. The understanding of what is public by the rulers and by the masses might differ, just like among every single constructed group within a given society, or between each individual. Yet, here we will follow indications, left in traces available today, that we explored above to try to define those boundaries. This is, of course, a limited approach, but the best in the context of the impossibility to question a replication of Quebec's public between 1956 and 1966. After describing the media and the political fields, we can propose certain hypotheses of what seems to be private. Since the public realm is encompassing a larger number of elements of the Quebecer society at that time, it is easier to list private elements. Ergo what does not appear to be private should be assumed as being public.

The main element that seems to be private between 1956 and 1966 is the domestic life. Indeed, the personal life of the politicians, for example, does not arise much in what we have covered of the media, apart from the deaths of the leaders of the *Union nationale*. The "yellow" papers mostly covered crime scandals and others, rather than crunchy events related to the outside-of-work life of politicians, but also of the "public" intellectuals, the other journalists, etc.

In addition, if certain media talked about the condition of domestic life for media, the most prominent "feminine" media *La Revue moderne* did not problematize it as a public issue, at least until it became *Châtelaine* in 1960. The tone adopted by some "feminine" television programs on the waves of *Radio-Canada* echoed a similar change but later, from around 1965 onwards. There, the "private" life of women became a matter for public

discussion. That change of approach also resonated in the parliament with the first woman elected to the Legislative Assembly, Claire Kirkland-Casgrain, who also was a former contributor to *Châtelaine*. A few months after her election, she made a speech to modify the legal status of wedded women, by redistributing the power earlier placed solely on the husband. That could be seen as an indicator of publicisation – and de facto politicisation – of a part of the domestic realm. Yet, unlike the private life of politicians, ideas like the proposition of Kirkland-Casgrain did not emerge into the dominant public sphere out of nowhere. Those were discussed by subaltern publics whether they were mediatised or not. Therefore, it is hard to say that the women's condition themselves were *per se* private before the changes that started occurring around 1960, but that they were rather excluded from the dominant public sphere.

However, labour, which could be placed somewhat in relation with the domestic life, was made very public and is politicised. Not only can we say that due to the presence of trade unionist publications, such as *Le Travail*, but also because of trade-union leaders being invited to talk of working conditions at *Radio-Canada*, because of *Parti pris, Le Devoir* and *Cité libre*'s coverage of unions' activities – especially since the Asbestos strike for the two latter, and eventually because of the debate on who truly represents the workers. During the 1960 election, the *Union nationale* used a whole page in the *Montréal-Matin* to promote that local union leaders rather than federation leaders supported the party[26]. The quote of the new leader, Antonio Barrette, saying that he's the one who cares the most about the working class is also put second after Duplessis's stating that "No capital is worth the human capital". Yet, in parallel, Duplessis showed attempts of privatising discussions on labour rights when he refused to discuss them politically, by moving those issues to the courts and by forbidding some forms of unionism, notably with his "padlock law".

Other issues that were left private or undiscussed are the ones related to marginalised segments of society. Whether it is due to language or to a lack of organisation, the absence of an alternative media for various groups of the population participates to their non-public status.

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[26] See Appendix 15

8.2. The degree of freedom of speech and of information

In that section, we will not approach the limits to freedom of speech and of information on the level of interpersonal censorship or auto-censorship for two reasons. First, the feasibility of assessing such degree of freedom of speech is close to none due to, as for the previous section, the absence of the existing public of that time and the impossibility to re-create it. Second, even if that public was replicable, it is hard to evaluate the very contextualised freedom of expression within individual interactions. Therefore, we will have an overview of the degree of freedom of speech and of information within formal institutional limits. Through our study, we find three main institutional limits to the freedom of speech and of information: a cinema – and more general – direct censorship; an informal educational limit to freedom of speech; and an anticommunist apparatus. The first two ones following Catholic principles.

During the whole period of study, Quebec's access to film productions falls under the Censorship Bureau ("*Bureau de la censure*") (R. Bélanger, Jones, and Vallières 1994, 396), even if it is at its most active before the death of Duplessis. The employees of the Bureau censor the distribution movies, abiding by "an easily set off Catholic sensibility" (Turgeon, n.d.). At that time, Marilyn Monroe is often the target of the censors, notably in the movie "Some Like it Hot" directed by Billy Wilder, where several cuts were done, amounting to a few minutes, because of an "over-exposure" of the actress (Turgeon, n.d.). The discussion on the end of that form of censorship and on greater free speech, generally, was also part of the 1960 elections as we have mentioned in the section of the 26th legislature. That type of censorship effectively lost its role with the election of Lesage, but the Bureau of Censorship remained in place until the application, in 1967, of the "Régis" report's recommendations, which replaced religious censorship with a secular classification system for different ages (O. Côté, n.d.).

The Church also had a direct influence on education before its partial secularisation recommended by the Parent report. Partial because it remained tied to religion until the end of the 20th century when, in 2000, the school system in Quebec becomes fully secularised and the school boards pass from a religious-based division to a language-based one (Guay and Gaudreau 2020). Indeed, not only were there corporate ties between the ministerial committee overseeing education and the Catholic and Protestant leaders

before the first wave of secularisation (Garant 2001, 465) – the Catholic mostly advising francophone education and the Protestant, the anglophone – but also the pedagogic journals were under a heavy influence of the Catholic church (Nachbauer 2006, 97). In addition to that, a lot of the education staff mid-20th century in rural Quebec is composed of teaching Brothers who were chased out of France (Nachbauer 2006, 97). Therefore, the Church(es) could limit – and in fact did it to a certain extent – the speech and the information available to what was acceptable in their view and not blasphemous via various means. The main ones being: its influence in the committee on public instruction, which was reduced when it was transformed into the *Conseil supérieur de l'éducation* (Superior Council of Education) following the Parent report; its Brothers and Sisters composing an important part of the school personnel of the province; and the influence or control over pedagogic journals, central to the education of future lay teachers.

In addition to this religious form of limitation to free speech and free access to information, we can add the "anticommunist" limits under the Duplessis era. Indeed, as we have mentioned before, Duplessis's government, and the successive leaders of the party, opposed "leftism" and "communism" which were understood in a rather rhetorical sense as most forces opposed to political *status quo* and/or to the Catholic Church. Even the Liberal Party was decked out of this qualification during the 1956 election. To pursue on that note, the prime minister included various anticommunist elements in the first throne speech of our period of study, condemning diverse events in the USSR. If it had solely been a rhetorical strategy, we could not consider it as part of the limitation of free speech or free access to information. But as described above, those discursive differentiation strategies were translated into a policy in 1937, which was carried out for just over 20 years. Therefore, before it was rendered invalid because of its unconstitutionality, the law impeached certain activities notably by locking down venues accused of hosting communists or communist operations. That state of affairs did not last for much of the period we are studying; yet it still was an important element of the limitation of free speech for the first year. Especially since the impact of this law remained in non-legal forms after, with the struggle of radical left-wing ideas to reach the dominant sphere, as we have seen with the electoral success of parties embodying them and the low integration of periodicals like *Parti pris*.

That is obviously not a fully detailed assessment of the freedom of speech and of information situation in Quebec between 1956 and 1966, yet it gives clear indication of where it was rather closed – i.e. anything that could be considered not Christian or Catholic – and what progressively became more acceptable – i.e. socialising ideas and propositions.

8.3. *The level of interaction and of embedment between spheres*

There are various levels of embedment between different publics and between those publics and the dominant sphere. The same could be said with political parties since some members of parliament, like Pierre Laporte, were candidates for a third party before to become part of one of the two historical groups in presence – namely the *Union nationale* and the Liberal Party. Also, certain publics, like students, who seem to be part of a subaltern public sphere managed to have their grievances heard and policies implemented under the Lesage governments.

To illustrate this level of embedment the typology we proposed for the alternative press is useful. As we have mentioned, in the section on the subject, one can distinguish three levels of embedment with the mainstream media in the alternative press: (1) the missing; (2) the external; and (3) the integrated. In addition to that, we can add the fact that a part of the more liberal intellectual press was in close contact with the mainstream media. Even if a public sphere is not solely its media, the media interactions are a good indicator of the level of embedment between the dominant sphere and subaltern ones. We will not discuss here of the level of embedment of publics who are considered as such because of phenotypical-, gendered- or work-based classification – it will be done in the section 8.6. – but rather of the publics who are gathered more or less willingly for political reasons, notably.

Therefore, we can perhaps advance that within the constellation of public spheres, certain subaltern ones were more integrated with the dominant or central sphere, while others were more or less formally excluded from the hegemony of the dominant sphere. Those latter spheres could arguably be better understood with the label counter-public sphere rather than sub-public sphere. They are constituted of publics, media, and political parties at the fringe of the official institutions throughout the period of study. If the centre of the dominant sphere moves through conflicts and electoral gains between the actors related to the two main parties in parliament, more left-wing and right-wing parties and ideas

are hardly present in it. The interaction between *Cité libre*, *Le Devoir*, *Radio-Canada* and the Liberal Party show that the sub-public of a group of intellectuals – among whom we can find the readership of *Cité libre* – managed to be heard at the doors of power until 1960 and actually reached the highest elected positions after that. The same can be said with *L'Action nationale* – depending on the director –, the *Montréal-Matin*, and the *Union nationale*. The sub-public of intellectuals behind "traditional nationalism" lineage managed to get into power under Duplessis's time, and were close to the official opposition for the rest of our period of study.

However, other political parties, societal groups, or intellectuals did not reach the central public sphere as easily. The Marxist parties, the rather radical-right groups like the Salazarist-leaning ones, and the independentist parties were excluded, together with intellectuals and media supporting such groups. *Parti pris* and its actors, for example, did not interact as closely with the dominant sphere as its liberal counterpart – *Cité libre* – did. The RIN party was also part of that sub- or counter-public sphere. Their socialist, decolonial and independentist tones perhaps were not as well accepted within the centre of Quebec's public spheres. Even more radical voices, like the ones of the people behind the *Front de libération du Québec* seem to be completely absent. Yes, they used a non-democratic *praxis*, but they were as well involved in *lexis* by producing intellectual material and had discussions within the – limited – publics of the various cells of the group. That can be shown with their manifesto that ended up being read on the airwaves of *Radio-Canada* in 1970 (Société Radio-Canada 2008). We cannot postulate with certainty that more openness to a radical discourse on poverty and on independence could have tempered the group or hindered the discursive context that favoured its creation – beside the socioeconomic situation of francophones in Quebec and the international rise of revolutionary independentism. But, at least, it is a hypothesis that has a certain credit if we follow Mouffe's proposition for an agonistic public sphere without what antagonisms become impossible to manage within democratic institutions can emerge (2002, 63).

The same can be said about the Salazarist *Laurentie* and the *Alliance laurentienne*. Perhaps again it is the independentist aim of both the periodical and the political group that excluded them, since certain intellectuals related to them but not in favour of independence, like Robert Rumilly, were gravitating around Duplessis and the *Union*

nationale beforehand. Indeed, before the creation of the *Ralliement national*, the *Mouvement Souveraineté-Association* (MSA), and their later merger, it seems like the idea of independence was left quite undiscussed in the central spheres. Discussions about the autonomy-centralisation spectrum of federalism were present, but independentism as such was left in sub- or counter-public spheres until the defection of the previously popular *Radio-Canada* host, René Lévesque, from the Liberal Party for the MSA.

8.4. The role of the public sphere in the decision-making process

With the withdrawal of their support to Duplessis before our period of study, *Le Devoir* sealed the beginning of a clear division within the dominant media on the power of the state. Indeed, during the Duplessis era part of our thesis, there were actors in the mass media both openly favouring – e.g. the *Montréal-Matin* – and opposing frontally – e.g. *Le Devoir* – the government. Therefore, the role of the public sphere on decision-making before the Liberal mandate is ambiguous.

Under Duplessis, the public sphere's action seems to either oppose or favour the government. However, the pro-government media and other actors do not appear to be actually discussing policy or attempting to have an impact on them. They rather play a "drive belt" role by transmitting, in a one-way manner, the messages from the executive to the public they are communicating with. Even the Church, which had an independent leader, played this role, like with the distribution of political pamphlets during the election campaign of 1956. Perhaps this can be explained with the centralisation of top-down decision-making in the prime minister's office and the absence of a party structure, but also because the actors who were not allies were portrayed as enemies, whether they were foreign forces or communists or "leftists" they were not listened to. Outside of the public spheres of the Church authorities and of the remaining traditional nationalists, virtually no one was engaging with the power and, as we have said, this interaction was quite unidirectional, at least publicly. Indeed, the decision-making processes at this time was also very often made behind closed doors, de facto private, in the light of the level of corruption reached before the Liberal mandate.

The role of the public sphere nonetheless increases in large manners with the rise to power of Lesage's executive. The government was even potentially *propelled by* the opposition

within the dominant public sphere, and boiling counter- and sub-public spheres rising in importance. We can also see that with the multiple commissions of inquiry where scholars, actors of the civil society, other politicians were invited to discussion a specific subject. While there was a single one under Duplessis between 1956 and 1960 – on his spear horse of constitutional issues – there were more than 20 after his death until 1966. Those commissions stressed the importance of some subjects and, following them, decisions were taken by the legislative and the executive power of the state. Therefore, since they were a key tool of policy-making of the Lesage government, we can see an interest in the inclusion of a larger number of people in decision-making and a will to have policies or issues discussed within the public sphere.

Also, the actors of the public sphere were more integrated to this Liberal government. There were public figures who took part in this regime. Indeed, a lot of contributors to the public debate, whether it is as journalists, as television hosts, or by sporadic appearances, were co-opted by the Liberal Party from its mandate in 1960 onwards. A stereotypical example of that would be René Lévesque. He was a public figure who took part in public debate in *Cité libre* and as a journalist at *Radio-Canada* before to become a part of the cabinet.

8.5. *The meaning of reason in the public sphere*

We will not go into lengthy discussions on the relevance of the criteria of rationality in normative debates on the public sphere, but in our conceptualisation of the public sphere, we relativise the notion according to which public debates should be looked at mainly through the lens of a pedestal-risen reason. In other words, it "renounces any implications of rationality as well as any manifestation of the specific irrationalities of 'mass psychology'" (Luhmann 2010, 176).

As a matter of fact, since pluralist "Counter-Enlightenment" thinkers (Berlin 2013) up to more contemporary – and related to our field – ones, like Mouffe (2018, 75) who is drawing from Spinoza's *Ethics* (2000), theoreticians refuted the supremacy of reason in civic life and politics. Among this Counter-Enlightenment lineage, Giambattista Vico's *New Science* (1948) shows that he "was subversive of the very notion of absolute truths and of a perfect society founded on them, not merely in practice but in principle"

(Berlin 2013, 8). In parallel, Johann Georg Hamann accuses "rationalism and scientism of using analysis to distort reality" and will be followed by "Herder, Jacobi, Möser, who were influenced by Shaftesbury, Young and Burke", Schelling and "Bergson at the beginning of this century" (Berlin 2013, 11). To summarise Hamman's thought in a polemical expression used in a correspondence with Christian Jakob Kraus, he postulates that "reason is language" (as cited in Griffith-Dickson 2017). We do not go insofar as condemning reason or denying its existence, but rather that we should see it as one of the modes of existence which can cohabit with others within the public sphere.

In that perspective, Mouffe brings affects into the discussion, not by proscribing them for corrupting public discussion, but by considering them as a given force. Their presence does not only allow mobilisation but is also, as such, a telling element of the state of society. Dissatisfaction against a policy can be expressed in a rational way, through a detailed essay on the question, or in an affective way, through frustration expressed in a protest, and both ways are illuminating. Participation in the public sphere, as we have mentioned before, can take different discursive forms, including non-verbal ones; i.e. not only the contemporary versions of the bourgeois "rational" discussions in Continental European *salons*. To this should be added that the idea that any political issue can be sorted solely addressed through a rational discussion is naïve. Indeed, as we have proposed, through the words of Piketty notably, there is not a single rational solution for certain conflictual subjects, for example wealth repartition. The decisions of distributing wealth through the state and of letting wealth be allocated according to the place of an individual in the market are both rational, yet based on two differing utopia. It is solely a subjective, affectual and normative debate that can solve this issue, not a rational one.

That being said, assessing the continuity or the change in the perception of reason throughout our period still can be enlightening. In that sense, we do not think that there was much change on the meaning given to reason in the francophone public sphere in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. Reason was used together with myths, affects, and other rhetorical strategies to gain the adherence of Quebecers, especially during elections. Indeed, even the liberals of *Cité libre* who veiled their position into Enlightenment and rationality because, according to them, "French Canada lacked a philosophy of positive action based on a secular, rationalist and scientific scrutiny of all its important problems and traditionally

unquestioned values and institutions" (Behiels 1985, 69) fell short on those. They rather built more on *ethos* and *pathos* polemical rhetoric (Behiels 1985, 72).

So, if we do not manage to provide, here, an understanding of the *meaning* of reason in the institutions and during the time frame we studied, we can see that the cohabitation of reason and other modes remains somewhat stable. Both, the position and opposition, within the dominant public sphere before and after the change in government, seemed to use various elements of rhetoric and not only *logos*. The difference would be more in the *ethos* and *pathos* mobilised, since the myths behind both main competing groups are themselves different.

8.6. The exclusion and the inclusion of public(s) in the dominant public sphere

This section will be slightly shorter due to the fact that we explored already parts of elements that should be covered here when we assessed the alternative press. When we summarised it, we noted the absence of a press dedicated to certain social groups, namely the Indigenous, Black and LGBTQ+ communities. This is an indicator of the less-organised state of those groups at that time compared to today. On the other hands, the two "ethnic groups" that constituted more than 1% of the population of Quebec each, the Italians and the Jews had their own media with different levels of liveliness, but none of them were published in French. Among the "other European" statistical group, smaller communities numerically, like the Greeks and the Portuguese, also saw local newspapers being created between 1956 and 1966. The feminine press was somewhat dynamic as well with the main outlet *La Revue moderne/Châtelaine* that emerged from a semi-literary magazine before to become "properly" a feminine periodical. As for the workers and peasants, they both had their voice expressed through the media organs of the biggest organised groups, the CTCC/CSN and the UCC.

Yet, as the central public sphere in Quebec is francophone, the "ethnic groups" mentioned were *per se* excluded of this sphere. Were they more integrated with the anglophone public sphere in Quebec, which is rather more part of the larger Anglo-Canadian public sphere? That question remains unanswered in our thesis and in studies available today. Nonetheless, they were excluded of Quebec's central sphere or, at least, their "ethnicity status" was excluded, while they could participate as "general" citizens in non-

community-specific media, for example. The same goes for the publics who had no press destined for them, they were also excluded from the dominant public sphere, at least on the aspect of their identity that falls under the constructed social groups – i.e. Indigenous, Black, LGBTQ+, etc.

As for the other groups we observed, they were more integrated – to various degrees – with the dominant public sphere. Indeed, if women actually reached a higher level of interaction with the dominant public sphere's printed press, it took a bit longer before the condition of women were problematised as such on television and in the parliament. The workers, on the other hands, always had voices in the dominant public sphere, but the union representatives passed from an oppositional role under Duplessis to an approval one under Lesage.

8.7. The relation between the cultural and the political public spheres
If we studied the political public sphere as we built it above, there are certain clues pointing at a degree of interaction between the cultural and the political spheres even if limited.

First, the media in the dominant public sphere covered the cultural activities happening in Quebec. The publication of the *Refus global* manifesto by the visual artists grouped around the *Automatistes* has notably arose interest for painters in *Cité libre* but also in *Le Devoir*. The newspaper, when directed by Gérard Filion and Claude Ryan "witnesses the rise of importance for visual arts" in the political sphere by "an increased attention put on them" (Lacroix 1994, 172). The positions of the newspaper remained "close to the traditional positions defended by the professionals of the Fine Art School (*École des beaux-arts*) and of the Furniture School (*École du meuble*)" (Lacroix 1994, 172). On the other hand, the "arts and culture" sections of the *Montréal-Matin* and *La Presse* represent respectively around 3% and 5% of the content of the newspapers. (Noël 2014, 254). This, in comparison with respectively 12% and 25% for politics, or 56% and 21% for sports, show that in the popular and tabloid press, arts and culture did not have great importance (Noël 2014, 254).

Second, as we have mentioned, in the reformation of the state made under Lesage, the government has created the Ministry of Cultural Affairs in order to promote and better fund culture in the province. This creation has benefited "from a sustained attention"

from *Le Devoir* on the aspects of its policies, its autonomy, its power within the cabinet and its funding means (Lacroix 1994, 173).

In another perspective, the changes in the media contributed to blur the lines between politics and arts. Continuing with the printed media, the creation of *Parti pris* represents this blurring. It was a very political periodical, to which various people related to the literature field contributed, and in which one could find literature critique and literary products. In the electronic media, *Radio-Canada* also combined cultural and political emissions in its programming, and within certain TV shows, especially "feminine" programs.

8.8. The famous figures or cultural referents present in the public sphere
Apart from the public intellectuals invited on the airwaves of *Radio-Canada*, the television hosts, and the actors of the popular *téléromans*, the most famous figure who was also a cultural reference was the hockey player, Maurice Richard.

As we have mentioned, *La Soirée du hockey* was the most watched show on the public broadcaster's channel. At the beginning of our time frame, Maurice Richard became the captain of the only professional hockey team in Quebec (Les Canadiens de Montréal 2008), location of creation of the sport as we know it today in 1875 (Martel 2019). He became a national hero and a "myth through whom many Quebecers lived their national struggle, have been humiliated, and thanks to whom they kept a pride" (A. Bélanger 1996). Therefore, Maurice Richard is probably the most important famous figure at the time, not only because of his objective position as a captain of the *Canadiens*, but also because of what he represented in the conflict between francophones and anglophones. His mythical influence was even exemplified in 1955 when his suspension by the English-speaking Canadian leader of the team, Clarence Campbell, provoked riots outside of Montreal's Forum (A. Bélanger 1996, 546). The symbols were clear: an anglophone – like the ones "controlling the economy" – forces a francophone not to play, like when they are being put out of work (A. Bélanger 1996, 545). Yet, Richard was a pride notably because he "personified" a man "strong and confident enough vis-à-vis the 'other' to keep a peer-to-peer relation with it" (A. Bélanger 1996, 545).

We have added this famous figure in addition to the empirical study we did in the Chapter 3 because we propose, like Bélanger that it is a central figure due to the myth

created around him. But also, because he was the star of the most watched television program, being the captain of the local hockey team.

8.9. The degree and the type of interactions between a domestic public sphere with foreign ones
From the information we have presented in the previous chapter, we can develop an assessment of the external relations of the francophone public sphere. In general, it seems like the main interactions with other public spheres from other territories are with the French one, on many aspects. Even if the Quebecer public sphere covered federal politics, the language probably hindered the possible relation between the francophone Quebecer public sphere and the – mostly anglophone – Canadian public sphere. However, the media, the parliamentarians, and other public sphere actors interacted with the French public sphere.

On the media side, France's *Le Monde* has been the gateway for *Le Devoir* to access international information, especially the European one, with a – "very favourable" – formal agreement between both newspapers of records (Léger 1994, 382). In a similar way, the contributors of *Cité libre* were inspired by French periodicals, but also took part in debates and wrote articles in these, like in *Esprit* (Behiels 1985, 48).

From the parliamentarians, the relation between France and Quebec intensified under the leadership of Charles de Gaulle and of Jean Lesage. The neo-nationalists in the Liberal Cabinet, like Paul Gérin-Lajoie (Chaloux and Paquin 2016), favoured a more active role in international relations – in the provincial fields of sovereignty – as a part of the project for the emancipation of francophone Quebecers. On the other hands, some saw de Gaulle's policies for Quebec an attempt to limit the Anglo-Saxon influence on the North American continent (Bosher 1999). This combination let the president of the French Republic to easily recognise diplomatic and cultural relations between the former colony and metropolis (O. Côté, n.d.). One year after the end of the time frame of this study, de Gaulle even proclaimed the controversial "Long live free Quebec!" ("*Vive le Québec libre!*") on the balcony of Montreal's City Hall which led to the shortening of his diplomatic visit in Canada (Axworthy 2013).

In other aspects, there were also interactions. As we have mentioned, a lot of Catholic Brothers came from France to Quebec to teach (Nachbauer 2006, 97) and therefore it

integrated elements from the French public sphere within the Quebecer educational institutions. Also, in terms of art, Montreal and Paris visual arts interacted to some level even if, in order to integrate the French cultural public sphere, the painters from Quebec "had to become 'Parisians'" by "accepting the rule of Paris" to be recognised (Guilbaut 1990, xiii). A similar pattern could be observed about Montrealer Automatists in New York, as they attempted a rebellion similar to the "Irascibles" in the Big Apple, two months earlier, but did not have an impact even close to them (Guilbaut 1990, xiii).

8.10. A national specificity: the elites' power struggles

In Gripsrud's threads that build the fabric of the public sphere, the tenth regards a national specificity. To this singularity, we propose a reading that shows an elite change and a struggle between elites. This element plays both the role of the national specificity but also the broader societal analysis, as mentioned earlier. Yet, an analysis of the elites requires a mobilisation of more theoretical knowledge which necessitates a lengthier discussion. There are no insights within the study of the Norwegian public sphere for such a reading. Therefore, the demonstration of the presence of elites' power struggles will occur in the following section, with the use of an additional framework.

Before doing so, one can reach, after the nine previous threads, certain entailments. Throughout this analysis, that combined elements from the Chapter 3 and new information brought to light, we notice mostly changes during our period, but also some elements of continuity. We postulate, first of all, a general enlargement of the public sphere. Indeed, as we have shown, there was a widening of the notion of publicness, an opening of free speech and free access to information, and an increased role in decision-making. Yet, this expansion did not touch every aspect. Certain counter and subaltern public spheres, and their publics, were excluded from the dominant sphere, while others that were subalterns were only partly integrated. Without suggesting a change during our period, we proposed that the political sphere, depending on the area, was somewhat open to interact with the cultural sphere, especially in the elite printed press and on television. On aspects unrelated to the level of openness of the public sphere, we suggested that, even if the meaning of reason within a study on the public sphere is not a cornerstone, it does not seem to have changed much in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. We also showed the example of Maurice Richard as an "ideal-type" famous figure of the public sphere

during this time. Finally, the most important international relation of the francophone Quebec public sphere during the time frame studied was with France, especially after the rise to power of Jean Lesage in Quebec, and of Charles de Gaulle in France.

9. The Quebecer public sphere as an elites' struggle, 1956–1966

In order to make sense of what we described as a specific aspect of the public sphere in Quebec between 1956 and 1966, we suggested drawing from the sociological diagnosis from the elite theorist Gaetano Mosca. Prior to this theoretical mobilisation necessary for a construal of our study, we propose a contextualisation of Mosca's thought in what has been called "Italian Theory" or "Italian Social Theory" (e.g. Bellamy 1987c; Gentili, Stimilli, and Garelli 2018; Esposito 2012; Negri 2009; Carrera 2011; Watson 2010). The grouping of philosophical and political thoughts is debated among the scholars cited above, but it "had an undeniably pronounced political impact" (Bellamy 1987c, 157). If we schematise, perhaps overly, two schools of thought on this question can be distinguished: one seeing Italian Theory as a Gramscian moment (e.g. Gentili 2013; Negri 2009); another one identifying it with a Machiavellian genealogy (e.g. Esposito 2012). Among those Italian theorists if we follow the latter approach, we count "objectivists" – meaning theoreticians who look at "policy conclusions for a realistic politics" – such as Mosca and some "Marxists" – who go beyond objectivists and relativists by putting forward "an immanent critique of our current beliefs and attitudes" – like Antonio Gramsci (Bellamy 1987c, 157).

Therein, we are attempting to mobilise a set of conceptual tools, specifically the concept of elite, namely the "political class", developed in Mosca's "critique of democracy" (Filippini 2017, 56). Even if their normative theories are completely diverging, we also propose to juxtapose Gramsci's idea of the "intellectual" since we acknowledge a certain degree of resemblance in the diagnosis that led to those tools. Indeed, the notions of elite and masses, and the question of the mediation between them, was "on the contrary reformulated by Gramsci, within the framework of a revolutionary theory characterized by these new hegemonic-democratic coordinates" (Filippini 2017, 57).

As a matter of fact, Mosca saw the political class as an "inherently superior" and holding a certain "degree of culture" obtained through a "moderate degree of wealth", in

comparison to other parts of a population (Bellamy 1987b, 37–38). Subsequently, he postulated on "how democracy encouraged corruption and a decline in public standards" (Bellamy 1987b, 38). Here, we will not invoke that "prescriptive side of his theory – rule by a disinterested elite, serving the common good" but the diagnosis Mosca has on the existence, the maintainability, and the interactions of elites (Bellamy 1987b, 43). Indeed, Gramsci "admitted that the division of society into 'rulers and ruled' was a 'primordial fact'" which echoes somehow his contemporary's idea of the political class (Bellamy 1987a, 135). From the superstructure described by Gramsci composed of a "civil society" and a "political society" can emerge "two types of intellectual: 'traditional' and 'organic'" (Bellamy 1987a, 133, 136). It refers to not only "these strata commonly described by this term, but in general the entire social stratum which exercise an organisational function in the wide sense" (Bellamy 1987a, 136). Therefore, the conceptualisation of what is an intellectual in a Gramscian understanding amounts it, in our sense, to the ruling class of Mosca to a certain extent. If we will continue by drawing on Mosca's conceptual approach and sociological diagnosis since it seems more productive to enlighten the situation of Quebec's public sphere between 1956 and 1966, our ontological position is probably much closer to Gramscian theory. But, since we have shown that they share a certain filiation and that they are not incompatible, that should not be seen as an incoherence within this thesis.

9.1. The political class in Mosca's thought

If there is ambiguity and varying occurrences in Mosca's vocabulary to describe a certain elite – ruling class, superior class, governing class, governing minority, political class, etc. (Azzolini 2016, 229; our translation) – we will consistently employ the latter since it is the expression that is usually used when exploring his elite theory (e.g. Filippini 2009, 91). He formulated an "interpretation of the political class deriv[ing] from the assumption that '*in every properly established government the effective does not always tally with the power of law*' [G. Mosca, *Teorica dei governi e governo parlamentare*, 365-366]" (Martinelli 2009, 6–7). To summarise, one can find in the official political institutions, the political class "in the strict sense"; and the rest of this class, also sometimes referred to as the "managerial class" in the rest of the institutions of powers (Martinelli 2009, 7). As we have mentioned, we think that it can hardly be assumed that this class, understood broadly, is necessarily

constituted of "'inherently superior persons' and that they share a common purpose and act in unison" as Mosca postulates it (Bellamy 1987, 37). However, the idea that there is a class participating in power and that it does not solely lie in the heads of states and parliaments appears useful.

Mosca adds a layer to this notion of class with the idea of "political formula" composed of "abstract principles through which the political élite justifies its own power, building around it a moral and legal structure" (Martinelli 2009, 8). As he said: "it is not the political formula that determines the way the political class is structured. On the contrary, it is the latter that always adopts the formula that suits it best" (Mosca 1982, 227 as cited in Martinelli 2009, 8). However, those formulas and classes can be replaced. As a result of sociological changes, "there are always new elements in a position of entering into the political class, and usually entering it under the aegis of a new formula, which replaces the old" (Bellamy 1987, 39). If the political class does not co-opt new elements to join it (Martinelli 2009, 9), if "it does not alter with the times", "another elite would form amongst the ruled which in the fullness of time would replace them if necessary by force" (Bellamy 1987, 39).

In the "mainstream normative theories (from John Rawls to Jürgen Habermas) or in different development of critical contemporary political philosophy (from Michel Foucault to Toni Negri), the elitist debate was *either* directly rejected as detritus from vetero-positivist social theory, *or* liquidated expeditiously and in approximative manner" (Azzolini 2016, 104; our translation). However, with the elements laid out above, we will attempt to show that notions coming from elite theories are relevant and useful today. That is, even if some prescriptions following the sociological diagnosis of elite theorists can be unappealing.

9.2. The political classes in Quebec

Between 1956 and 1966, using the framework of Mosca, we identify, through our study of the public sphere, a change of political class and a rearticulation of the political formula justifying their social position. By that, we suggest that the 1960 election was not solely a marker of party alternance, but it had manifold implications. We are, of course, not the first ones to propose this election as an important indicator of a change, as the large body

of research on the Quiet Revolution and the debates surrounding the label and its significance witness it. However, to our knowledge, we are the first to attempt to read the transition between the Duplessis and Lesage mandate from this elite perspective. There is an interpretation along those lines in Linteau et al. (1989, 555–58), but their "new ruling class" seem to *appear* post-1960 rather than being present prior to this date, yet in another power relation with the state and in a constant struggle with other elites. Linteau et al. (1989) base their analysis on others who looked: at the composition of the technocrats rising during and after the Quiet Revolution and their "cybernetist social order" project (J.-J. Simard 1979, 179); at the "new class" that emerged from the reforms during those years (Grand'Maison 1979); or, in a short summary of "social classes in Québec", at some changes in the "national bourgeoisie" (Dumais 1974, 47–48). However, no one looked at the competition between those elites and the position that these groups had before 1960. There is some kind of assumption of novelty created by the Quiet Revolution.

In our case, we distinguish two political classes composed of different people – not only in terms of names but also in terms of sociological categories – , supported by different managerial classes, and justifying their power with two variations of the same tone.

In a chronological order, Quebec first knew a Unionist – in the sense of related to the *Union nationale* – political class which is less numerous. The Cabinet was smaller; the decisions revolved more around Duplessis himself; there were fewer state officials; the managerial class including the clergy and capitalists – mostly Anglo-Americans (Sales 1980, 525) – was composed of a limited number of people – usually not part of or weakly contributing to the centre of the public spheres. The political formula of the Unionists was based on French-Canadian nationalism, like the one of the Liberals that was also based on this nationalism, or rather a Quebecer nationalism. But Duplessis's approach was one of the preservation of the ethnicity of French-Canadians in North America. And for this, he had to leave the economic development of the province to anglophone's capital because it was not in the destiny of French-Canadians to do so. Therefore, the political formula of the Unionist political class is based on what has been described by Behiels as traditional nationalism, in opposition to the later neo-nationalism (1985).

As for the Liberals' political class, it installed itself not only by replacing the previously stable elite. It also created new structures where new political and managerial classes could emerge. Indeed, the groups and people that formed the opposition within the dominant public sphere pre-1960 took power after the elections and they slowly outnumbered the previous one through newly created state structures. Those structures included the new ministries and the more active roles of the ministries in general, the multiple commissions of inquiry, the achievement of the monopoly on electricity, etc. All of those creations also reflect the will of establishing a new political formula by "building around it a moral and legal structure" (Martinelli 2009, 8) to ground the new political class in legitimacy. And those structures were meant to serve the new political formula which was based on a transformation of the nationalism to a Quebecer neo-nationalism, in general favouring a social-democratic turn.

Following the political class swap, the managerial classes also transformed. We can focus on what we will call the "myth-producing" and economic aspects of it. Perhaps the closeness of those classes can in part explain the crystallisation of the Unionist elite and its collapse from 1960. The myth production role passed from the Catholic clergy to various types of intellectuals expressing themselves publicly, notably on the newly created television of *Radio-Canada*. The state, under Lesage, secularised certain sectors, the unions, like the CTCC also became the secular CSN, *La Presse* took distances from the church, etc. And that was following the previously existing critique of religion coming out of *Cité libre* and *Le Devoir,* for example. This shows that a part of the newly formed political class was pre-existing the fall of the reign of Duplessis, even with the central public sphere. It was just playing a different role. On the economic aspect, the Liberals attempted to replace the anglophone bourgeoisie by producing a francophone bourgeoisie with, as a first step, the creations of a plethora of new professional posts within state structures. Being excluded from the top positions in the private sector, they had to find their place in other ways. We can see a change in the economic managerial class supporting the political class. From "foreign"-controlled corporations – that did not disappear but were partly relegated out of economic decisions – the economic managerial class became state-centered.

In both cases, then, we can observe a general publicisation of the classes or, in other words, an increased role of the state and an increase of potentially democratic control rather than private control. This echoes somewhat one of the findings we mentioned in the previous subsection, regarding the general enlargement of the public sphere. The relation between public spheres and the elite – understood here as the political class – therefore seems somewhat dynamic.

CHAPTER 5: Concluding discussion

The following pages are concluding this thesis that had as an aim to formulate a history of the francophone Quebecer political public sphere between 1956 and 1966. As the first attempt to do so for this territory, it is, of course, a limited study that requires further research to be completed. However, we strived towards the best work possible to provide more than a strictly exploratory study.

In this sense, we reviewed the concept of the public sphere. First, we proposed a demonstration of the necessity to include the economy in the public sphere. Then, we exposed the concept in a genealogical perspective to, after, pose Jürgen Habermas's *Structural Transformation* as a catalyser leading to today's interest on the notion. Finally, we described rather contemporary critiques of the Habermassian approach. In our work, following this discussion, we conceptualised the public sphere as a space of state legitimacy – drawing from Jüri Lipping and Hannah Arendt – where conflicts, rather than the aim for consensus, and affects, rather than barely reason, have a central place – drawing from Chantal Mouffe.

To operationalise this conceptualisation, we build on what we have called "the Norwegian approach" which we can find in *Allmenningen*, Jostein Gripsrud's edition of the study on the history of the public sphere in Norway. To describe the ten threads put forward by Gripsrud for the weaving of the fabric of the public sphere, we looked into what we have posited as the two main elements: the media system and parliamentarianism. If Gripsrud's threads are kept as a background throughout the empirical part of the thesis before to reappear to the fore in the analysis, we based our studies of the media system and the parliamentarianism on other theoretical frameworks. Indeed, together with the framework that offers Gripsrud's threads and our conceptualisation of the public sphere, we used media system history methods to guide our study on the subject; and Terje Rasmussen's *Offentlig Parlamentarisme* for the study of the three legislatures during our time frame. The history we developed following that was, then, analysed to the light of the said threads and, thereafter, of Mosca's elite theory. Hence, that thesis's method and its structure inscribe it in a sociohistoric approach to the object of study.

In the media system's history, we described the media in its various forms mid-20th century: written, televised, and broadcasted on radio. In the written press, we distinguished the mainstream newspapers for which we focused on the daily press, the alternative and community-specific periodicals and the intellectual magazines. We brushed our portrait within a limited historiography of the media in Quebec, what affected our own limits since we mostly relied on secondary sources. The primary sources in this section served either to exemplify certain elements or to our contextualisation of the daily press, through a study of the electoral positions taken by the various newspapers. Apart from being useful for our construction of the public sphere in the analysis, from this section also emerged certain findings. First, within the literature on the media in Quebec, our media system's history challenges the paradigmatic notions of journalism (Charron and de Bonville 1996) that remained unquestioned to this day. We suspect that the paradigms and their definition presented in this core article were imported from the situation in the United States and lacked the contextualisation to the Quebec media and journalism. Second, we showed a multiplication of outlets *and* of media types, notably due to the technological developments, but also because of the effervescence of marginal ideas, at least then. Thirdly, and lastly, the description of the media between 1956 and 1966 showed various levels of power of the different outlets and their journalists, in relation to the dominant public sphere.

When it comes to the parliamentary history, the more abundant literature on political history allowed selecting the most specific publications on our subject of interest. Indeed, unlike the media history that is lacking in general and even more when it comes to a "system" or "social relations" perspective, the political history is vast. Consequentially, we could look into works concentrating on parliamentary activities. After studying the commissions of inquiry and the three legislatures during the 10 years of our study, we came to certain conclusions. We found with our section on the commissions of inquiry – a primary source-based short study – that the main conflictual and salient subjects in Quebec between 1956 and 1966 were: health, labour organisation, education, fiscality, constitutional issues, culture, natural resources and corruption. Another primary source observation, based on electoral results, showed that there was a constant decrease of popularity for the *Union nationale* from the population, while there was a growing approval for Liberals, first, and third-parties, later. With the rise of Liberals came an

increasingly open parliament and a multiplicity of changes in policy-making. In sum, the period we studied did not only know a governmental change, the alterations related to the parliament were more than an executive swap.

Not only were there actors of the public spheres moving from the media to the parliament, and less often from the parliament to the media, but those two areas were also tied by other elements than agents, which formed an overarching public sphere. For example, the period we studied opened with a corruption issue that was a conflictual topic everywhere in the public sphere. Whether it is in the parliament, in the media or in society, the unfolding of the 1956 elections was a debated topic as one episode of the corruption of the Duplessis government. The Liberal Party in its role of opposition in the Legislative assembly, *Le Devoir*, and certain actors like Léon Dion and Father O'Neill were extremely critical of the lack of transparency and the questionable democratic practices of the Duplessis government. The public sphere, then, really played a role of "critical estate to the sovereign". Other episodes, which we have mentioned it in the Chapter 3, like the implementation of the Salvas commissions in 1961 and 1963, and the accusations of previous Unionist ministers following it in 1963, showed a similar mobilisation of the part of the public sphere in opposition to the Duplessis era. On the role of the state – both in the economy and towards religion – there were clear positions in the public spheres throughout the period. The *Union nationale* was, of course, in favour of a certain continuity, while Liberal Party had a more secular will and favoured more interventionism economically. This debate had various actors in the public sphere interact with each other. The state under Duplessis intervened on mores rather than in the economy – i.e. with the censoring, according to rigorous Catholic views, of various cultural products including a movie with Marilyn Monroe in 1959. In opposition, artists, *Cité libre* contributors and others were demanding an enlarged freedom on this. An important union, the CTCC, also reveals this change of view by secularising itself and with the new name of CSN in 1960. The shift of role towards economic interventionism and secularity was seen too, with the support of the Liberal Party, of *Le Devoir* and others for the hospitalisation insurance in 1960 that secured an increased role of the state while taking away the health services from religious congregations. Finally, the question of the constitution of Canada and the place of Quebec in the federation also showed similar groupings in the public sphere. However, it also revealed another layer to the discussion that was out of the centre

of the public sphere. Indeed, from the inquiry commission on constitutional problems in 1956 to the elections of 1966 where independentist third-parties have emerged with more importance, this issue was one axis of polarisation. In the francophone public sphere, there were some *citélibristes* who favoured a new federalism like the Liberal Party; there were the autonomist views combined with some corporatism of the *Union nationale*; there was a more radical version of this that came to light with the creation of the *Alliance laurentienne* in 1957; there were the more left-wing independentists of the *Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale*, in 1960; and a pro-independence revolutionary socialism that was translated, democratically, with the launch of *Parti pris,* and, violently, with the beginning of the attacks of the *Front de libération du* Québec, both in 1963. *Le Devoir* and *L'Action nationale* had moving opinions on this question. A multitude of subjects could be listed to continue showing the positions of the various actors in the public sphere, whether they were in the centre on in the periphery of it. Yet, one can notice a pattern here that started drawing the lines of the elite portrait brushed in the analysis.

Before going back on this second time of the analysis, we have demonstrated various shifts were visible during this time in Quebec. The election of the Liberals of Jean Lesage was both a symptom and a catalysing element for deeper societal changes. On the notion of the public sphere, we first notice an enlargement of its importance: the notion of publicness widened; there was a greater freedom of expression and of access to information; the role of decision-making relied on a larger body of people; there was a publicisation – and a politicisation – of the conditions of various publics, especially the women's; etc. Yet, if there were changes, there were also elements that remained quite stable, like the presence of counter- and sub-public spheres. The LGBTQ+, the Black, and the Indigenous communities were absent of the dominant public sphere, and of the mediated sphere as a whole. In parallel, women and workers were part of subaltern, yet somewhat integrated, public spheres, while Marxists, independentists and others evolved in counter-public spheres. Less in relation to power relation and visibility, we also showed that cultural and political public spheres interacted, in the dominant sphere, mostly in the elite press and on television. About television, the most watched program was the hockey night, which can partly explain why we propose Maurice Richard, the captain of the Montreal hockey team, as the most central famous figure of the public sphere. Ultimately,

with less detailed evidence, we showed that the Quebecer public sphere interacted mostly with France's public sphere in its external relations, probably over the Canadian one.

The construction of the public sphere that we have put forward, together with the empirical element illustrated prior to it, led to the second fold of our analysis. That part focused on the elitism of the public sphere in Quebec between 1956 and 1966. The lenses of the elite theory we articulated to make sense of our assemblage of the public sphere was based on Gaetano Mosca's thought. Even if there are similarities between Mosca's political class and Antonio Gramsci's intellectual, the use of the former was more productive in our context. Nonetheless, as we have mentioned, the political solutions prescribed by Mosca, following his sociological diagnosis, is not the one we would aim for. However, the conceptual tools he built granted us the possibility to distinguish two political classes in the analysis: the Unionists and the Liberals. From this, we also showed that the elites in Quebec passed from a more private sector-based core to a more public-based one.

Though we reached the findings above, there are certain elements worth noting in terms of limits to our thesis. First, the scale of our study did not allow sufficient primary sources study to compensate for all the holes in the historiography of Quebec, especially in the media but also on popular history. As we have mentioned, in the media history part, numerous objects of study lack even a single study on them, and others have countless angles that were not yet explored. The study of the popular press is among them, the history of television too, especially the launch of private stations, just like the media as social actors or the history of the media system. If the scale of the thesis would have been larger, and the constraints broader – number of pages, time to realise the study, funding for research, etc. – we could have perhaps enlightened some of those absences. The distance with the national archives of Quebec in Montreal, even though some were digitalised, made it even more complicated in our case to develop primary sources study.

Second, on the aspect of the construction of our study, we chose to focus on the shifts in the francophone political public sphere. Even if there were various elements part of the rationale for that decision, we cannot postulate that the history related in that thesis is the complete history on the territory of Quebec. Among the elements that justified our decision to still exclude non-francophone press, the main were the feasibility of the study

of an all-encompassing study, the constitution of the francophones in Quebec as a specific public, the more important relation between the anglophone Quebecers with federal politics than with the province's. This does not mean that it would be irrelevant, on the contrary, to attempt a study on the "field of discursive connections" (Calhoun 1992, 37) including non-francophones during the same time frame and on the same territory. We choose to say non-francophones because the anglophone press in Montreal has already received some scholarly attention, but, as we have stated, the media emerging from what one could call the "ethno-cultural diversity" has been understudied, to say the least.

Continuing on the construction of our study, the conceptualisation we have followed and Rasmussen's study on Norwegian parliamentarianism led us to look more in detail to parliamentary politics. If the focus on that institution's form of politics allows studying a larger spectrum of subjects than solely the bills presented in chamber, it still cannot cover the whole of the political history of Quebec, in the civil society especially. Of course, we have read and mobilised more general history books throughout this thesis which gave us an understanding of the period. Yet, in the second part of the elements of the public sphere, we had to rely on material that was more concentrated on this subject. Since the elected body at the parliament is de facto part of the political elite – or the political class – , it does not impeach the reading on the elites' struggle proposed in our analysis, but it does not provide a global understanding of the political context for the elements of the public sphere. To give an example, parliamentary politics gives the possibility to observe what is explicitly public, but we did lose some nuances that could have come up from more subtle form of boundaries between public and private in more "marginal" parts of the civil society.

Finally, to a less important extent, one could say that our thesis's structure is creative. If that can be positive for its originality and its demonstration of autonomy, it still limits to a certain degree the duplication, or the validation with previous studies. We reached this structure following theoretical insights and, more importantly, by an assemblage of studies on the subject – mostly on the Norwegian public sphere (Gripsrud 2017; Rasmussen 2015) – and of studies on the local object – through a historiography of the media and a study on the history made on parliamentary politics. That being said, we think that we have managed to do a relevant use of the studies mentioned above for the

public sphere of Quebec between 1956 and 1966. Moreover, this creative structure also let us contribute to the completion of a part of the puzzle of the history of the media as social actors of a system, a path Roy and de Bonville (2000) advocated for.

However, the findings of this thesis are not limited to a contribution on the history of the public sphere in Quebec. The inquiry into the power struggles between two main elites from different hegemonies attempting to take the power of the state in Quebec between 1956 and 1966 points at larger societal questions. Questions that bring us back to the notions with which we opened this thesis: state legitimacy; crisis; populism. To return to the introduction, there has been an alleged rise of populism in the last years in various democracies around the world. But what if the issue of our democracies was not populism in itself? What if the issue was wrongly framed from the beginning and that we are trying to solve it by misinterpreting the symptoms of our societies?

Indeed, in the last years, the liberal path has been trying to "cure" the world from populism, whatever that label means (Therrien 2019), by pointing at a presumed ignorance or bigotry present in the "masses". The press officer from the European Parliament for Greece, Elivra Forte, put it in a way that could not be better illustrated. For her, like for other liberal opponents of "populism," anyone who supports a strong critique of an institution currently detaining power – in her case the European Union – is "antidemocratic" and "populist" (Forte 2019). But, what if, instead, one would look at the level integration of those "ignorant, bigoted, antidemocratic and populist" people in the public sphere of the dominant hegemony, and more precisely at their power on state decision-making? Could we find there some elements of explanation behind the troubling rise in support of radical right-wing parties other than the ones put forward by a certain liberal technocratic elite? Our answer is positive. As we have shown at different moments of our thesis, we could rather attempt to "immune", at least partially, contemporary Western democracies from the dislocation some know today, by opening the dominant public sphere to currently excluded groups of society, by aiming for a non-elitist public sphere. A larger, encompassing and *conflictual* central public sphere should be what democracies endeavour, so that states can draw legitimacy from them and that citizens improve their trust towards state structures.
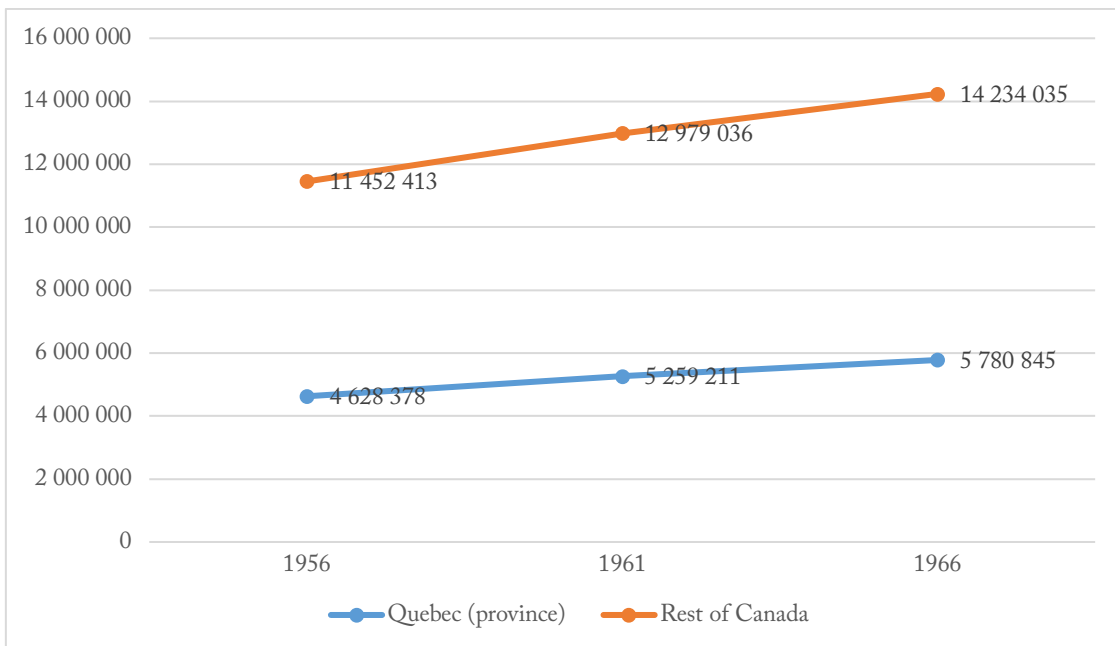
APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Map of the current borders of Quebec (province)
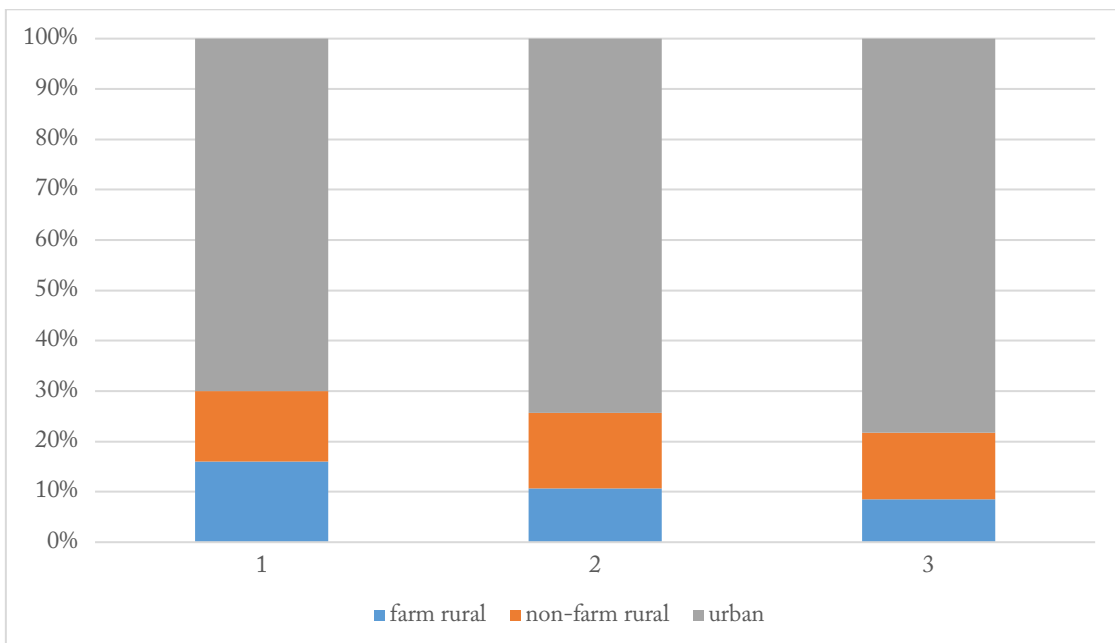

(Ministère des Ressources naturelles et de la Faune 2006)

Appendix 2: Population of Quebec (province) and Canada, between 1956 and 1966
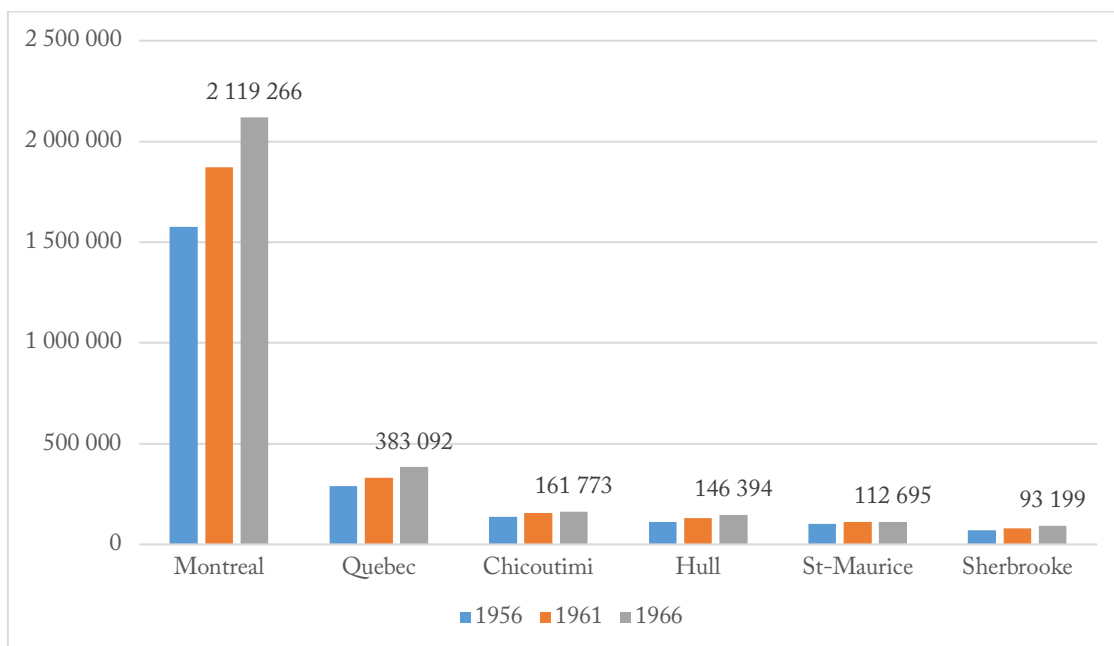

(our compilation from: Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1957; 1962; 1967)

Appendix 3: Rural and urban population distribution in Quebec (province), between 1956 and 1966
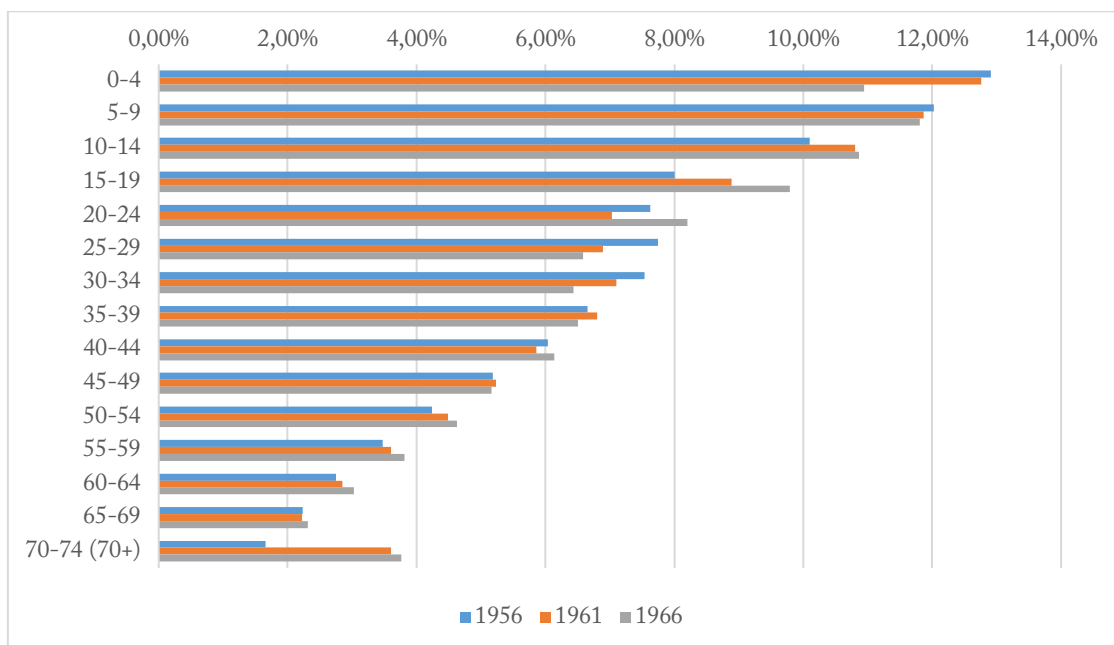

(our compilation from: Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1958; 1964a; 1968b)

Appendix 4: Population by main census subdivisions in Quebec (province), between 1956 and 1966


(our compilation from: Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1957; 1962; 1967)

Appendix 5: Distribution of Quebec's (province) population, between 1956 and 1966

(our compilation from: Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1958; 1964a; 1968a)

Appendix 6: Distribution of the population of 15 years of age and over not attending school by highest level of schooling, 1961
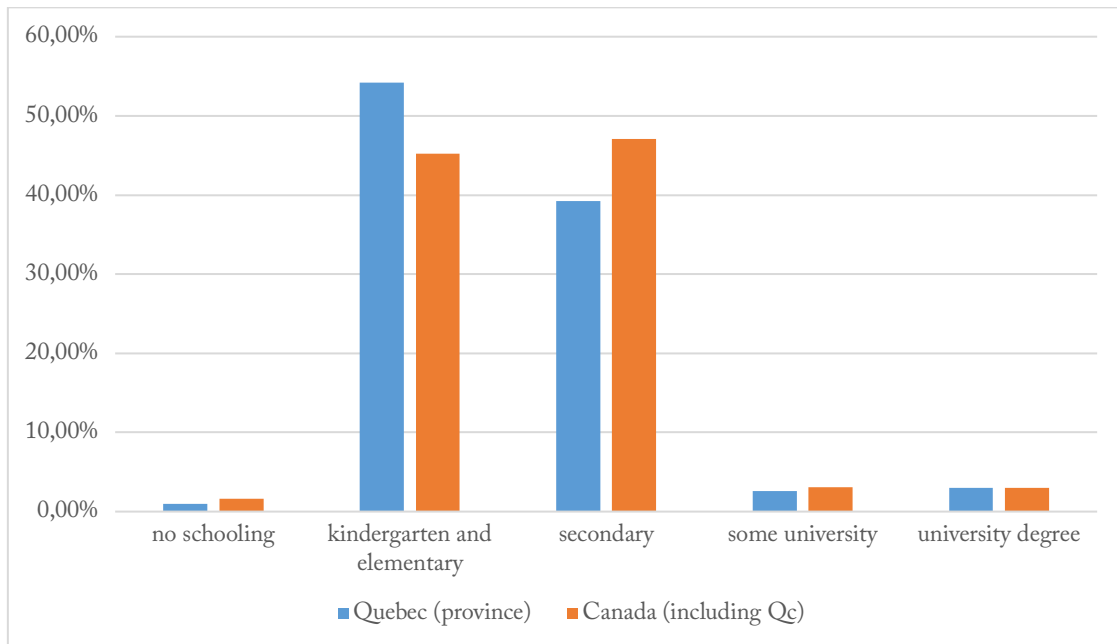
(Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1965)

Appendix 7: Distribution of the population of Quebec (province) and Canada classified according to mother tongue, 1961

(Dominion Bureau of Statistics = Bureau fédéral de la statistique 1965b)

LE DEVOIR

FAIS CE QUE DOIS

Directeur: Gérard FILION   Rédacteur en chef: André LAURENDEAU

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VOL. LI — NO 138   MONTRÉAL, LUNDI, 20 JUIN 1960   10 cents l'exemplaire

Lesage dénonce 'l'opération gauchisme' de l'U. nationale

et fait l'éloge de René Lévesque

De notre envoyé spécial

M. Jean Lesage termine avec vigueur la campagne électorale commencée à Louiseville le 8 mai. Samedi et dimanche il a visité trois régions du Québec — Chicoutimi, Saint-Hyacinthe et Shawinigan — il a tenu une demi-douzaine d'assemblées, serré des milliers de mains, prononcé des discours à la radio et porté contre ses adversaires de l'Union nationale des attaques plus directes que jamais.

Lévesque: il faut plus que vouloir un scrutin honnête, il faut une action énergique

Le chef libéral a dit qu'à mesure qu'approche la date des élections on va grossir cette marée qui lavera la province de toutes les souillures de l'Union nationale.

Échos de la campagne

"K" arrive inopinément à Bucarest pour le congrès du parti communiste roumain

BUCAREST. — Tout indique qu'une conférence "au sommet" communiste se déroule actuellement dans la capitale de la Roumanie.

M. BARRETTE DECLARE

Si René Lévesque retourne à R.-Canada, nous fonderons notre radio du Québec !

Le premier ministre annonce:

- La régie des alcools sera soustraite de la politique
- les journalistes devront révéler leurs sources . . .

SAINT-JEAN (De notre envoyé spécial) — "Si M. René Lévesque retourne à Radio-Canada, après avoir perdu son dépôt comme candidat libéral dans Laurier, la province de Québec va prendre les mesures nécessaires pour avoir sa radio d'État.

JAPON: LE TRAITÉ AYANT ÉTÉ RATIFIÉ, LE PEUPLE VA ÊTRE CONSULTÉ

La démission de Kishi paraît imminente

TOKIO. — La démission du premier ministre Nobusuke Kishi n'est plus qu'une question de jours, estiment la plupart des observateurs étrangers; certains même disaient hier que c'était une question d'heures.

APRÈS L'HOSTILITÉ D'OKINAWA

Séoul et Taipeh accueillent Ike en triomphe

SÉOUL. — L'accueil enthousiaste et même à certains égards délirant que lui ont réservé les Formosans puis les Coréens aura mis un peu de baume sur le cruelle blessure d'amour-propre qu'a été l'annulation de l'invitation du gouvernement japonais.

(*Le Devoir* 1960)

Appendix 9: First page of *Montréal–Matin*, 22 June 1960

(*Montréal–Matin* 1960c)

Appendix 10: First page of *Le Journal de Montréal* at its launch, 15 June 1964
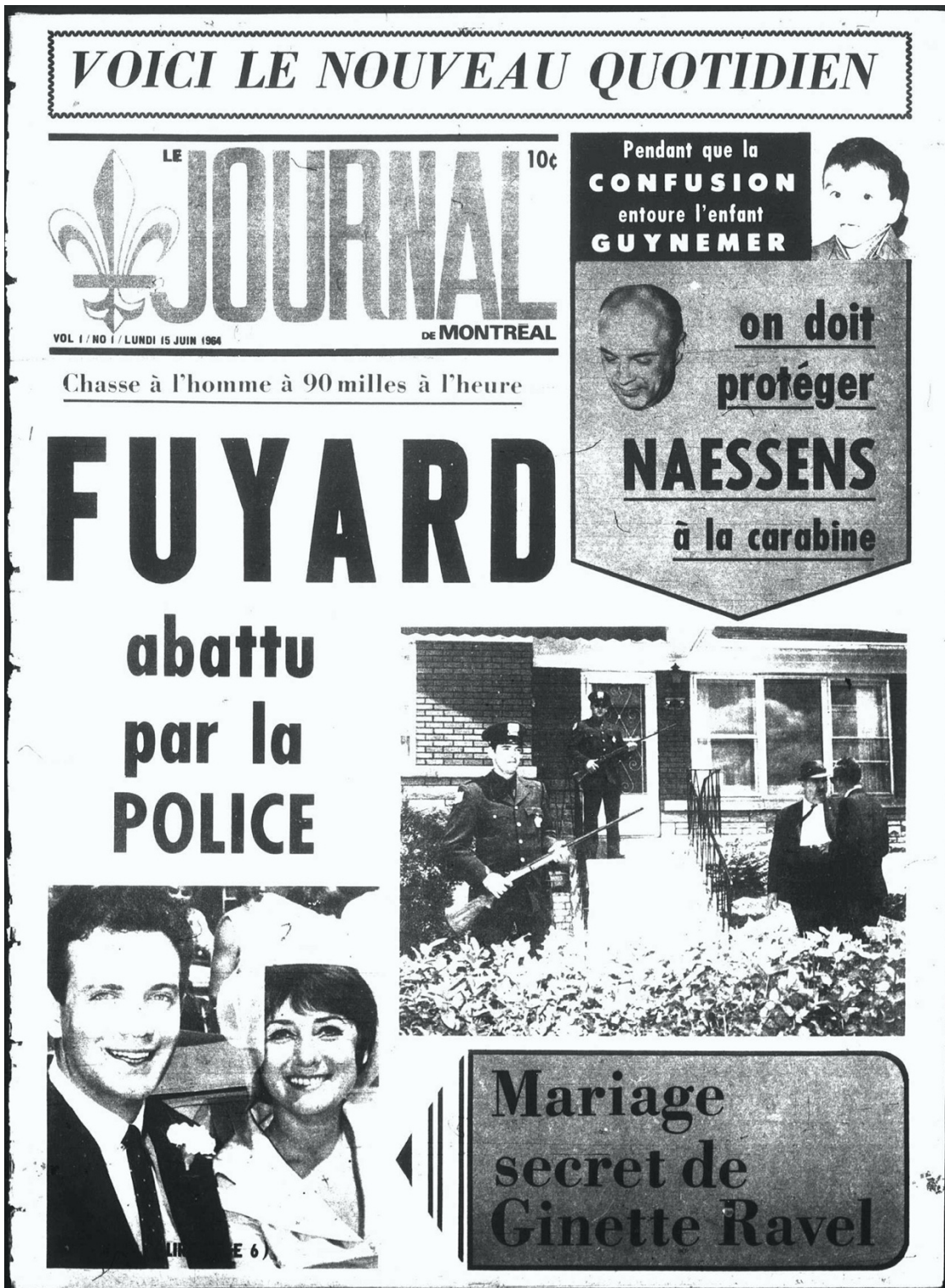
(*Le Journal de Montréal* 1964)

Appendix 11: Elements from *Le Soleil*, 26 and 27 September 1913, 18 June 1956, 18 June 1960
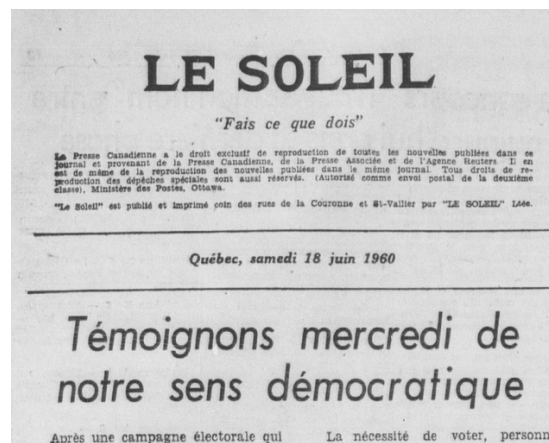

(*Le Soleil* 1913a)

(*Le Soleil* 1913b)

(*Le Soleil* 1956)

(*Le Soleil* 1960)

Appendix 12: Editorial page from *Le Progrès du Saguenay*, 21 June 1960

Quelques directives morales à la veille du scrutin

Nous venons de recevoir de la Conférence catholique canadienne certaines directives morales concernant les élections. En cette veille du scrutin, nous croyons de notre devoir de les livrer à la méditation de nos lecteurs.

Quelles que soient nos opinions sur tel ou tel parti, sur tel ou tel candidat, il est des principes de morale chrétienne qu'il faut respecter, des directives auxquelles il est nécessaire de se conformer. Une élection générale n'est pas un événement comme un autre. Il engage l'avenir de notre province et, jusqu'à un certain point, de chacun de nous.

Nous reproduisons au texte ces "quelques vérités au sujet des élections".

J.-G. LAMONTAGNE

"1) LE VOTE: Bien que dans notre pays, la loi n'oblige pas à voter, tous les électeurs qui ont souci du bien public comprendront que c'est pour eux un devoir d'exercer leur droit de vote à moins de raisons sérieuses.

"Le vote est un acte d'importance parce qu'il désigne le représentant de Dieu pour exercer l'autorité civile. Après avoir éclairé et formé votre conscience suivant les principes religieux et sociaux, donnez votre suffrage consciencieusement, sous le regard de Dieu, au candidat que vous croyez vraiment probe et capable de remplir son mandat, qui est de procurer le bien de la cité. Et pour vous aider à faire votre choix, vous pouvez vous demander si vous confieriez l'administration de vos propres affaires à celui pour qui vous voulez voter.

"Le vote doit être libre et donné consciencieusement, c'est-à-dire, en vue du bien commun, et non pas par esprit de parti ou pour des intérêts particuliers. Le vendre, l'acheter ou le forcer de quelque manière que ce soit, constitue une faute grave de sa nature.

"Même sans vendre son vote, on pourrait être imprudent, et souvent injuste, en offrant ou en acceptant des avantages, d'argent ou autres, disproportionnés avec des services légitimement rendus.

"2) LE SERMENT: Le serment est un acte religieux puisqu'il appelle Dieu lui-même en témoignage. Il faut lui conserver son caractère tout à fait sacré. On ne doit l'exiger ou le prêter que pour des raisons sérieuses. Le faux serment est un sacrilège et constitue une faute des plus graves.

"3) LA TEMPÉRANCE: Nécessaire, impérieuse en tout temps, la tempérance l'est bien davantage encore durant les élections, à cause du bien public qui est en jeu et des conséquences plus lourdes qui peuvent en découler durant une période électorale. S'exposer ou exposer les autres à l'intempérance constitue une faute encore plus grave qu'en temps normal.

"4) LE RESPECT DE LA PERSONNE ET DE LA PROPRIÉTÉ: Le vandalisme est toujours hors la loi. Mais commis en temps d'élection, il revêt une malice plus grande puisqu'il atteint le citoyen dans l'exercice de sa principale fonction.

"5) LA CHARITÉ: La grande loi de la charité n'est pas suspendue en temps d'élections. Tous, frères en Jésus-Christ, vous pouvez différer d'opinions sans vous suspecter, sans vous injurier, sans vous livrer à des calomnies, à des médisances ou à des indiscrétions dont vous auriez à répondre devant Dieu.

"Le bon Dieu, il faut que tout commence et finisse par lui. Priez-Le qu'il inspire vos paroles et vos gestes, qu'il éclaire votre choix et qu'il anime enfin votre élu de Son esprit.

(J.-G. Lamontagne 1960)

Appendix 13: List of commissions of inquiry sorted according to our classification, 1956–1966

Corruption and embezzlement:

1. Commission d'enquête sur Taxi Owners Reciprocal Insurance Association, 1960;
2. Commission d'enquête sur l'organisation et l'administration de l'Hôpital Jean-Talon de Montréal, 1961;
3. Commission d'enquête sur la vente du réseau de gaz de l'Hydro-Québec à la Corporation de gaz naturel du Québec, 1961;
4. Commission d'enquête sur l'organisation et l'administration de l'Hôpital général Fleury inc. la Corporation de l'Hôpital Fleury et du docteur J.A. Dionne, 1962;
5. Commission d'enquête sur l'organisation et l'administration de l'Hôpital St-Michel, 1962;
6. Commission d'enquête à l'École normale Jacques-Cartier de Montréal, 1962;
7. Commission d'enquête sur les méthodes d'achat utilisées au Département de la colonisation et au Service des achats du gouvernement, 1963;
8. Commission d'enquête sur le Sanatorium Bégin de Sainte-Germaine de Dorchester, 1963;
9. Commission d'enquête sur le Sanatorium Ross de Gaspé, 1963;
10. Commission d'enquête sur l'administration financière de l'Hôpital général Fleury, 1963;
11. Commissioner appointed to investigate the real estate transactions of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal and the School Boards under its control during the ten year period 1953 to 1963, 1964;
12. Commission royale d'enquête sur l'affaire Coffin, 1964;
13. Commission d'enquête sur l'administration de l'Institut Albert Prévost, 1964;
14. Commission d'enquête sur la Commission des écoles catholiques de la cité de Jacques-Cartier la Commission des écoles catholiques de Verdun et les Commissaires d'écoles pour la municipalité d'Alma, 1964;
15. Commission d'enquête sur les faillites, liquidations, concordats et cessions de biens, 1965;
16. Commission d'enquête sur l'administration de la justice à la cour municipale de Québec, 1965.

Health:

1. Commission d'enquête sur l'assurance-hospitalisation, 1960;
2. Commission royale d'enquête sur la chiropraxie et l'ostéopathie, 1965.

Constitution:

1. Commission royale d'enquête sur les problèmes constitutionnels, 1956.

Labour organisation:

1. Commission d'enquête sur l'observance du dimanche dans les usines de pâtes et papiers du Québec, 1966;
2. Comité d'étude de la cédule des justes salaires au sujet des taux de transport, 1966.

Education:

1. Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec, 1963-66.

Fiscality:

1. Commission royale d'enquête sur la fiscalité de la province de Québec, 1965.
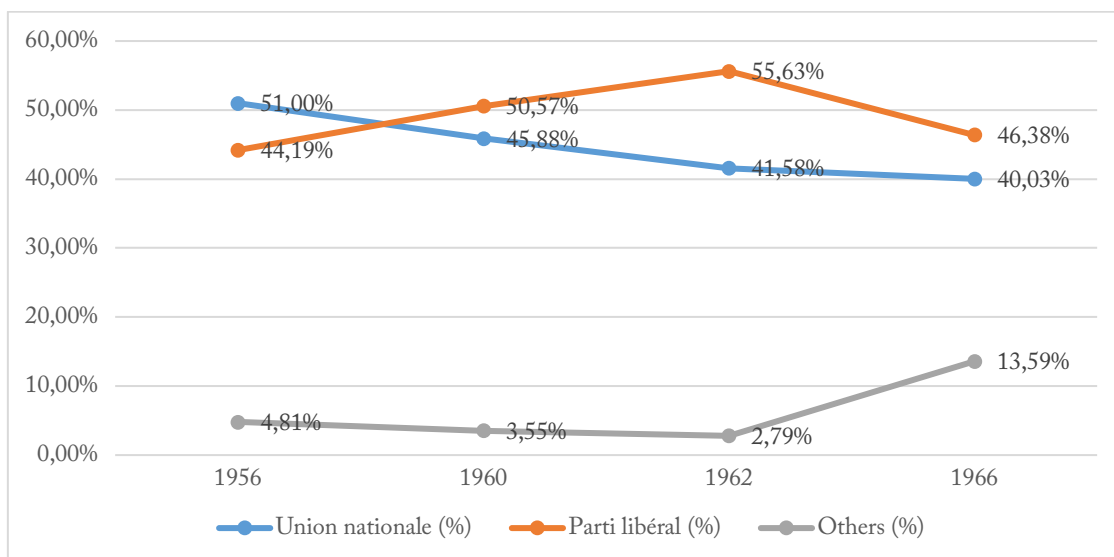
Culture:

1. Commission d'enquête sur le commerce du livre dans la province de Québec, 1963.

Natural resources:

1. Commission d'enquête sur l'extension de la distribution du gaz naturel dans la province de Québec, 1965.

(our compilation from: Mercier 2020)

Appendix 14: Distribution of the votes per (grouping of) party for Quebec's provincial elections, between 1956 and 1966

(our compilation from: Président général des élections 1957; 1960; 1963; 1967)

Appendix 15: Electoral advertising of the *Union nationale*, in its newspaper, the *Montréal–Matin*, 19 June 1960

Les vrais chefs ouvriers appuient l'UNION NATIONALE

Déclarations du Conseil du Travail de Montréal désavouées par des chefs ouvriers de Québec

Nous avons lu avec regret un appel lancé aux ouvriers de Québec par le Conseil du Travail de Montréal.

En marge de cette déclaration, nous, les soussignés, déclarons très catégoriquement et sans ambages que:

1—Nous sommes officiers de nos organisations respectives depuis de nombreuses années;

2—Ceux qui ont signé ces déclarations sont de nouveaux venus dans le monde du travail organisé;

3—Ces mêmes personnes ont toujours louangé l'hon. Antonio Barrette, ministre du Travail, depuis que l'Union nationale est au pouvoir;

4—Nous respectons leur opinion, même si elle est fausse, injuste, erronée et remplie de préjudice politique;

5—Que la déclaration de William C. Smith sur laquelle ils se sont basés pour ce communiqué aux journaux date de 1955. De plus, William C. Smith est un des directeurs du parti C.C.F.;

6—Qu'il représente une union de 10,000 membres au Canada, dont 1,000 dans Québec, et dont la grande majorité ne partage pas ses opinions;

7—Que, bien que le Conseil du Travail de Montréal soit une sorte de filiale du parti C.C.F., il ne remplit pas la fonction qu'il se doit de remplir, c'est-à-dire, travailler dans l'intérêt des ouvriers, en faisant cette déclaration partiale; et que, finalement, nous qui avons connu les différents gouvernements, ceux de Québec comme ceux d'ailleurs, nous recommandons aux ouvriers de Québec de supporter notre ministre du Travail, de voter pour l'Union Nationale, de voter pour l'hon. Maurice Duplessis et ses candidats, afin de continuer de recevoir la protection pour nos unions, laquelle protection nous est garantie par les législations pro-ouvrières de cette province. Huguette Plamondon, Roméo Mathieu et ses collègues admettront qu'ils n'ont jamais obtenu rien de semblable sous le régime libéral.

De plus, nous réitérons notre attitude à propos du Bill 19.

C'est une loi que nous voulons garder dans les statuts, elle protège nos organisations lorsque nous en avons besoin. Normalement, nous nous débarrassons des communistes nous-mêmes. Mais nous avons apprécié les bienfaits du Bill 19, lorsque nous avons eu à faire face à des situations incontrôlables, telles que General Electric de Trois-Rivières, la R.C.A. Victor de Montréal, etc.

ROSAIRE DESJARDINS
Président, Local 106,
Union Internationale
des Chauffeurs de Camions

JEAN LARIVIERE
Secr.-très., Local 106,
Union Internationale
des Chauffeurs de Camions

PAUL LAMARCHE
Président, Local 49,
Union Internationale
des Chapeliers

PAUL PICHETTE
Organisateur général,
Union Internationale
des Chapeliers

ROMEO DESPAROIS
Union Int. des Machinistes,
Section Chemins de Fer

RENE DUBORD
Union Int. des Machinistes,
Section Chemins de Fer

GASTON RAMAT
Représentant canadien,
Union Int. des Employés
d'Hôtels et Restaurants

RENE WALSH
Représentant canadien,
Union Int. des
Boilermakers

ROMEO TARDIF
Représentant canadien, Union Int.
des employés de boanderies et nettoyeurs

WILFRID DESCHENE
Président, Union Int.
des Chauffeurs de Taxis

JEAN LASALLE
Agent d'affaires, Local 78,
Union Int. des employés de
l'industrie du caoutchouc

JOSEPH AUCOIN
Président, Local 64,
Union Int. des employés
de distilleries

PAUL FOURNIER
Ex-vice-président du Congrès des Métiers et de Travail de Canada
Ex-président du Conseil des Métiers et de Travail de Montréal
Vice-président canadien de l'Union Internationale des employés de distilleries

"AUCUN CAPITAL NE VAUT LE CAPITAL HUMAIN."
Maurice Duplessis,
Premier ministre

"AUCUNE CLASSE DE NOTRE SOCIETE NE ME PREOCCUPE DAVANTAGE QUE LA CLASSE OUVRIERE."
Antonio Barrette,
Ministre du Travail

Jamais un gouvernement n'a traité la classe ouvrière avec plus de respect, de bienveillance et de sollicitude, jamais un gouvernement ne l'a plus protégée que celui de l'hon. MAURICE DUPLESSIS.

(*Montréal–Matin* 1960a)

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