From Self-Discipline to Self-Realization: Emotion Management in the Montreal Race Riots of

1969 and 2008

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A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Sociology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts (Sociology) at
Concordia University
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2011

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies School of Graduate Studies

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(Thesis Title)
Entitled: From Self-Discipline to Self-Realization: Emotion Management in the Montreal Race Riots of 1969 and
2008


and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
(Program)
Master of Arts, Sociology

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Abstract: From Self-Discipline to Self-Realization: Emotion Management in the Montreal Race Riots of 1969 and 2008.

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Race riots have often been the object of sociological analysis (Hunt 1997; McKoy 2001), but rarely have emotions been considered in these studies. This thesis examines post-riot emotional discourse from two Montreal race riots, which happened in 1969 and 2008. This research focuses on studying the post-riot discourse through the framework developed by de Courville Nicol (2011). Specifically, I use this approach to do a comparative analysis of these two riots based on de Courville Nicol's (2011) concepts of emotional-norm pairs, emotion management, self-discipline and self-realization. I make several key findings: first, I argue that we should study negative, or fear-driven emotions, alongside the positive, or desire-driven emotions that they tend towards. Secondly, I discuss wide, societal shifts in emotion management techniques, which involve changes in the emotional dynamics of moral campaigns. Specifically, I find that during the 1969 riot, self-discipline-based emotion management was heavily promoted through a campaign of fear, and that during the 2008 Montreal North riot, self-realization-based emotion management was heavily promoted through a campaign of desire.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Excuse me, but I argue like if they were whites sitting on the ground, they never would have been targeted. But because it's a group of blacks, they treat us like that,' said Berthide Louis, who said she and Fredy had been close friends since high school. 'Don't we have the right to live like everyone else? We're human beings too, you know? You can't say that colour doesn't.[1]

*1.1. Introduction*

The events that led up to the 1969 riot at Sir George Williams University began with the charge of racism by nine students against a biology Professor, Perry Anderson (Tunteng 1973). But as the discussion over how to proceed stalled, the students grew increasingly pessimistic over whether or not the University was going to take the charge of racism seriously (Butcher 1971) and took to a sit-in protest at the Computer Centre. Talks improved but, on February 11, 1969, Sir George Williams University erupted into violence, with each side claiming that the other had betrayed the other (Pruden 2004).

In 2008[2], Montreal police officers, Jean-Loup Lapointe and Stéphanie Pilotte approached a group of youths to make an arrest (Ravensburgen: December 2, 2008). Their target, Dany Villanueva, resisted, provoking a reaction by his friends who surrounded Lapointe. Fearing for his life, Lapointe fired four shots, killing Dany Villanueva's brother, Fredy. After Fredy's death, some in Montreal North took to the streets to exhibit their anger and frustration over Villanueva's death and decades of police brutality (Aubin: September 23, 2008; Macpherson: September 23, 2008).

Riots are events that produce a great deal of emotions from all parties involved and these emotions help to inform us about what the main grievances were during the riot and what can be

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[1] Kilpatrick, Julia. 2008. Family, friends mourn Fredy Villanueva. Montreal Gazette, September 23.
[2] This brief summary of the Montreal North riot is entirely based on my reading of the Gazette's coverage of the Sûreté du Québec's decision. There is another side of the story that has not yet been told, which is why I do not include it.

done to solve these grievances.  As the above quote suggests, race is a common cause of rioting

(McKoy 2001) and in the efforts to solve the grievances of race riots, we inevitably fall back on

questions pertaining to the prevalence of racial discrimination in our society.  Race riots have no

single traceable origin; the factors that promote them have indeed been with Western society

since the beginning of colonialism and the Atlantic Slave Trade (Dubois 1995; Fanon 1963,

1967; Gasper 1985; West 1982).  But in studying race riots that have occurred in the 20th

century, how do the grievances of the parties involved, including the news media, shape the

public's opinion and their feelings, or emotions regarding the riot?  More importantly, how are

these emotions shaped and what are the differences in investigating two race riots that happened

almost 40 years apart from each other?  This involves a thorough examination of the discourse

put fourth by the news media after the riot in question occurred.  Through emotion management

strategies (de Courville Nicol 2011), the news media helps to define the riot's legitimacy and that

of the figures surrounding the riot's occurrence[3] and moreover, the news media's response

involves the historical and social context in which the riot in question occurred (Foucault 1972[4];

de Courville Nicol 2011).

*1.2. Thesis Outline:*

In Chapter 2, I provide a history of each riot in order to explain the atmosphere before

and during each riot.  For the Sir George Williams riot in the late 1960's, I turn to a variety of

sources: official documents from the University's hearing, local and national Canadian print

media and international media that covered the riot as well.  Since the Montreal North riot

occurred only three years ago, much of the history of racism and police brutality (which were the

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[3] Although the news media certainly does not simply monopolize or blatantly control the ways in which their readers feel about a race riot.  My point is that their discourse has effects on how people perceive the riot's causes and effects.

[4] Specifically, I have in mind here Foucault's notion that discourse reflects certain attitudes and the way that topics are addressed (Foucault 1972).  These attitudes Foucault argued, have gone through radical transformations before and after the rise of Modernity and the Enlightenment.

two primary issues that caused the riot) is still being written, which makes writing a brief history of this riot more difficult.  Moreover, the riot did not receive as much attention outside of Quebec that the SGW riot did, therefore, my sources for this riot include just the Montreal Gazette and CBC News Montreal.

In Chapter 3, I analyse four bodies of literature: social movements, social movements and emotions, general riot literature and a brief history of race rioting.  I begin by analyzing social movements literature, which I argue leaves the study of emotions absent in their analyses.  This creates a significant gap in how social movements are understood.  More specifically, the work discussed in this section analyses how social movements influence social and political change, but this necessarily involves the display of emotions by the various groups involved (Eyerman 2005).  The lack of attention to emotions in the social movements literature has recently begun to change and I discuss this recent attention in the second section of the literature review.  I find that while many scholars give attention to the role of emotions in social movements, many only investigate the role of negative emotions (de Courville Nicol 2011), and in doing so, miss the role that positive emotions have in social movements[5].  Moreover, while these authors acknowledge the role for emotions in their work, they fail to elaborate on how emotions can lead to social change.  The section concludes with a critical analysis of the work of Deborah Gould (2000; 2001; 2002; 2004; 2009), which displays the move towards the study of negative and positive emotions as well as the role of emotion in influencing change, what she loosely labels emotion management.

In Chapter 4, I outline de Courville Nicol's (2011) theory of emotional responses and emotion management.  I begin by explaining how discussing negative, fear-driven emotions

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[5] I will more adequately explain what negative and positive emotions fully entail in the next section, but for now it suffices to say that a negative emotion indicates the feeling of fear and a positive emotion indicates the feeling of pleasure.

necessarily implies a discussion of positive, desire-driven emotions as well. In de Courville Nicol's (2011) work, emotions are understood in pairs, or "emotional-norm pairs." (2011: 26). For example outrage/vindication is an emotional-norm pair that implies that when a person is feeling the fear-driven emotion of outrage the strategy that they use to move from outrage is the feeling of vindication. Central to this move from fear to desire is the "hope response," which describes how fear-driven emotions tend towards desire-driven emotions, but also how desire-driven emotions are related to the exercise of power (de Courville Nicol 2011). For example, someone may be provoked by an object that is frightful to them, thus causing them to feel fear. According to de Courville Nicol (2011), this would motivate them to seek out a solution to the feeling of fear. This desire-driven response allows them to move past their fear through the experience of a feeling of capacity. Next, they seek to exercise power and implement security. This process will be more thoroughly explained later on, but it is important to understand that there are two hope responses. One involves the move from fear to desire and the other involves the move from desire to exercising power. This move towards the exercise of power makes the hope response a key concept in explaining any type of action.

I also discuss de Courville Nicol's (2011) understanding of emotion management. Beyond seeking to explain how emotions are bound together with social action, de Courville Nicol develops an approach to how people or groups exercise power to change the emotional response of others towards an object, sometimes in a fundamental and long lasting way. Emotion management can lead to two emotion management "effects": emotional regulation and moral self-control. For example, I may try to emotionally manage a friend of mine into wanting to become a teacher through self-formation, this would be a moral self-control effect. Self-formation is one of four types of what de Courville Nicol (2011) calls means of moral self-

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control, which refer to the ways in which people and groups emotionally manage their selves. My friend may have wanted to become a teacher, but lacked the capacity to get the education necessary in order to become one. I could show her that tuition costs are lower than she expected and that she could get a teaching certificate alongside her education degree. If this information is new to her, it could act to "form" her desire to go to school and become a teacher. I will introduce the other three forms of moral self-control later on, but for now it suffices to say that they are an intrinsic part of emotion management. Emotion management with an emotional regulation effect does not require that the person who I emotionally manage perform emotion management on their self. Thus, I may still inform my friend of the tuition costs of attending university, but they may choose a variety of things that do not include their exercise of emotion management on their self, as described above.

In the last section of Chapter 4 I illustrate what de Courville Nicol (2011) calls the self-discipline-based society and the self-realization-based society. She argues that these societies can also be understood through what she calls self-discipline-based and self-realization-based emotion management. In other words, these societies are given their names because of the dominant forms of moral self-control promoted within them. For instance, in self-discipline-based societies, self-repression and self-correction (both to be expanded upon later) are the dominant forms of moral self-control that are promoted. These two forms refer to "disciplining" a desire on the basis that desire, in self-discipline-based societies, is transgressive of social and cultural boundaries. In analysing self-realization-based societies, self-activation and self-formation are the dominant forms of moral self-control that are promoted and these two forms refer to "realizing" a desire on the basis that desire can lead to the fulfillment of social and cultural norms (de Courville Nicol 2011). However, I do not argue that self-discipline and self-

realization are mutually exclusive; i.e.: there can be self-discipline-based moral self-control

promotion in a self-realization-based society.

In analysing the two riots, I use de Courville Nicol's (2011) notion of campaigns of fear

and campaigns of desire. Campaigns of fear and desire, similar to self-discipline and self-

realization-based societies, are campaigns that rely on promoting fear or desire. In campaigns of

fear, the primary goal is to highlight the painful effects that occur when certain boundaries have

been crossed. A campaign of desire however, emphasizes the pleasurable consequences when

norms are enhanced.

In Chapter 5, I layout a method that I call "emotional discourse analysis" following de

Courville Nicol (2011). This takes elements of Foucauldian-style discourse analysis found in

Foucault (1978) and Hall (1997). In their work, discourse analysis is a method of analysing any

type of media [6]and determining how power/knowledge formations work to produce truth. Where

my method differs is that my area of interest lies in how the exercise of power prompts emotions

in post-riot discourse. I then outline a series of questions for the text that guide my analyses.

These questions are again tailored to fit within my framework of emotional discourse analysis,

but are still Foucauldian at their core due to their concern with the exercise of power (Hall 1997).

In Chapter 6, I analyse the post-riot emotional discourse that surrounded the SGW riot

and the Montreal North riot. I examine three different areas in each riot's post-riot emotional

discourse. These three areas in each post-riot discourse are chosen on the basis of how

frequently they are discussed by the news media. For example, the SGW riot centered, at least at

first, around an accusation of racism by black students against Professor Perry Anderson. The

legitimacy of this accusation was an area that was discussed in depth by the SGW commission

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[6] Media in this case can mean art, newspapers, books, academic journals, any sort of information relating to the subject of interest of the discourse analyst.

before the riot; and this establishes the accusations against Perry Anderson as one of the three areas of inquiry in my analysis of the SGW post-riot discourse.

These analyses apply de Courville Nicol's (2011) approach to emotions and emotion management by determining the discourse's emotional-norm pair or "emotional perspective" reflected in the news media. I then analyse the discourse as emotion management or more specifically, I examine how moral self-control was promoted by the news media onto their readers. Moral self-control refers to an effort of emotion management that works in such a way where the person being emotionally managed will practice emotion management on their self. Lastly, I analyse the discourse as a moral campaign: one of fear or of desire.

This thesis' conceptual framework primarily grows out of an approach to emotions and emotion management developed by Valérie de Courville Nicol (2011). De Courville Nicol's (2011) approach can be tied to the work of several important theorists in philosophy, anthropology and sociology. First, the work of Jesse Prinz (2004) and his analysis of culturally specific emotions; De Courville Nicol (2011) follows this discussion and elaborates on it by arguing that emotions are also governed by strategic orientations. These strategic orientations allow the person or group who are feeling a type of emotion to move beyond the fear-driven emotion that they first feel, towards the desire-driven emotion.

Next, she uses the work of Norbert Elias (1978/1982), Claire Armon-Jones (1988a & 1988b) and Mary Douglas (1966), all social constructionists, to guide her understanding of how emotions produce social order through processes of emotional socialization. Negative emotional experiences are the result of transgression, and positive emotional experiences are the result of conformity. She also moves beyond Elias' focus on the repressive dimensions of moral self-control by emphasizing its expressive dimensions through self-activation and self-formation..

Lastly, the work of Arlie Hochschild (1983) helped de Courville Nicol (2011) develop her own theory of emotion management. In Hochschild's (1983) famous work, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (1983), she argues that "feeling rules" help to guide us in learning what types of emotional displays are appropriate. Thus, emotions are subject to various techniques that help to reshape them. These techniques can exist anywhere, but in Hochschild's (1983) work, she specifically analyses the techniques of airline stewardesses, whose job dictates that they behave in ways that always emphasize happiness, calmness and compassion. As such, airline stewardesses are required to emotionally manage themselves and the passengers. Hochschild (1983) calls this "emotional labour," which leads to self-estrangement. De Courville Nicol (2011) builds on Hochschild's (1983) work by widening the scope of her framework so that the analysis does not only include the physical display of feeling and the emotion management of others, as the work performed by airlines stewardesses does. De Courville Nicol (2011) also moves beyond Hochschild's (1983) concept of emotion norms, which are rules that constrain emotional expression, by establishing the notion of emotional norms, which are the emotions that we develop (the emotional-norm pairs) with specificity in different cultures.

*1.3. Thesis Statement:*

This thesis will seek to elaborate on an already established literature of emotions in social movements (Hoggett 2009) as well as a significant literature on critical race theory (West 1982) and race rioting (Hunt 1997; McKoy 2001). My primary interest is investigating the emotional responses and emotion management techniques of Canadian Anglophone media in post-riot discourses. Specifically, I analyse the 1969 Sir George Williams riot (henceforth, SGW riot) and the 2008 Montreal North riot. The differences in the emotional responses of the news media

indicated a shift from a self-discipline-based society to a self-realization-based society (de Courville Nicol 2011). Crucial to what establishes these two societal types as distinct are the dominant moral campaigns relied on for emotion management. These various moral discourses inform people on how to respond to situations where emotion management efforts are required.

Little acknowledgement has been made within academia in how emotions affect the aftermath of a riot. Moreover, many of the analyses that examine social movements and emotions have consistently relied upon a fundamental assumption that action is spurred on by fear-driven emotions such as anger, resentment or more importantly, fear. Therefore a gap exists within the literature in regards to how desire-driven emotions act with fear-driven emotions to influence action. A fundamental argument of this thesis is that negative emotions need to be understood in tandem with desire-driven emotions. Analyzing post-rioting emotion management discourses by news media and authority figures (i.e.: chief of Police, Montreal Mayor, Quebec Premier) found in newspaper articles provides an excellent means of bridging this gap in the literature. Furthermore, I am interested in investigating the promotion of emotion management in self-discipline and self-realization-based societies (de Courville Nicol 2011). Therefore, for this project, I will be examining post-riot emotion management discourses from news media that covered the 1969 SGW riot and the 2008 Montreal North riot. I pick these two riot because de Courville Nicol (2011) argues that self-discipline and self-realization-based societal types

Chapter 2: Situating the riots

Frantz Fanon suddenly became popular, Malcolm X's biography was a pre-requisite, Eldridge
Cleaver's *Soul on Ice* changed hands with rapidity; tapes and recordings of Stokely Carmichael,
Malcolm X, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, and much less frequently, Martin Luther King, could
almost be parroted off...[7]      - *LeRoi Butcher, describing the racial atmosphere in 1960's*
*Montreal.*

*2.1. Introduction*

To understand these two race riots that happened in Montreal, we must understand the

city's racial atmosphere when they took place.  In doing so, the origins of the discourse used by

the parties involved in the riots will become evident[8].  However, in taking this approach, a major

difficulty arises.  Since the SGW riot was in 1969, there has been time for not only scholarship

on the riot itself to be written, but also on 1960's Montreal in general (e.g.: Mills 2007). This

kind of scholarship does not exist in the case of the 2008 Montreal North riot.  Due to this

limitation, my source material for the Montreal North riot background consists chiefly of local

media, rather than the rich sample of local and international media, alongside academic

scholarship that exists for the SGW riot.

*2.2. The Sir George Williams Riot Background*

Montreal was a city going through deep social change in the 1960's (Pruden 2004).[9]

Social movements emphasizing racial, ethnic and gender equality emerged in Montreal

throughout the 1960's.  Perhaps the most famous movement was known as the Quebec Liberation

movement or the Quiet Revolution and had to do with linguistic and ethnic change.  With the

election of Jean Lesage as Premier of Quebec in 1960, the once established order of English

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[7] Butcher 1971: 80.
[8] Contrary to many previous studies (Cohen & Murphy 1966; Porter & Dunn; 1984; Sanburg 1919; Singer, Osborn
& Geschwender 1970) that relied on depicting the riot as having two parties: one party who rioted and was
therefore, wrong and erroneous in their act to riot and the second party, usually the police, who put the riot down
and was righteous, I will be able to properly situate the grievances of each riot's participants.
[9] Likewise, Canadian society was also changing.  For example, within 20 years (1961 to 1981) the Black population
went from 32,100 to 239,500 (Milan and Tran 2004).

domination over the French-Canadian majority was being called into question by French-Canadians who were no longer willing to serve a subsidiary role in Quebec society (Owram 1996). Central to the QLM were the establishment of an independent nation of Quebec, the creation of French as the primary official language in Quebec society, the formation of the social democratic platform of the *Parti Québécois* and an increased role for French-Canadians in the everyday social and economic life of Quebec (Reid 1969). These newly adopted principles and values helped form what Mills (2007) refers to as the "radical imagination" of the province

This radical imagination was a type of attitude that relied on activists' intellectual capabilities to influence social change in their society. Notions of "revolution" and "decolonization" were very much on the tips of everyone's tongues and the spirit of protesting, holding rallies and creating independent newspapers manifested this "radical imagination" as a very visible piece of the Montreal landscape. Mills (2007) states: "When Frantz Fanon's *The Wretched of the Earth* hit Montréal bookstands on a cool fall day in 1961, the cafés near the intersection of Queen Mary and Côte des Neiges, just off-campus of the Université de Montréal, were aflame with debate" (2007: 2).

Connected to this "radical imagination" was the Black Power or Black Nationalist Movement. This, of course, was a movement not only taking place in Montreal, Quebec or even Canada; indeed many cite this movement as having its roots in the United States and the Caribbean[10]. However, Montreal was a major force in the movement, as Mills (2007) notes: "In the space of a few years, Black intellectuals and activists transformed Montreal into a major centre of Black thought and militancy" (2007: 175). Moreover, the role that Montreal played in sustaining black militant and black nationalist movements dates back to 1917, with the

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[10] Many of the first Black activists came from French or British colonies in the Caribbean (Marcus Garvey and Frantz Fanon) or the United States (Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Jr., and W.E.B. Dubois) to name a few.

foundation of Montreal's Universal Negro Improvement Association (Bertley 1980). Blacks, similar to French-Canadians[11], were fighting for an end to their subordination in society. For years, Blacks in Montreal had been subject to racial discrimination from both Anglophone and Francophone Montrealers (Williams 1997). With the advent of increased immigration from the West Indies, this discrimination grew more intense and vicious. However, as Williams notes, many of these West Indian immigrants were students, who, similar to the French-Canadians, were increasingly unwilling to live with the status quo in Montreal society (1989: 67-8).

In Montreal black activists were influenced by the larger and more widely discussed racial struggles occurring in Europe and the United States. Central were themes of Black Power or Black Nationalism, which criticised global capitalism, racist practices of colonialism, the Black man's[12] subordinate place in history, and the psychological degradation of peoples of colour (Fanon 1967; Forsythe 1971). Figures like Frantz Fanon and Malcolm X argued for Black people all over the world to throw off the shackles of physical and psychological[13] colonialism, they must resist the dominant white power structures of the day (Fanon 1963; X 1965). Attempting to unite Blacks worldwide under a single banner therefore proved difficult. Due to the legacy of slavery and the broad geographic territories in which slaves could be found, different Black identities were created within the context of the various colonial cultures in

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[11] Although French-Canadians and Blacks at this time period were fighting for similar rights and privileges, we must distinguish between the two groups as experiencing differing types of oppression that arose from perhaps similar, but different circumstances (Williams 1989), i.e.: chattel slavery, which has been widely shown to be a practice condoned by Europeans and European colonists (West 1982). For more, see Fanon 1967 for an in-depth discussion of the psychological trauma experienced by Africans due to French colonial practices in Martinique). Thus, while constructive similarities can be drawn from the two movements, one must be careful in this respect not make the two overly similar.

[12] Indeed, a major criticism of this era's Black Power movement is the lack of space for women (hooks 1992).

[13] While Malcolm X was not a trained professional, Frantz Fanon was an educated psychiatrist and one of the first to examine the psychological effects of colonialism. These perspectives elaborated on the types of relationships that blacks were expected to have with whites. These relationships usually placed blacks in subservient roles which had tremendous effects on the Black psyche. Specifically, see Fanon (1967) Chapters 2 "The Woman of Colour and the White Man," and 3 "The Man of Colour and the White Woman" for these relationships discussed in detail. Likewise, for a further explanation of the effects of colonialism seen through Fanon's perspective, see Fanon (1963) Chapter 5 (Colonial War and Mental Disorders).

which they were situated (Mansfield 2000). In order to unify an ideologically scattered population,  Black cultural leaders sought to teach people to look for their common cultural and spiritual roots in Africa (Forsythe 1971).

The Black Power Movement was challenging the established order in many places other than in Montreal.  However, Mills (2007) argues that the situation in Montreal was unique due to Montreal's extremely diverse Black population.[14]  Because of this diverse conglomeration, Black intellectuals began to think about strategies for decolonization which were specifically rooted in Montreal's context (Williams 1989).  Many of these strategies included addressing the Black position in debates surrounding Quebec Nationalism, the learning of French and the rediscovering of the racial history of Montreal and Canada, which they felt had been forgotten (Mills 2007: 184-90).

This was the cultural and political context reflected just before the Sir George Riots at two conferences held in Montreal in 1968: the first, at Sir George Williams University and the other at McGill University (Forsythe 1971).  While the first conference dealt with problems of public policy facing Black communities in Canada, the second conference, dubbed the "Black Writer's Conference," dealt with discussing the ideologies of colonialism and racism not simply in Canada, but in an international context.  The conference stressed the need for self-reliance, the call for action against the oppressive white power structures and a striving for black unity (Butcher 1971; Tunteng 1973).

The Black Writer's Conference, while providing blacks with provocative information on how to combat racism, also served to polarize and increase racial tensions within Montreal.  As Forsythe (1971) recalls from his attendance of the conference, "[if] Blackness was a symbol for

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[14] Both Mills (2007) and Williams (1989) cite that Montreal's black population came from America, Africa and the West Indies.  This can be contrasted with a country like the United States who's black population primarily came from African slaves imported centuries before the 1960's.

rightness, then the Whites present had to be, by definition, symbols of evil" (1971: 64). This

rigid type of theorizing, with its emphasis on each race (blacks and whites) seeing the other as

their enemy, led many frustrations. Whites felt "distrusted, excluded, and ignored,"[15] while

Blacks felt they were justified in using increasingly polarizing discourse due to the Western

world's exploitation and degradation of peoples of colour for the previous four hundred years.

Both sides, in this way, began to segregate themselves from one another (Forsythe 1971). These

tensions were evident when Sir George Williams University erupted into a riot one year later.

*2.3. The Riot at Sir George Williams University[16]*

Perhaps the first issue that one must become aware of at SGW in the 1960's was the

increasing student population and the University's lack of adaption to this new population's

needs. From 1963 to 1969, the SGW student population increased from 8,899 to 13,805.[17] In

tandem with the University's "liberal philosophy" that education should be available to all who

desired it, the University encouraged more and more prospective student to apply (Pruden 2004).

However, Pruden (2004) argues that this caused a conflict with the University's traditionally

small student population and disrupted "the easy and happy relationship which existed between

staff and students" (2004: 37). This relationship had been "folksy, vaguely paternal".[18] As the

student population grew, "the University's approach to dealing with them remained largely the

informal model of the small college" (Pruden 2004: 38). The resulting tensions were about to

make themselves quite visible to everyone during the weeks prior to the riot, as the generation of

students entering SGW were no longer willing to accept this "traditional" University at face

value (Butcher 1971; Owram 1996).

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[15] Editors. 1968. "Black Militants and Red Guards." McGill Reporter, November, 4.
[16] This account arises from research done at the Concordia University Archives, analyzing SGW documents.
[17] This represents a growth of 4,906 students. Furthermore, this trend continued into the 1970's; in 1975, when
SGW and Loyola University merged to form Concordia University, SGW's population was 16,596 and Loyola's was
10,087 ("Statistics: 1964-1974.").
[18] Found in Pruden (2004: 40).

The riot at SGW stemmed from a charge of racism, on April 30th, 1968[19], against white SGW Biology Professor Perry Anderson by nine of his students.[20] The charges ranged from an unequal grading policy which favoured whites, a lack of professionalism in his teaching style, "fixing" of exams and an insistence that black students call him "Mr." while white Canadians referred to him as Perry.[21] As a result of these charges, a meeting with Dean Madras, Dean Flynn, Anderson, the Biology Department Chair, Joan Richardson (an "overseer" of the students) and the students was held.[22] After this meeting, Dean Madras submitted his evaluation of the charges to Dean Flynn. This evaluation stated that everything would be done to ensure better quality of teaching. It also emphasized the University's acceptance of student complaints against teachers but found no basis for the claim of racist practices by Anderson: "Every case cited of a changeover in mark evaluation of an examination, or the calling of students by their last names instead of their first names, can be explained as well within the margin of general experience and encounter between professor and student, black or white."[23] According to Pruden (2004), after this meeting the students wondered if they had successfully made their point to the University and the student body (2004: 19); namely, whether they had let the established order know that being discriminated on the basis of race was unacceptable (Butcher 1971). Nevertheless, nothing happened in terms of official action from May 1968 to the Fall of 1968.

However, in the Fall of 1968, the students who filed the complaint of racism against Anderson had learned that he had been promoted to Assistant Professor, thereby increasing the

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[19] Official SGW documents cite that the charge was brought by Dean Madras on April 29th or 30th, 1968. For convenience purposes, I cite the date as the 30th.
[20] The student's names were: Rodney John, Terrence Ballantyne, Allan Brown, Wendell Goodin, Douglas Mossop, Kennedy Frederick, Mervyn Philip and Oliver Chow (the first six students were West Indian and the last two students were East Indian and Asian, respectively). Found in Michael Sheldon Report (p. 3).
[21] "A Chronicle of Events: Case of Negro Students" (p. 1-3).
[22] Michael Sheldon Report (p. 1-2).
[23] "A Chronicle of Events: Case of Negro Students" (p. 5).

feeling of mistreatment and dismissal.[24]  Furthermore, the tensions heightened when Anderson

informed one of the students that he had been cleared by Dean Madras of the charges of racism

(Pruden 2004).  Thus, the Black students remained highly dissatisfied with the way in which the

Administration handled their complaints against Anderson.  This was further evidence to the

Black students that the racist society criticised at the Black Writers Conference at McGill was

served by a University structure that had no intention of taking racism seriously (Downs 1999).

In late November of 1968, it was decided that there should be a meeting of "all concerned

people" to discuss the increasing racial tension within the University.[25]  In this meeting, the idea

that a committee should be agreed upon "by all parties" on December 5, 1968[26] was accepted by

the students and the University administration.  However, the Faculty of Science (to which

Anderson belonged) decided to call a meeting on December 6 to debate the merits of such a

committee, compromising the efforts of collaboration with the Black students (Pruden 2004).

On December 12th, 1968, the Faculty of Science called for another meeting, this time inviting the

students who claimed that they were left out during the first meeting.  However, due to, "frequent

and sometimes abusive interruptions on the part of some Black students, it [was] impossible for

the meeting to continue"[27] and the official charge of racism was dropped by Principal Rae.

After Principal Rae dropped the racism charge, he officially resigned for health reasons

(Butcher 1971); however some argue that it was probably due to the tension at the University

(Pruden 2004).  Rae's departure gave the black students a basis for a formal re-charging

statement of racism against Anderson.  New charges were now agreed upon by both parties, to be

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[24] Michael Sheldon Report.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Found in "A Chronicle of Events: The Case of the Negro Students" (p. 7-8).
[27] Ibid., (p. 10).

submitted to newly Acting Principal D.B. Clarke by January 11, 1969.[28]  However, tensions

within the student community continued to rise as Black Power activists were angered by the

University's casual approach to the situation (Butcher 1971).

Racial tensions intensified when on January 6th 1969, due to the unrest in the student

body, Vice Principal John O'Brien sent a letter to Anderson, asking him to take a voluntary leave

of absence due to "students threatening violence."[29]  This message was discovered by the Black

students on January 22, 1969, and was taken as even more evidence of racism, since there was

the assumption that "violence" might ensue because the students were "in an extremely excitable

mood."[30]  Taking matters into their own hands, the students decided to confront O'Brien in his

office.  This confrontation led O'Brien to sign what amounted to a forced apology[31], for the racist

rhetoric used by him:

"The black students tonight came to my office and asked about a letter I wrote to Professor
Anderson, and if that letter specifically mentioned possibility of violence.  I did not remember
that phrase in the letter, and said it was not there.  When we found the letter in the files, the
phrase was there.  I apologise to the black students for this misstatement."[32]

After this confrontation, O'Brien decided to inform the police and press charges, again

increasing the tensions within the University community.[33]  At this point, the students and the

Administration could find no agreement on the composition of the Hearing Committee.

Although the composition had been previously agreed upon by both parties, the students rejected

the Committee on the grounds that it was "unilaterally decided upon by the Administration."[34]

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[28] Ibid., (p. 10-11).
[29] Sheldon Report (p. 24).
[30] Sheldon Report (p. 24).
[31] The literature on this is a bit indecisive.  When consulting the Sheldon Report, there is a statement which says, "I do not make this statement under duress" (p. 25).  However, when reading Pruden, there is a mention that when the students confronted and demanded an apology from him, that it was done forcefully and was an "ugly confrontation" (Pruden 2004: 24).
[32] Ibid., (p. 25).
[33] Sheldon Report (p. 32).
[34] "A Chronicle of Events: The Case of Negro Students" (p. 18).

Thus, on the day when the Hearing Committee met, January 29th, 1969, to hear the evidence against Anderson, the Black students reiterated their rejection of what amounted to a "farcical" hearing and "marched out of the hall, denouncing the Administration for its 'police-state tactics.' Finally they moved up to the ninth floor to occupy the computer centre."[35]

The occupying students issued demands to be met if their occupation of the Computer Centre was going to end:

I.  "That the Hearing Committee and its subsequent proceedings be totally and publicly rejected;

II. That the Administration arrange a meeting of themselves, Professor Anderson and ourselves to settle the composition of a Hearing Committee, the procedures under which any such hearing will be conducted and the date and time of such a hearing;

III. That any such meeting with the Administration be held in an atmosphere free of all threats of reprisals and other primitive measures, juridical, educational or otherwise;

IV. That due consideration be given to those Caribbean students who have lost study time due to their brotherly devotion to this case over the last few months;

V.  That all criminal charges of all Black students be dropped immediately."[36]

The occupation of the Computer Centre, while described in the news media as led by "nihilistic" and "mindless" students (Time: February 21, 1969), was actually organized quite well.[37] According to the *Montreal Star*, Rosie Douglas was the activist spearheading the organizing efforts and had experience in organizing events in universities in Halifax, Nova Scotia as well[38]. Surprisingly, given that this occupation was taking place in an expensive room of the University and that an experienced activist was leading the charge, the situation was initially dealt with relatively casually by the University. On February 3rd, in an issue of *Statement* (a SGW magazine), someone questioned the University's decision to not call the police. The University

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[35] Sheldon Report (p. 35)

[36] Sheldon Report (p. 35-6).

[37] Ibid,. (p. 37). The students were reported to manage their own committees that oversaw "food, sanitation, public relations and security....Members of faculty and others who wished to talk to the occupiers had easy access." Many students also had ample time to study, do homework and even attend classes.

[38] Moore, Terrence. 1969. "Anderson case – out of scale." Montreal Gazette, January 31.

released a response saying that it "prefers to settle its problems within the University community whenever possible."[39]  However, they phoned the police on February 11th.[40]

In the days between January 29th and February 11th, both the University and the students attempted to agree on the composition of another hearing committee.  Each side criticized the other's perspective.  The side supporting SGW saw deep flaws in calling the entire University racist and saw the occupation of the Computer Centre as coercive.  The Black students viewed the action as a just and moral fight against a racist institution and a racist capitalist system.[41]  The students organized a rally on February 4th in the Mezzanine of the Hall Building to ensure that the sentiment against SGW was fully heard.

Leading up to the police intervention, both sides attempted to agree on the new Hearing Committee and, for a time, it seemed as though both sides were prepared to agree (Pruden 2004: 29).  But the feeling surrounding the occupying students on the night of February 11th changed.  Rumours began circulating that the police had been called.  Sensing that SGW had betrayed them, the students began barricading the entrance to the 9th floor.  Whether or not these rumours were true is unclear.  What is clear is that the barricading of the 9th floor was the last straw for SGW and "Police arrived at about 4:30 a.m."[42]

The students felt that they had no other choice and by 7 a.m on February 11th the riot had begun.  "Occupiers began to throw out of the 9th floor windows computer equipment of various kinds, tapes, IBM cards and telephones....The riot Squad arrived on the 9th floor at about 12:30 p.m. with instructions to remove the occupiers, and began to take down the barricades."[43]  In the aftermath, 97 arrests were made and around two million dollars of damage was done to the

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[39] Sheldon Report (p. 41).
[40] "Sequence of Events – Morning of February 11th" (p. 1).
[41] Ibid,. (p. 43).
[42] Sheldon Report. (p. 52).
[43] Ibid,. (p. 53).

University (Desbarats 1969). Those sympathetic to the Black students' cause charged that

looking at the consequences of the riot from a monetary perspective and not from one of human

dignity clearly showed how Canadian society viewed racial minorities (Butcher 1971; Forsythe

1971). However, from the perspective of the critics of the occupation, the financial damage

caused by the destruction of the Computer Centre demonstrated that the rioters were deviants, a

sentiment most virulently echoed by those screaming during the riot to "let the niggers burn"

(Forsythe 1971).

*2.4. Montreal North riot Background[44]*
'It's really unfortunate what happened,' said a young man who identified himself as a colleague
of Dany Villanueva's from auto mechanic school. 'The emotions in there – it's incredible.[45]

The events that took place in Montreal North in 2008 arise from many background

factors including racism, social justice and the use of police force. In this introductory chapter, I

will only be recounting the events as they were discussed by the Montreal Gazette and CBC

News Montreal.[46] However, in order to do so, there are two initial difficulties that I did not have

to account for when analyzing the SGW riots. First, unlike the riots at SGW, these riots have not

yet been critically examined by scholars. Due to this, there are no rich and informative

secondary texts regarding the atmosphere of racism in Montreal, nor critical scholarship on the

riot like that came from the events at SGW in 1969. The investigation into the riot's causes and

the legitimacy of the actions that sparked the riot is still ongoing. Therefore, official documents

have been produced by governing agencies responsible for the riot's investigation have not yet

been made available to the public. Due to this, the historical background that I provide is one

that arises entirely from my reading of the Gazette and CBC News Montreal.

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[44] For purposes of brevity, I will be citing the Montreal Gazette simply by citing the date of the article in the
newspaper. It is therefore understood that whenever there is a date cited at the end of a quotation or paragraph, it
comes from the Montreal Gazette.
[45] Kilpatrick, Julia. 2008. "Family, friends mourn Fredy Villanueva. Montreal Gazette, September 23.
[46] I go in to why I choose these two newspapers in my research methodology chapter.

We must also keep in mind that the actions that took place on August 9, 2008 were subject to two investigations and one is currently ongoing. First, the investigation conducted by the Sûreté du Québec; second, a public investigation initiated by the Quebec Provincial government. The Sûreté du Québec was the police body in charge of determining whether or not officer Lapointe's [47] actions were justified and this body reached its verdict on December 2, 2008 and he was declared not guilty of any misconduct. Due to the fact that the Sûreté du Québec is the police body that was in charge of investigating the Montreal Police, the verdict provoked a public and governmental reaction. The reaction that many had argued that the city of Montreal and its concerned citizens would only know the truth of what really happened on August 9, 2008 if a public investigation into Lapointe's actions was implemented.

*2.5. The Incident at Henri-Bourassa Park*

On August 8, 2008, Fredy and Dany Villanueva were playing an illegal game of dice with their friends in Henri-Bourassa Park in Montreal North when two police officers, Jean-Loup Lapointe and Stéphanie Pilotte, approached the group to arrest Dany Villanueva (Aubin: September 23, 2008). The events that followed ended with the death of Fredy Villanueva as well as injuries to two others at the hands of Lapointe. However, in my attempts to recount what exactly happened it is important to note that the existing accounts are largely dependent on whether Lapointe and Pillotte or the people who were with Fredy Villanuva are telling the story.

According to Lapointe, Pilotte and the Montreal Police, Dany Villanueva was resisting arrest by Lapointe. This provoked a reaction from Fredy and his friends. Fredy attacked Lapointe by choking him and trying to reach his service revolver while the others were kicking Pilotte (Ravensburgen: December 2, 2008). Lapointe claimed that he was fearing for his life (Montgomery: December 2, 2008) and in response to the attack, fired four shots at a "mass of

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[47] The police officer who shot and killed Fredy Villanueva.

bodies" (Solyom: February 5, 2010a). At the end of the altercation, which lasted no more than

one minute (Montgomery: December 10, 2009), Fredy Villanueva lay on the ground, dying later

at the hospital. This was Lapointe's defense for using his firearm and it was an excuse that the

Sûreté du Québec found acceptable. On December 2, 2008, they officially released their verdict,

arguing that Lapointe used necessary force in defending his and Pilotte's life[48], thus freeing him

from any criminal charges (Ravensburgen: December 2, 2008; Montgomery: December 2, 2008;

Magder: December 2, 2008). Many citizens said that the verdict came as no surprise, since the

Sûreté du Québec is the provincial police force who investigated the Montreal police (CBC

News Montreal: December 13, 2008).

What I have briefly recounted was simply the account of the events accepted by the

Sûreté du Québec as reported in the Montreal Gazette. This is certainly not an exhaustive

account of what happened. The Villanuevas and the citizens of Montreal North have expressed

their account of the events, in detail, as well. My reason for not summarizing them is that their

testimony was taken into account during the Public Investigation, which has not reached a

verdict. This brief recounting above was meant simply to give a general context. I will now

briefly situate three instances of the post-riot emotion management.[49] The first of these is the

riot's causes and aftermath. The second is statement by of Montreal Mayor Gérald Tremblay and

Quebec Premier Jean Charest. And lastly how Villanueva's death was commemorated in the city

of Montreal.

*2.6. The causes and immediate aftermath of the riot*

Many residents of Montreal North felt that before and after the riot they were victims of

racially-biased and overly aggressive police tactics: "I don't like it. Police don't leave the people

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[48] For a clear, succinct account of Constable Jean Loup Lapointe's recollection of the events, see (Solyom, February 5, 2010).
[49] I take up the reasons for choosing these in my methodology section.

here alone" (Magder: December 2, 2008). With the killing of Villanueva by Lapointe, it seemed

that rioting was a natural response, to this frustration[50] (CBC News Montreal: August 11, 2008).

After the riot, Montreal police increased the deployment of officers into neighbourhoods that was

done to "reassure the public" that no more violence would occur and that any future riot would

be squashed before it became too large (Madger: August 14, 2008). However, some argued that

the riot provided the city of Montreal with a wake-up call as to the problems of unemployment,

racial profiling[51] and crime in Montreal North. Don Macpherson (2008) of the Montreal Gazette

wrote that in this sense "violence works" (Macpherson: September 23, 2008).

After the riot, it was clear that an investigation was needed to determine the legality of

Lapointe's actions. Quebec law dictates that, when a police department in Quebec needs to be

investigated for possible misconduct, that the other police body handles the investigation

(Macpherson: September 23, 2008). Since it was the Montreal Police being investigated, the

Sûreté du Québec (Quebec Provincial Police) was in charge. However, to many this felt like an

effort on the part of the province to deny any blame against the police. "This is a matter of

systemic coverups. When an officer from one police force kills or maims someone, the ministry

assigns another police force to investigate. The ministry pretends such back scratching is

impartial" (Aubin: September 23, 2008). Therefore, many began calling for a public

investigation, Aubin (2008) argued that the Montreal police will never be held accountable for

its actions of violence against poor immigrant communities unless there is an independent, public

inquiry. This attitude was echoed protesters as well (CBC News Montreal: December 13, 2008).

When the Sûreté du Québec finally did release their verdict, that Lapointe acted in

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[50] See McKoy's (2001) regarding the Los Angeles riots of 1992 for an excellent discussion of how pent up frustration in Los Angeles' black community came out during the riot itself.
[51] This charge of racial profiling by the Montreal police was one that was validated by an investigation by criminologist, Mathieu Charest (who was employed to compile this report by the Montreal Police Department) (Curran: August 10, 2010).

concordance with Quebec law and responded legitimately given the situation (Ravensburgen: December 2, 2008), residents of the City braced for another riot and extra police were deployed to heavily patrol Montreal North. A woman, quoted in the *Montreal Gazette*, said of the verdict, "There's going to be another riot, that is sure, sure, sure. People have been talking about a second riot after the results of the police investigation are known" (Magder: December 2, 2008). The heavy police presence also had the same effect as it did right after the riot, to reassure the greater Montreal public while angering the residents of Montreal North: "Police are always here, we can't do what we want" (Magder: December 2, 2008). However, immediately after the verdict, Quebec Public Security Minister Jacques Dupuis announced that there would be a public inquiry into the events, which was warmly received by many. Christine Black of Montreal youth l'Escale said of Dupuis' decision: "We believe, and we have said since the beginning, that the population of Quebec has the right to know exactly what happened on the evening of August 9." (Ravensburgen: December 2, 2008).

*2.7. Gérald Tremblay and Jean Charest enter into the Public Discussion*

In response to the Quebec Minister of Justice Jacques Dupuis launching a public inquiry into the events, Montreal Mayor Gérald Tremblay said, "The public inquiry is exactly what they wanted... And we want it to be transparent, to happen quickly and to be made public" (Montgomery: December 2, 2008). There was seemingly a feeling of hope surrounding the declaration that a public investigation would be under way as soon as possible. Quebec found itself having to take further measures due to the Villanueva family, Dany Villanueva and the two other men (Denis Méas and Jeffery Sagor Météllus) not being able to afford a lawyer (Dougherty: May 25, 2009). Jean Charest and the Quebec government initially refused to pay but, in order to reassure a public who overwhelmingly supported the public investigation, it was

decided to cover the costs in full (Doughety: May 26, 2009).  Both Tremblay and Charest, spoke of the public inquiry as something that was absolutely essential.  Charest himself reassured the public that he and his government were willing to do anything that would allow the inquiry to proceed, "Our view has been quite simple.  We need to know what happened and this inquest needs to happen" (Dougherty: May 25, 2009).

*2.8. The Commemoration of Fredy Villanueva's Death*

There have been two types of protests that attempt to commemorate August 9, 2008. Discussing August 9th's events arouses strong emotional responses from those who support Lapointe and the Montreal police, and those who condemn Lapointe's actions and argue that Fredy Villanueva was unlawfully "executed" (Martin: August 9, 2010).  The type has larger, political goals in mind; namely the elimination of police brutality.  This is Montreal's annual Anti-Police Brutality March, which has taken place since 1998. Since 2009 the protest has made every effort to bring the death of Villanueva to their fore-front.  This march, organized by the *Collectif opposé à la brutalité policière*, does not simply commemorate Villanueva's death but seeks to protest wider displays of police injustice.  For example, in the 2010 March, the organizers relocated their marching route to the Hochelaga-Maissoneuve neighbourhood in order to shed more light on the "social cleansing" that they accuse the Montreal Police of performing there (Mennie: March 15, 2010).  Since its conception, the protest has been seen as controversial by Montreal law enforcement and has usually resulted in the Police clashing with the demonstrators.  For example, in March 2010 over 100 protesters were arrested and 11 squad cars damaged (Cornacchia and Ravensburgen: March 16, 2010; Mennie: March 15, 2010).

The second type of protests were created after Villanueva died and focus specifically on the incident and the perceived social problems of Montreal North (Ravensburgen: April 3, 2009).

There are two events that make this category: an annual candle light vigil followed by a march (now referred to as the Vigil protest) and the other an event called "Hoodstock" (Magder: August 9, 2009). The Vigil protests the perceived racial profiling and police brutality experienced by the citizens on Montreal North exemplified in the killing of Villanueva (Fantoni: August 6, 2010; The Gazette: July 31, 2010). These candle vigils attempt to commemorate his life while criticizing the police whom they deem responsible for his death. Many of the protesters chant slogans like, "Lapointe: Bourreau[52] de Fredy!" and "Police everywhere, justice nowhere" (Martin: August 9, 2010; Muise and Branswell: August 9, 2009). Protesters and friends of the Villanueva family also to speak and honour Fredy's memory, "He was our baby and maybe today he is more with us than ever…He would be happy because many of these people didn't know him but they showed up for him" (Muise and Branswell: August 9, 2009). This march stresses non-violence and peaceful assembly. Many members of the organizing group have been quoted, "We're not saying that all cops are bad...[however] we take issue with police brutality and racial profiling and think it's a problem that needs to be addressed at every level" (Martin: August 9, 2010). Indeed, perhaps one of the most telling differences between this protest and the Anti-Brutality march is the lack of violence (Harrold: March 17, 2011). Although slogans condemn the Montreal police at both events, there have been no mass arrests at the Vigil Protest.

The second event, called "Hoodstock", is a music event whose goal is to commemorate Villanueva's death and repair the "damaged" community of Montreal North (Magder: August 9, 2009). The event lasts two days and the activities include, improving police and civilian relations and highlighting the social problems of Montreal North. Instead of seeing their event as an act to call the police out on injustices organizers of Hoodstock see the event as a type of "therapy"(Magder: August 9, 2009). Referring to Villanueva's death, a spokesperson for the

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[52] Bourreau, translated to English, means "executioner".

Montréal Nord Républik said, "There is still a lot of tension in the community over what happened. We're hoping to channel that energy into something constructive, rather than destructive." (Magder: August 9, 2009).

Now that I have given a preliminary history surrounding both riots, I will review some of the academic literature on race riots, social movements and emotions.

Chapter 3: A Literature Review of Rioting, Social Movements and Emotions

*3.1. Introduction*

The first literature to develop on emotions and their effects on riots and social movements was primarily concerned with using a psychoanalytic perspective to study group or crowd behavior. This model typically saw collective group action or crowds, as essentially irrational (Goodwin and Jasper 2004). As a result, we were left with the view that emotions are primitive, unsophisticated and negative, yet powerful when used in crowds (Le Bon 1960). However, much of the current literature surrounding the role that emotions play in riots and social movements has moved away from the this notion that emotions are irrational forces (Honneth 1995; Schieman 2006), but tends to focus on how negative emotions inspire action.[53] They acknowledge "positive" emotions, but continually place the focus on "negative"[54] emotions (Hoggett 2009). Thus, the space is still quite large for the study of positive, desire-driven emotions. First, I review some of the literature that simply examines social movements without considering emotions. Second, I review a body of work on social movements that does make room for the examination of emotions, but remains incomplete. Last, I review a sample of literature on riots in society, which has not yet made an effort to analyse emotions alongside riots.

The concepts of "social movement" and "riot" I argue, has similar foundations with regards to issues concerning racism, and economic and social equality. This can be seen in the East St. Louis riot of 1917, which focused on the white community's fear of blacks being allowed to participate in traditionally white labour unions would eventually lead to the

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[53] In these authors' work, there is a tendency to focus on negative or fear-driven emotions such as shame, anger and disgust.

[54] By positive and negative emotions, I mean to use de Courville Nicol's (2011) definition of fear-driven and desire-driven emotions. Negative emotions are usually what de Courville Nicol (2011) might call fear-driven and vice-a-versa. These negative, fear-driven emotions are emotions that inspire pain and lead to feelings of danger, while positive, desire-driven emotions are emotions that inspire pleasure and lead to feelings of security.

dissolution of their society (Lumpkins 2008).  The atmosphere in East St. Louis began with white union members protesting against the inclusion of blacks, which eventually led to a white civilian and police-led confrontation with some black union members.  After this confrontation, many in the white community decided that violently confronting blacks in East St. Louis was the only way to stop the perceived gains that blacks were making in the labour movement and eventually an all out "racial pogrom" ensued (Lumpkins 2008: 3).   Because of these similarities my literature review examines both social movements and riot literature.

*3.2. Social Movements Literature: Leaving Emotions Absent*

In Bowman and Stone's (2001) analysis of the Anti-Globalization movement, emotions are never mentioned, even though their arguments are saturated with references to the emotional responses of the activists whom they are writing about.

"Though war-prone and economically and environmentally unviable, this slow-motion holocaust [the effects of globalization] is paradoxically our world's moral and legal norm.  To disturb it is to disturb the peace, is such workaday violence can be called peace.  We assume that constructing a truly peaceful and sustainable world must start with revolt against globalization" (2001: 234).

When we read texts like these, the emotional responses of the participants are implicit.  However, the emotions of activists help to shape their cause, as Gould (2009) has shown in her analysis of the ACT UP AIDS movement.  This is why we must begin to study social movements and emotions.  Uncovering the political reasons behind a social movement is not a complete analysis.  Emotions are at the centre of this type of social action (Eyerman 2005) and may be thought of as motivating all actions (de Courville Nicol 2011: 16).

Francesca Polletta (2009) argues that social movements are usually understood through how political grievances are framed.  Framing, in this case, refers to a set of beliefs of the people participating or following the social movement (Polletta 2009: 34).  However, she argues that

this leaves gaps in our understanding of social movements. First, frames cannot always be understood as being clear and consistent. Second, framing analysis gives little insight into how audiences shape meaning and lastly, she argues that there is an assumption that culture is separate from experience (2009: 39). To fill these gaps she proposes that a social movement's ability to effectively present their story (what she calls story-telling) is what makes a movement successful and argues that narrative analysis should be taken more seriously in understanding them (2009: 38).

Whether or not I agree with Polletta's (2009) analysis that story-telling is a crucial dimension in how successful a social movement can be is not my concern. To be sure, each of the riots that I will be analyzing in this thesis have rich stories behind them and the ability to share these effectively with the printed media in Montreal certainly has an effect on how the public feels about their movement. My point is that a person or group's ability to effectively share a story has everything to do with emotions and emotion management.[55]

Polletta (2009) briefly acknowledges a space for emotions in her analysis. She writes: "our understanding of reason requires that people make emotional performances of reason" (2009: 38). Here, she is discussing how stories are told in the form of a performance. She implies that how a person makes sense of a social movement is tied to their emotional responses. This is similar to Krinsky and Barker's (2009) analysis of workfare program protests in New York. The authors acknowledge the space that emotions play in producing a social movement and in providing for an atmosphere through which to sustain the movement. Krinsky and Barker (2009) acknowledge the role that the notion problem solving, or solving specific community grievances, has to play in social movements, which is a key in de Courville Nicol's (2010) notion

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[55] It should be noted that some of her other work does specifically acknowledge the space for emotions in sociological analysis (see, Goodwin, Jasper & Polletta (2004)).

of the hope response (which will be taken up later).  However, this notion is not expanded on in a way that entirely accounts for the various types of emotions that may be present when a particular story is told (Polletta 2009) or a particular problem is solved (Krinsky and Barker 2009).

Emotions also play a limited, if no role in how Sommier and Combes (2007) theorize the rise of the Global Justice Movement in France.[56]  Their argument emphasizes the role that the election of President François Mitterrand in 1981 had on making the demands of politically left groups in France heard.  Before the election, many of these groups refused to work with the French government, since the Left was not in a majority.   Therefore, many independent social movements emerged.  With the election of Mitterrand however, new independent groups stopped forming and instead efforts were towards collaborating with the government.  In many cases, the groups who successfully collaborated with the Government became what Sommier and Combes (2007) refer to as "single issue groups", or groups that became institutionalized and effectively replaced services once provided by the French welfare state (Sommier and Combes 2007).

However, the differences in French-Left politics began to emerge when more political grievances by once marginalized groups began to form; these grievances may not have been anything new.  Indeed grievances related to women's rights and anti-racism legislation were causes that the Left had previously been geared towards solving.  Sommier and Combes (2007) argue that the critical dimension was instead a distrust that an institutionalized form of government could ever solve these problems. This in turn, created opposition in a once unified Left.  The "institutionalized" left of Mitterrand disagreed with the newer left that tended to preach more radical forms of socialism, globalization and racial and gender equality.  Thus, this

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[56] The Global Justice Movement (now referred to as the GJM)  can be thought of as an Anti-globalization or an alternative to capitalism movement (Sommier and Combes 2007).

divide created a Left brand of French politics that deeply distrusted the institutionalized form of government in France and instead of collaborative methods of political participation such as lobbying, turned its back to the French government and became a solely anti-capitalist social movement (Sommier and Combes 2007).

Similar to my reading of Polletta (2009) and Krinsky and Barker (2009) I do not wish to disagree with Sommier and Combes' (2007) main argument, namely that both the election of Mitterrand and the polarization of certain Left groups helped to give rise to the GJM. I only take issue with their analyses in so far as they leave an analysis of emotions absent. For instance, the changes that occurred within French social movements after the election of Mitterrand was quite substantial: in the span of a decade, their attitude went from criticizing the French government to active collaboration. While the political causes and consequences of this transformation are important, the emotional responses and emotion management strategies of these groups played are important as well. We can see the same absence of emotional response analysis in arguments of how Leftist groups became disillusioned and formed the GJM. This hinged on newly formed leftist groups subscribing to an ideology that was too radical for the established state structure. Thus, instead of active collaboration, they began to focus their efforts on protesting not only their causes (global justice) but the institutionalized Left in France as well.

Ending this preliminary analysis of the literature with a brief summary of de Courville Nicol's (2011) hope response will show us that Sommier and Combes (2007) analysis is lacking. When people (or in this case, Left political groups) are in a negative, fear-driven[57] situation (in this case, the feeling that institutionalized politics is not serving their interests), they are feeling a specific kind of emotion that needs to be defined. Sommier and Combes (2007) shed light as to the direct political reasoning that these leftist groups had when leaving the Institutionalized left,

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[57] This concept will be properly defined in Chapter 3.

but as I will layout, a move from a negative reaction to positive action entails an emotional shift from fear to desire (first hope response) and later, from desire to the exercise of power (second hope response). While it would be unfair to criticize these authors for not including this precise theoretical element, it is fair to draw attention to the lack of attention to the roles that emotions play in inspiring action.

*3.3. Social Movements Literature: Engaging with Emotions*

There is a growing body of literature that emphasizes the role that fear and other negative emotions and the irrational effects that these emotions play in social movements, or what de Courville Nicol (2011) calls the "Culture of Fear" critique (2011: 263). In analyzing this literature, I will be paying particular attention to how it can be improved upon by, 1) acknowledging that negative emotions tend towards positive emotions; 2) defining a concept that shows how people and groups move from negative to positive emotions and from positive emotions to the exercise of power; 3) and lastly, how this literature would benefit by including an analysis of emotion management within their theoretical frameworks.

British political scientist Paul Hoggett (2009) understands conflicts within social movements as necessarily arising out of negative, fear-driven emotions or the breakdown of a group's trust fueled by paranoia. "Each group becomes blind to its own faults and mistakes and perceives its own aggressive actions as a defensive reaction to the behaviours of the other" (Hoggett 2009: 73). In his attempt to analyse American social movements, he argues that a unique "culture of paranoia" exists in the United States that becomes visible through the culture that Americans consume, which is heavily endowed with fearful and paranoid elements (2009: 14). Hoggett (2009) further posits that this culture of fear and paranoia can be seen in the 2008 American Presidential Election, in which the political right relied heavily on fear in its

discourse[58] (2009: 56-9).  Indeed, this aspect of theorizing the American political sphere as a place where fear is the central motivator for action has received much attention.  For example, Erikson (2010) characterizes the logic of fear operating in the United States around the that "you are with us or you are with the terrorists" (2010: 12).

Hoggett (2009) further characterizes modern democratic societies as being ones that produce the emotional effect of "social suffering" (2009: 15).  Social suffering is produced from the illegitimate use of power by the ruling politicians in these societies: "social suffering draws attention to what those without power have to endure in the absence of the individual or collective agency to fight it.  It highlights what is felt and experienced by the poor, the marginalized and, the discriminated against" (2009: 16).  Hoggett (2009) argues that out of social suffering emotional responses such as hurt and loss quickly follow and become internalized since the subjects who experience suffering can do little to overcome their lack of power.  Eventually, these two elements lead to grief and shame; emotions which characterize our present democratic societies (2009: 16-7).

The reliance on theorizing about negative, fear-driven emotions and their influence on action is also evident in the work of Jasper (2006), Barbalet (2006), Clarke (2006) and Demertzis (2006).  In Jasper's view, negative emotions are central to political protest because they capture attention more effectively than positive emotions.  He argues that blame is an emotion that captures the feeling around much of the world's social protest (2006: 19).  Barbalet (2006) argues that suicide terror can be understood in a similar way.  He makes the case that suicide bombings inspires fear in its possible victims, these victims, become angry at their perceived enemies who cause them fear.  This leads the public to accept political viewpoints that function

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[58] However, he fails to analyse the campaign of current U.S. president, Barack Obama whose discourse ran contrary to the fear campaign of John McCain.

by "demonizing the other"[59] (Alford 2006; Barbalet 2006). Clarke (2006) also analyses "demonizing the other" by claiming that racism can be understood as demonizing the other with the feeling of envy; "the racist in envy seeks to destroy the goal that he cannot have" (2006: 77). In this context, the cultural difference is not experienced as pleasurable for the racist, even though people in our society are supposed to take pleasure in ethnic and racial diversity (2006: 74-7). Lastly, Demertzis (2006) provides a thorough analysis of how resentment played a role in populism in post Civil War Greece, the rise of far Right wing European political parties and the Greek public's shift from the left to the right. However, he does not analyse the role positive emotions played in creating the atmosphere where people change their political alliances and ally themselves with parties once considered their political opposites (Demertzis 2006: 111-5). Eyerman (2005) also makes the case that social movements can be understood in terms of grievances of a particular group, and thus, the emotional responses of "anger, frustration, shame [and] guilt" (2005: 44).

I question seeing these protests as only arising out of negative emotions. Certainly, elements of fear, anger, envy and resentment play significant roles in racist behaviour, Civil War and suicide bombing. However, the suicide bomber must feel that he/she is doing something that will bring them some sort of vindication to their suffering (a reason that Barbalet argues is the reason behind suicide bombing). When we consider suicide bombing in this framework, fear plays only half of the role. There is a space for a positive emotion that must be theorized as well.

In attempting to understand social movements, Randall Collins (2001) argues that we need to understand their "emotional dynamics" (2001: 27). For Collins (2001) the emotional dynamics of social movements are understood primarily through a Durkheimian lens. He argues

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[59] This topic of analyzing the "other" and the relation to influencing social action has been particularly well theorized by Mansfield (2000). However, these effects on emotions are never explored.

that social movements are collective rituals that operate by transforming of emotions, and rituals'

success or failure hinges on the degree of this transformation (Collins 2001: 27-33). Collins

(2001) makes an important contribution here because he leaves room for the impact of both

positive and negative emotions. Indeed, in Collins' (2001) analysis of martyrdom in Ancient

Rome, he certainly makes the assertion that in martyrs and their desire to sacrifice themselves

feel the positive emotion that their movement will succeed.

Where I differ with Collins (2001) is that he fails to argue whether or not a martyr in

Ancient Rome was sacrificing their life in order to exert power over the Roman state and change

the Roman state's behaviour toward the group that these martyrs belong to, which is what de

Courville Nicol (2011) means by emotion management. De Courville Nicol (2011) argues that

we must distinguish between the concerted exercise of power over another, which she argues to

be moral and another type of action called emotional regulation, which is subjective. Thus, in

Collins' (2001) analysis, we are left wondering whether or not this type of protest is used to

change a State's behaviour towards this group or whether the martyr is sacrificing their life for

non-political reasons.

I would now like to engage Deborah Gould's work on the ACT UP social movement.

Gould's (2000; 2004; 2009) work is important for several reasons. First and foremost, she is

interested in social movement protests and their specific emotional responses.[60] Second, she

implements a discursive analysis to understand the pre-protest atmosphere surrounding the

movement in question by thoroughly investigating various types of media such as newspapers,

television and interviews. Lastly, she examines various types of emotions rather than simply

fear-driven or negative emotions, thus providing a wider analysis of social movements and

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[60] Another aspect of Gould's work (2000; 2001; 2004; 2009) that I find particularly useful is her attempt at distinguishing between many different types of emotions, something that the other theorists fail to do.

protest.  In criticizing Gould (2001; 2004) I first of all take issue with the fact that her work lacks

a thorough definition of emotion management and, as a result, cannot tell us whether an action is

moral or subjective.  She also fails to provide a concept as to how people or groups shift from

negative to positive emotions and from positive emotions to the exercise of power.

Deborah Gould's work examines the emotional responses of the American gay

community in the 1980's and its response to the AIDS crisis.  She argues that the militant

movement in the Gay community in the early to mid 1980's tended to express its anger through

the avoidance of confrontation.  This was because, even as many in the Gay community were

dying, the community still thought that actively collaborating with the American government

was possible (Gould 2000; 2004).  However, after a few years of continued inaction by the

American government[61], the Gay community began to become increasingly militant and doubtful

that simply avoiding confrontation with their government could achieve results.   Gay militants

now expressed an anger-based form of confrontation that aimed to shed light on the

government's inaction, which culminated in public funerals for a member of the Gay community

that died of AIDS so that the government would take notice (Gould 2009).

In 1986, as gay politics began to shift towards a "more confrontational activism" (Gould

2009), the emotion management efforts shifted to match the change in tone.  In response to

legislation that forbade homosexual acts in some states (like Georgia) and restricted their rights

to marry and or join the military, the accommodationist tone in the Gay community's discourse

began to erode (Gould 2004). Emotions like pride and hope were replaced with anger and the

fear of dying, which merged together in a "confrontational AIDS activism" against an

"unsympathetic government (Gould 2004: 147).  Emotion management in Gould's (2004)

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[61] It is useful to recall that the American political sphere was dominated by conservative politicians and religious figures during this time, from 1980-1992, when Bill Clinton was elected over George H.W. Bush.

framework emphasizes the attempt to change the behaviour and opinions of the people in the Gay community who exhibit ambivalence.  However, it also turned to emotionally managing the United States government by directly confronting it.  Through protests such as public funerals and "die-ins", activists practicing emotion management by showing what inactive policies were doing to their communities.

Emotion management efforts that took aim at those who were either ambivalent or apathetic stressed that their silence around the AIDS crisis was disastrous for gay people everywhere.  "SILENCE=DEATH" was a common slogan in the New York chapter of ACT UP and was aimed at the Gay community (Gould 2004: 148).  Instead of attempting to show their followers they will feel better or alleviate their pain through being active in the ACT UP movement, these emotion management stressed conformity (speaking up about AIDS) and the negative consequence (death) if conformity is not achieved.[62]

I have two problems with Gould's (2001; 2004) work: first of all, while Gould (2004) acknowledges emotion management, she fails to thoroughly define it.  Therefore, we can only make an educated guess as to what emotion management is in her framework.  Secondly, she discusses how the Gay community's emotional response changed from grief to anger (Gould 2002: 178) but she does not provide an account of the process of how this change occurs. Gould's (2001; 2004) work, emotion management implies the attempt of an individual or a group to change the behaviour of another individual or group through emotional means.  Thus, we can further understand Gould's (2001; 2004) conception of emotion management by considering the rhetoric that she cites as directed towards President George H.W. Bush.[63]

"The Quilt helps us remember our lovers, relatives, and friends who have died during the past eight years.  These people have died from a virus.  They have been killed by our government's

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[62] The tone of the message here is what I will refer to as self-discipline-based (de Courville Nicol 2011).
[63] Because of his gross inaction in response to the AIDS crisis (Gould 2000).

neglect and inaction…. More than 40,000 people have died from AIDS…. Before this Quilt grows any larger, turn your grief in anger. Turn anger into action. TURN THE POWER OF THE QUILT INTO ACTION."[64]

According to Gould (2004) this statement is an example of emotion management because it attempts to channel grief into anger and thus, into action against the government's failure during the AIDS crisis (2004: 155). However Gould (2001; 2004) fails to describe process of how people and groups move from one emotion to another. For instance, Gould (2004) argued that the primary political reason for increased militancy was perceived governmental inaction. While this may be true, it does not provide an answer as to why certain types of protest, like die-ins and public funerals, were practiced over other forms of protest. What made activists take this approach?

*3.4. Race Riots and their Emotional Responses*

In this section, I will give a summary of riot literature in order to demonstrate its lack of an analysis of how emotions inform post-riot discourses. This sample of literature will examine what the authors perceive to be the causes of riots and what appropriate community-wide responses should be. Although emotions are without a doubt evoked in riot and post-riot discourse, many scholars focus on the perceived underlying causes of riots. This usually entails analysing the two aspects of what caused the riot, the first being the role of public policy and the government (Rohrbacher 2002; Waddington, Jobard and King 2009) and the second, the legitimacy of the police response (Sharp 2006) which is argued to how the riot is framed in the media (Messer & Bell 2010). For example, Barnholden (2005) posits that riots can usually be understood within the context of the illegitimate use of police force. He analyses riots that occurred in Vancouver and posits that the segregation of ethnic communities, along with economic factors such as the right to unionize, prompted people in these communities to riot.

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[64] Found in Gould (2004: 169).

Further, he focuses on the brutal nature of the police response to these disadvantaged communities. There are indeed post-riot discourses that focus on police brutality (Hunt 1997). Furthermore, there are instances where criticizing the police response is appropriate. Therefore, Barnholden's (2005) approach can be appropriate, but it leaves emotional responses out of the analysis completely. He discusses how the rioters and people living in the communities that rioted were affected economically after the riot, but never emotionally, thus leaving many questions unanswered. How did these communities move past the riot's destructive effects? Did they? My aim is to address these questions by examining how other actors (the community, the City administration) in the city of Montreal responded. And second, by including a theory of how emotion management affects people after a riot just took place. Now that I have given a short review of the literature surrounding emotions, riots and social movements, I shall lay out the theoretical framework for my analysis. My framework will posit the argument that fear-driven emotions such as anger, should be thought of in relation to their desire-driven emotions that they tend toward; for example, outrage implies vindication (de Courville Nicol 2011: 16).

Chapter 4: Moving towards a theory of Emotion Management

*4.1. Introduction*

In the past, scholars like Erving Goffman emphasized the importance of studying face-to-face interaction, or the "interaction order" (Goffman 1959). But while Goffman acknowledged a place for the study of emotions, he did not pursue this inquiry (Goffman 1983: 5). Sociologists are now turning increasingly to studying the role that emotions play in our everyday lives (Peterson 2006). In this context, arise interesting questions about how emotions affect behaviour in social situations, such as the aftermath of a race riot. The theoretical framework will be laid out to pursue this issue. I first posit that in order to understand the nature and effects of fear-driven emotions[65] we must understand the desire-driven emotions that they tend towards. Second, I will establish a workable definition of emotion management in the context of post-rioting. And lastly, I will outline the dominant emotion management strategies of our present society, namely, as my thesis title alludes to, of a self-realization-based society.

*4.2. Emotions: Understanding the Negative alongside the Positive*

In the literature review, I made the case that a more complete theory is needed to adequately understand emotions sociologically. This is relevant because people who are moving from negative to positive emotions need to feel an emotional response that the action which they are carrying will either be successful or will address their needs (Goodwin & Jasper 2006) and this cannot be fully accounted for in the available literature. For this task, I turn to de Courville Nicol (2011), whose theory of emotion management includes what is termed the "hope response." This response is what allows subjects to move from fear-driven emotions to desire-driven emotions and indeed links them to one another.

When considering the discourses that arise in the aftermath of a race riot, it is imperative

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[65] Commonly understood as negative emotions.

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to set up a framework distinguishes between fear-driven and desire-driven emotions. In de Courville Nicol's (2011) work, fear-driven and desire-driven emotions can be seen as negative and painful and positive and pleasurable, respectively. More specifically, fear arises from the *anticipation of pain*; this is called *danger*. Fear implies the hope that pain can be avoided. Desire arises from the *anticipation of pleasure*; this is called *security*. Desire implies the hope that pleasure can be pursued (de Courville Nicol 2011: 23-5). When one feels a fear-driven emotion, they are feeling a perceived danger and when one feels a desire-driven emotion, they are feeling a perceived security. The fear emotion is based on a person feeling like they lack the capacity to avoid the painful effects of a dangerous force, but while this person is afraid of not being able to avoid the pain of an object of fear, they may also feel hope that this pain can be avoided. Thus, if fear is an anticipation of pain and something a person seeks to avoid, then we can begin to see how fear-driven emotions tend toward desire-driven emotions.

If fear-driven emotions tend toward desire-driven emotions, need to understand the process that allows this to happen. Furthermore, we need to understand how this emotional process inspires social action. The move from a fear-driven to desire-driven emotion is called the *hope response*, by de Courville Nicol (2011) and can be considered the most basic human emotional response (de Courville Nicol 2011: 25). Fear is triggered by the perception of danger. It implies not only a felt incapacity to move away from pain, but also the hope that pain can be avoided. Desire is triggered by the perception of security. It implies the felt capacity that pain can be avoided as well as the hope that pleasure can be pursued. Thus, the notion of hope is connected to both fear and desire.

The *first hope response* is the hope for overcoming danger. *The second hope response* involves identifying the means through which to implement security. Thus, hope responses lie at

the heart of social action (de Courville Nicol 2011: 37-9). Furthermore, incapacities and capacities for action structure the hope response. Agential lack represents the space that must be filled by the first and second hope responses in order to move from fear to desire and from desire to the implementation of security (de Courville Nicol 2011: 40).

Thus, de Courville Nicol (2011) posits that there are four basic emotional-norm pairs based on this structure. An emotional-norm pair is a collective pattern of "pain producing incapacity and of pleasure producing capacity" (2011: 41). These parent norm pairs are: powerfulness/powerlessness, freedom/unfreedom, hopelessness/hopefulness, self-doubt/self-confidence. They are universal because they are the emotions that motivate human beings to find and implement solutions to their most basic problems and thus, any emotion under study would necessarily fit under one of these seven general pairs. From these four basic emotional-norm pairs, there are three basic strategic orientations to problems: *confrontation, avoidance* and *prevention*. Each of these three strategic orientations to problem-solving corresponds with the last three basic emotional-norm pairs: terror/courage, phobia/escape and worry/safety. For example, "Terror designates the fear resulting from the perception that one lacks the capacity to overcome danger through confrontation, with courage as its counterpart" (de Courville Nicol, 2011: 43). After terror/courage, avoidance corresponds with phobia/escape and prevention corresponds with worry/safety.

Different pairs branch off from these general norm pairs. These different pairs are informed by their parent emotional-norm pair's agential content. For example, the agential content of the parent pair of terror/courage is the fear that one lacks the capacity to overcome danger through confrontation. Under the parent pair of terror/courage are a variety of different norms all deriving from the felt perception of fear-driven emotion and the lack of the capacity to

overcome danger through confrontation. For instance, in the norm pair *frustration/satisfaction,* frustration is a fear-driven emotion resulting from not being able to confront forces that lay in the way of desired goals; its desire-driven counterpart is satisfaction. In applying both hope responses we see that a person who is feeling the emotion of frustration, whose pair is satisfaction and whose parent pair is terror/courage, first feels fear-driven emotion as a painful force. The person then seeks *to move away from pain,* which is the first hope response. Once the person has moved away from the danger that was painful and frustrating, they will seek to *move toward pleasure based on the desire-driven seeking* of satisfaction.

Based on de Courville Nicol (2011), there are four key points that will drive my analysis. The first is that the anticipation of a painful or pleasurable outcome is what constitutes the feeling of fear or of desire. Second, fear-driven emotions tend toward desire-driven emotions and desire-driven emotions tend toward the exercise of power; these moves constitute the first and second hope responses, respectively. Third, pain relates to danger, fear, and threats and pleasure relates to security, desire and promises. Fear is prompted by the anticipation of pain, while danger is anticipated pain. The anticipation of pain is a force that triggers fear. Lastly, threats are painful experiences of danger. On the opposite side, desire is prompted by the anticipation of pleasure, while security is anticipated pleasure. The anticipation of pleasure is a force that triggers desire. Lastly, promises are pleasurable experiences of security.

We can now begin to see that only theorising negative emotions in post-riot discourse us an incomplete perspective. Fear-driven emotions imply the move to desire-driven emotions through which security is implemented. We can turn our attention to how people manage their emotions in order to move from danger to security, in what is referred to as emotion management (de Courville Nicol 2011).

*4.3. Emotion Management*

The interactions between social and cultural norms are at the heart of de Courville Nicol's (2011) theory of emotion management. Cultural norms inform people of what is good or bad and social norms act to enforce these beliefs with sanctions (2011: 153). When we consider painful and pleasurable emotions in this context, we find that what is considered to be painful and pleasurable is often found defined by these norms.[66] To expand on this, we need to properly situate two concepts: *relational threat* and *relational promise*. We can see these concepts at work when, for example, someone is feeling the negative, fear-driven emotion of outrage, whose pair is vindication. As argued before, a person feels this emotion because they perceive an object of fear or situation that threatens to produce pain; this is called a *relational threat*. This relation, or that which is constituted as painful, is often dependent on social and cultural forces. For example, racism involves a fear of people from presumed other races[67] (West 1982). Racial difference is not terrifying in and of itself; the fear is based on "a prior embodied association between [the] object and a painful outcome" (de Courville Nicol 2011: 153). This results in anticipated pain and constitutes a fear and to illustrate the hope responses, I will use the pair outrage/vindication. The first instance of the hope response emerges when the racist anticipates pain from interacting with presumed other races and therefore, experiences the urge to overcome this threat. Hence this is the hope response in the form of a desire orientation and the desire-driven emotion is vindication. In other words, the person feeling racist must first identify the appropriate response to their situation. In this case, it is through the outrage/vindication pair whose parent pair is terror/courage and thus whose strategic orientation is confrontation. Finding

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[66] But can also be found in other norms such as biological or biographical. This thesis' main concern however, are social and cultural norms.

[67] I say presumed because it is now a widely accepted fact in academic circles that the concept of race, as it pertains to biology, is indeed a construction. Maintaining a biological division between the races of humanity is an untenable position (Bone; 2009; Jhally 1997.)

this emotional response constitutes the first hope response.  The person then can move into the desire-driven emotion, in this case vindication, and then move towards exercising power and thus implementing security.

Fear prompts the urge to find a solution that promises to avert the relational threat.  The identification of a solution is motivated by *relational promise* and gives the person capacity to exercise power and implement security.  Hence this is the second hope response, in the form of the identification of a means of power.  The force behind the process is a prior-embodied pleasurable relation that allows them to move past fear and toward desire (de Courville Nicol 2011: 140-2).

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the movement from pain to pleasure, I will introduce three more concepts: *emotional regulation, hedonic power* and *emotion management*. Emotional regulation is a "problem-based urge to seek the avoidance of pain and the pursuit of pleasure" (de Courville Nicol 2011: 142).  Emotional regulation does not entail the exercise of power over the self, by the self and for this reason, can be thought of as *subjective,* because it does not involve the concerted exercise of power over oneself.  Hedonic power is the felt force that pushes a subject away from pain and towards pleasure; it can be *subjective* or *moral*.[68] Emotion management refers to the concerted effort to exercise hedonic power as the solution to a problem (relational threat) and can be thought of as *moral*, because it involves the concerted exercise of power over oneself.  The central factor that establishes something as an example of emotional regulation and not emotion management is when the morally problematic desire that produced the emotion management efforts ceases to exist and is replaced with a desire of the intended effects of emotion management (2011: 132-4).  Thus, emotion management implies a person or a group attempting to change their own or another person or group's behaviour.

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[68] These concepts will be explored in greater depth later on.

To expand on this, de Courville Nicol (2011) provides an example that highlights emotion management and its two effects: an emotional regulation effect and a moral self-control effect. Take for instance a situation between two friends: one is attempting to get the other to recycle. The friend who recycles could attempt to *emotionally manage* the other by making the other feel guilty about not recycling. If the emotion management efforts of the friend who recycles were successful, then the friend who does not recycle may feel guilty about not recycling. In order to alleviate this guilt, the person may choose to start recycling. They would thus have to implement moral self-control in order to begin recycling. This is a case where one exercises moral self-control because it involves the concerted exercise of power by the person who wants to manage their behaviour (by recycling) and for this reason it is an example of emotion management with a moral self-control effect. To differentiate, consider if a person feels sad when watching a movie that portrays loss. The movie is still acting to emotionally manage the viewer by making the viewer feel sad. However, the viewer may not be prompted to emotionally manage their self in order to overcome sadness because the experience will likely end when the movie does, thus this could be understood as emotion management with an emotional regulation effect. Were the movie to permanently change the viewer's emotional relationship to a force, it could then be said to produce emotional management effects (2011: 145-6).

This thesis takes a particular interest in how emotion management is promoted through news media and De Courville Nicol's (2011) concepts of campaigns of fear and desire are useful in understanding this. She argues that *campaigns of fear* and *campaigns of desire* are both "governed by hope" (2011: 146). This can be seen by referring back to the definitions of fear and desire. In defining campaigns of fear and desire, we consider the rhetoric they rely on to convey their message; these are called rhetorics of fear and desire. A *rhetoric of fear* emphasizes the

painful consequences of a desired course of action. This rhetoric seeks to discipline desire by repressing or correcting the urge to realize it and can therefore be labeled as *discipline-based* (2011: 238-40) A *rhetoric of desire* emphasizes the pleasurable outcome that will arise with the realization of a desired course of action. Instead of relying on the disciplining of a desire, its goal is to activate and form desire and therefore can be labeled as *realization-based* (de Courville Nicol 2011: 238-40).

Self-discipline-based and self-realization-based societies lie at the logic of understanding why a certain type of discourse can be labelled as such and to properly illustrate these differences, I elaborate on an earlier concept: moral self-control[69]. Moral self-control, as previously argued, can be an effect of emotion management. However, there are different forms of moral self-control that are promoted in official discourse and these correspond to self-discipline-based and self-realization-based societies.

In self-discipline-based societies, self-repression and self-correction are the dominant means to moral self-control that are promoted in official discourse. Self-repression and self-correction are understood to be disciplinary because they both rely on the notion that desire is something negative because it is thought of as transgressing social norms. In self-realization-based societies, self-activation and self-formation are the dominant means to moral self-control that are prompted in official discourse. Self-activation and self-formation are understood to be self-realization-based because they rely on the notion that desire can be positive because realizing the desire means fulfilling social norms (de Courville Nicol 2011: 158-62).

In concluding this section, I have provided definitions and examples for the concepts

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[69] Although this thesis will not be using the concept of moral self-control in the analysis, an understanding of how desire is viewed in each society necessarily involves a discussion of moral self-control. Moreover, for my purposes, illustrating the point that desire is seen as transgressive in self-discipline-based societies and as potentially fulfilling in self-realization-based societies is crucial for my analysis because of how the news media discusses public figures who they feel are, sometimes, morally right or wrong.

related to emotion management.  I argue that official post-riot discourses analysed can be

understood through de Courville Nicol's (2011) self-discipline and self-realization-based societal

types.  Further, this guides my understanding of emotion management, which I show can have

moral self-control and emotional regulation effects, and moreover, can be apart of a wider

campaign of fear or desire.

Chapter 5: Establishing a Methodology of Emotional Discourse Analysis

*5.1. Introduction*

This project's research methodology is post-Foucauldian. Foucauldians' main area of concern is how truth is produced through the workings of power/knowledge, as manifested in discourse (Foucault 1978: 86-9). However, instead of examining the production of truth, I adapt this method to look at how emotions are prompted in post-riot discourse. Put in Foucauldian terms, this thesis is concerned with how emotions are a means for exercising power and this is evidenced through what I call "emotional discourse," following de Courville Nicol (2011). Emotional discourse is concerned primarily with emotion management that as argued in the previous chapter, can occur due to a variety of different forces from a movie to a friend wanting to get another friend to recycle. This is in agreement with Foucault's (1978) argument that power is something that is exercised from a broad multiplicity of points (1978: 92). By this, he meant that there is no specific source or origin of power in modern societies. Power/knowledge, as he called it, is a relation that occurs in modern societies where power and knowledge work together to produce truth (1978: 92-102). Power/knowledge can be exercised by those with "expert" knowledge, politicians, police officers, and, in the context of this thesis, the news media. While the news media can also be a vehicle in which truth is propagated through power/knowledge, I also argue that emotional discourses are not completely concerned with whether or not a discourse is perceived as true or not (Foucault 1978).

The sample of discourse in this thesis comes from local Montreal and Canadian print media. My interest is in how authority figures and news media act to emotionally manage the groups of people after a riot. Print media provides a suitable groundwork, since many public officials were asked questions by the media after the riots in question. Given these interests,

important methodology questions include: 1. What is a Foucauldian discourse analysis and how can it be adapted to analyse emotions? 2. How did I come to choose my sample of articles? What were the selection criteria? 3. What are the limitations of the method?

*5.2. Establishing a Methodology of Emotional Discourse Analysis*

In Foucault's *the Archaeology of Knowledge (1972)*, he proposes that discourse extends itself further than simply written and spoken words. Discourse is also expressed in attitudes, social practices and emotions (1972:23-5). Discourse is involved in every aspect of our lives, including in media. Since my method involves the analysis of printed news, I am particularly interested in the emotional relationship between the readers and the texts that they read.

Doing a discourse analysis involves describing, interpreting, analyzing, and critiquing social life described in texts. It challenges us to move from seeing language as abstract to seeing our words as having meaning in a particular historical, social, and political conditions (Hall 1997: 45). Huckin (1997) argues that the media never report on the state of the world without prejudice, instead they shape perspectives, influence opinions and manage emotions. However, I am not interested in the ways in which the news media shapes their readers into simply accepting the political opinions of the media. I seek to explain the emotional effects of the text on its readers.

For this task, I draw on de Courville Nicol's (2011) notion of situation assimilation. She argues that audiences of movies, books and other media may "experience the same objects of fear and desire as the characters (de Courville Nicol 2011: 277). She goes on to argue that an audience can also feel sad or glad about something that a character does not know of yet. Moreover, the audience can possess knowledge of the genre of the film or book, and in this way structure their own emotion management response that may differ from the characters (2011:

275-8). Lastly, the emotional effects that are triggered through the consumption of media do not need to be perceived as "real" or "plausible" by the audience, it is rather the thoughts that the readers have with these objects that informs their emotional response to them. Or more specifically, the reader may very well know that it is highly unlikely that they will interact with a villain from a movie like Star Wars. However, this does not necessarily diminish the emotional effects that they may have had while watching the movie. Similar to the way an audience can experience pain and pleasure when they watch a movie, a reader can experience pain and pleasure when reading a newspaper article. Moreover, much like the relationship that de Courville Nicol (2011) argues an audience can have with the hero or the villain in a film, I argue readers of newspapers can have with the perceived "illegitimate" or erroneous figures depicted in articles. The articles in the news media after a race riot often draw rigid lines drawn between those who rioted and those who did not. Indeed, McKoy (2001) has observed the demonizing of black rioters during a riot, even calling their actions riotous has the effect of delegitimizing efforts to bring about justice. This labelling is something that does not occur "when whites riot" (McKoy 2001: 3-6). De Courville Nicol (2011) draws our attention to how the audience may have knowledge about a film's genre and possibly form their own emotional response to the film. I see this as potentially occurring when a reader reads a newspaper article as well. Something like a race riot or a police shooting is likely to provoke an emotional response in many readers who have prior opinions in regards to issues like racism, rioting, and police brutality (Desbarats: March 1969). However, one of the major points of my work is to show how reader's emotional responses are affected by larger societal-based shifts in the promotion of moral self-control, specifically the shift from self-discipline to self-realization. Therefore, I see the relationship between the reader and the news media as one that carries the possibility of the reader

experiencing the emotional responses to the news media that they consume. This can have the effect of emotionally managing the readers and/or the readers emotionally managing themselves through moral self-control.

When doing an emotional discourse analysis of a text's relationship with its readers the analyst must ask the text a set of questions in order to get a sense of the emotion management techniques that are used to influence the opinions of newspaper readers after a riot (Hall 1997). I have formulated a list of guidelines for doing emotional discourse analysis in a post-riot context.

VI. The discourse analyst must first label what a post-riot discourse is. In this thesis, I use any articles that discuss the riots in questions. Typically, these discuss one or all of the following criteria:

A. the riot itself;

B. the riot's causes;

C. the incident that "sparked" the riot;

D. the community's response[70] ;

E. directions to prevent further rioting;

F. how the riot is remembered in the news media.

VII. The emotional-norm pairs at work in the articles must be identified and elaborated in terms of the hope response, which indicates how the emotional response moved from pain to pleasure and then from pleasure to the exercise of power.

VIII. If certain emotional norms pairs are move prevalent in the texts, then this must be explained. Different emotional responses have different ways of structuring action[71]. Take for instance a comparison between the two fear-driven emotions of sadness and outrage.

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[70] Which is not limited to the neighbourhood that the riot occurred in , but can be the response of any party such as the city, country or society.
[71] The strategic orientations are italicized below.

Sadness involves the perception that one lacks the capacity to *prevent* pain, whereas outrage involves the perception that one lacks the ability to *confront* another's illegitimate hurting of oneself (de Courville Nicol 2011: 47). Since prevention and confrontation correspond to these different emotional responses is key to be able to determine the types of emotional responses that are encouraged.

IX.   In examining how readers are being emotionally managed, it is important to focus on the news media's efforts to emotionally manage, through emotional regulation effects[72].

X.   The discourse analyst determines whether an emotional discourse is self-discipline or self-realization-based in two ways: first, attempting to examine the primary issue(s) that the articles discuss, and then examining the issues in terms of de Courville Nicol's (2011) framework to establish whether the emotional discourse involves moral self-control or not.

XI.   Lastly, I identify campaigns of fear or desire. This involves using de Courville Nicol's (2011) definitions of campaigns of fear and desire.

*5.3. Sampling Method:*

For this study, I focused my efforts on articles from local Montreal newspapers that covered both riots. The articles were chosen based on the criteria listed in 1 above. For the 2008 riot, the articles come from the *Montreal Gazette*. The sources for the SGW riot are more varied, the *Montreal Gazette* and *Star* and the Sir George Williams newspapers and other International magazines like *Time* are used. My limited knowledge of the French language makes it impossible to analyse any Francophone newspapers. This is a major limitation to my study, since not only is Montreal a majority Francophone city (Statistics Canada 2006), but also a majority of the newspapers in Montreal are in French. In addition, since there were more Anglophone

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[72] This work is solely concerned with the emotional regulation effects of emotion management. This is due to the difficulty of obtaining data that would prove that moral self-control was used in response to an article discussed in this thesis.

newspapers before the 2000's, the sample for the 1969 riot is larger.  Finally, the 1969 riot gained

attention not just in Montreal and Canada, but the United States as well.  For these reasons, the

sample of articles on the SGW riot is not only larger, but more diverse than the sample for the

2008 Montreal North riot.

The articles were compiled using the archives at Concordia University and the *Montreal*

*Gazette*.  Finding material on the SGW riot was not difficult as all of the sources can been

viewed at Concordia's Archives by inquiring for material on "riot at Sir George".  My sample for

the SGW riot included national and international articles, as well as local Anglophone media,

like the *Montreal Star*, which is no longer in existence. Since the Montreal North riot occurred

only three years ago, less has been written on it than the SGW riot.  Therefore, my search for

local, Anglophone media consisted solely in examining the *Montreal CBC* and the *Montreal*

*Gazette*.  While searching on the website databases of both of these media, I focused my search

on "Montreal North riot", "Fredy Villanueva", "Dany Villanueva" and "Jean-Loup Lapointe",

which yielded many relevant articles[73].

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[73] In closing this chapter I argue it necessary to make a point before I begin with my analyses.  The point of my
analysis is not to take a side with or against the printed media.  My point in analyzing these discourses is simply to
argue how the news media is attempting to emotionally manage their readers into accepting a particular point of
view within the larger context of a post-riot. This subject is worthy of study because from such research we can
examine how the news media engage in not only the practice of emotion management, but the promotion of moral
self-control, which can have an impact on potential "media bias".  I do not seek to "take sides" in wider socio-
political debates surrounding racism or inherent bias in media, although such studies are absolutely crucial in
helping us to understand these phenomena in a wider context.

Chapter 6  The Post-riot emotional discourse analysis of the SGW and Montreal North riots.

The frightening situation is the backlash.  The Canadian public is now saying: 'Whether I agreed with them or not, they burned our property.  They burned three million dollars worth of property' – Roland Willis (Desbarats: March 1969).

6.1. Perry Anderson: The Case of a Self-Discipline-based Campaign of Fear

There are three areas of inquiry in my post-riot discourse analyses for the SGW riot. Each of these areas examines a figure or idea surrounding the riot that was found in the news media.  These areas are: the discourses surrounding Perry Anderson, who was originally charged with racism against the nine minority students.  Second, Rosie Douglas, who was be the lead activist in the occupation of the SGW Computer Centre.  Third, the riot's legitimacy, which investigates the news media's representation of the riot as a legitimate action or not.  These analyses first define the emotional-norm pair and explain, through the hope responses.  Second, I argue how the articles in both analyses display emotion management with emotional regulation effects.  Finally, I look at whether the articles indicate a campaign of fear or desire.

*6.1.2. The Media's Emotional Response*

The coverage of Perry Anderson by the Montreal Gazette and other news media emphasized how he was the last person in the world that anyone would suspect of being accused of racism.  Many articles repeated that it was a charge that he (Winslow: January 27, 1969) and many of his colleagues emphatically denied (Moon & AcAuliffe: April 5, 1969; Time: February 21, 1969).  The coverage of this story included two editorial columns, which sympathized with Anderson and directed criticism at the SGW Administration and the students.  At the core, these articles were arguing that he was wrongfully accused because of a lack of evidence and wrongfully treated by SGW due to their insistence that he take a leave of absence during the trial

(Stewart & Geller: February 22, 1969).  This indicates news media's response to this situation was constituted through the outrage/vindication norm pair.

The discourse on Anderson prompted the readers to feel outrage/vindication, which is the felt in/capacity that results when someone has the perception that they "lack the ability to confront another's causing oneself hurt illegitimately" (de Courville Nicol 2011: 20).  As such, readers are emotionally positioned to exercise vindication-driven power in the implementation of security.  Before the riot, the coverage of Anderson's trial emphasized how it was an over-reaction by the University.  For example, "A large number of staff and students at Sir George Williams University, probably the majority, feel that the Anderson case has been blown out of all proportion to its inherent importance.  They wish the black students and the Administration and the inquiry and the lawyers would just go away…" (Montreal Gazette: January 31, 1969).

After the riot, the tone of the articles in the Gazette and other became more forceful in their defense of Anderson.  For example, an editorial written for *MacLean's* in 1969, contains a rather forceful argument for the perceived oppression of Anderson.  "It is not a novel experience for the rights of a man to be crushed in the passion of struggle for the Rights of Man, as Perry Anderson's rights were crushed…  For half a year he lived with the degrading smear of racism." (MacLean's: November 1969).  The article goes on to argue that SGW failed to provide due process to Anderson, casting his rights aside in favour of the students who accused him of racism.  In an editorial from the *Gazette* written forty years later, the point was made that Anderson was, "the biology professor who legitimately assigned failing marks to some black students… It was clear to me that he and his young family were the real victims of the computer centre riot" (Montreal Gazette: February 12, 2009).  The *Montreal Gazette* echoed this sentiment in an after article about a week after the riot that criticized the Administration's handling of the

trial as a case of "mob rule" where they cast out a member of the University to try and seem politically correct (Stewart & Geller: February 22, 1969). In the eyes of all of the news media the argument was essentially the same: Anderson was unjustly tried without due process or evidence and his reputation was forever tarnished as a result. But as the media urged readers to experience outrage over the illegitimate use of power by the Administration and students, how did this transform into a vindication-driven exercise of power? To understand this process I will now discuss the hope response.

The first hope response involves a move from the fear emotion's (outrage) to desire (vindication). The second hope response involves the determination of the means of power. The articles on Anderson were prompting their readers to feel outrage by emphasizing the use of illegitimate power at the Anderson trial. In representing this as outrageous the articles laid the ground for the desire for vindication. The second hope response involves the identification of achieving vindication and the implementation of security. I argue that the means of power that was the act of writing articles that *confronted* the illegitimate exercise of power by the students accusing him of racism.

*6.2.2. Emotion Management through a Campaign of Fear:*

The media promoted emotion management based on labelling the desire as erroneous. This was accomplished by a campaign of fear, "where the emphasis is placed on the painful, destructive and norm breaking consequences of the desire" (de Courville Nicol 2011: 155). This is illustrated through showing the reader all of the destructive consequences that happened to Anderson, his family and his reputation as a result of the charge of racism.

I argue that this case is one where the news media is attempting to *correct* a potential point of view by their readers who may otherwise sympathize with the side that agreed with the

students at SGW.  This was a concerted effort by them to influence opinions with regards to not only race and racism in Montreal, and University policies as well.  Recalling the article from *MacLean's*, "The denial of due process – that is the central lesson of the tragedy at Sir George, an institution with a liberal and human tradition" (MacLean's: November 1969), we see an example of an effort by the writer to not only persuade the reader that racism is not the central issue but that policies should keep this "tragedy" in mind to keep it from happening again.  In another example, Anderson himself was quoted in a *Time's* article that also labelled the students as "nihilistic student revolutionaries."  Referring to the accusations, Anderson said, "I am convinced that I am not a racist.  I argue it is imperative to clear my name, and imperative for all academics that I stick it out" (Time: February 21, 1969).  While passages like these and the one before can be argued to have a large or small effect on the people who read them, the aim is undeniably clear: Perry Anderson should not be condemned and anyone who feels otherwise is making a flawed assumption.  But this discourse, as well as the two other aspects of the post-riot SGW discourse, further resembles an overarching effort of emotion management; a campaign of fear.

One aspect that indicates this discourse involves a campaign of fear can be seen in how the students opposed to Anderson are represented.[74]  The students are typically labelled as revolutionaries, militant blacks and black power rebels, rarely was the student-side of the story covered using one of the student's actual names (Time: February 21, 1969; Stewart & Geller: February 22, 1969).  Furthermore, the actions of the students are covered with war-like rhetoric.  In referring to the students' demands for a new trial (before the riot) *Time* was quoted saying, "Meanwhile, to back up their demands for a new trial more to their liking, the ninth-story

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[74] Indeed, there are elements of this part of my analysis of the Anderson ordeal that will tie into my analysis of the discourse surrounding Rosie Douglas, since he was one of these students.

occupation troops declared they were prepared to stay put for one year, five years, ten years."

Moreover, it was often reported that these students destroyed over two million dollars worth of

equipment and therefore, got what they deserved when the Police arrived and those opposed to

the protestors chanted, "Go, cops, go!" (Time: February 21, 1969) and "Let the niggers burn!"

(Feldman: February 11, 1989).

A large article, in the *Montreal Gazette*, also illustrates a campaign of fear. The article

frames the issue around Anderson not receiving adequate due process as the central problem.

The article then goes on to discuss how the SGW Administration bowed to the students'

demands. What makes this article particularly interesting is that it makes the case that "this is

what happens when you give someone too much power: something catastrophic occurs." After

the authors argue this point, they make the case of just how large the riot was and dangerous it

was: "The case was probably unprecedented in the history of North American universities and

already was threatening to become a 'cause célèbre' involving black-white confrontation"

(Stewart & Geller: February 22, 1969). The reader has now read an article that proclaims just

how dangerous student politics can get when a "liberal" (Stewart & Geller: February 22, 1969)

gives in to its demands. This inevitably leads to the argument that this kind of student protest,

which was typical in 1960's United States, Canada and France (Downs 1999: Eber 1969; Mills

2007; Owram 1996) will lead to pain. We can clearly see this through a quote from SGWU

Professor Henry Beissel, "If the price of revolution is our humanity – our sense of justice and

compassion, truthfulness, dedication and respect, then that revolution has no place at our

University, or indeed, in our society (Stewart & Geller: February 22, 1969). Indeed, the issue of

supporting or not supporting Anderson is about as clear-cut as it can possibly be in the media's

discourse. Not supporting him is dangerous and transgressing this clear-cut boundary bring pain.

6.3. The Rosie Douglas Ordeal[75]

Perhaps the aspect that makes the coverage of Rosie Douglas, whom many claimed to be the lead activist in the events leading up to the riot, different from that of the Perry Anderson coverage is that the articles in my sample that discuss Douglas range from the 1970's to the 2000's, while only one of the articles that discusses Anderson does not come from the 1960's. This makes possible a unique account of how emotional responses to Douglas began to change over time. Nonetheless the discourse surrounding "the Rosie Douglas ordeal" was also a campaign of fear, with the media are attempting to show readers how illegitimate of an activist Douglas was. The emotional norms pairs that arise in this discourse, which shift from outrage/vindication to disagreement/reconciliation.[76]

*6.3.1. The Media's Emotional Response:*

Throughout the coverage of the riot, Douglas is cited as the leading activist responsible for the SGW riot. He is characterized as highly intelligent and capable, "a talented organizer with experience on the Halifax scene, [has] adopted a style of action that the formal channels and habitual responses of the university simply can't handle" (Moore: January 31, 1969). Douglas and his followers were said to be accusing Anderson without the proper evidence. When they began to take more dramatic steps in order to get their message across, the SGW

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[75] The word "ordeal" here should not be taken to be insensitive. I am simply attempting to express the "ordeal" that Rosie Douglas had to go through for the rest of his life because of his involvement in the riot. Furthermore, I am also attempting to express the efforts of many Canadians who still hold a very sincere grudge against Douglas and his involvement in the destruction of university property and moreover, the accusation that a "majority of Canadians [are] racist" (Feldman: February 11, 1989).

[76] The first sample of articles, which were written in the 1960's and 70's promote outrage/vindication as the appropriate emotional perspective whereas the second sample, which were written in the 1980's and 2000's promote disagreement/reconciliation.

Administration[77] and the news media expressed outrage.

This outrage was not lost even ten years after the riot. In 1979, the Concordia University[78] *Alumni magazine* ran an issue with Douglas' picture on the cover. The Administration's response was stark: burn any and all copies of the magazine (Whittingham: February 21, 1979). "We simply felt it wasn't appropriate for an administrative organ to spread the political views of someone who tried to destroy the institution 10 years ago" said David Allnutt, the publisher of the magazine (Whittingham: February 21, 1979). The issue did not have any explosive content, but simply writing about Douglas was enough to outrage Concordia. A day before the article was published the *Montreal Star* ran an article covering Douglas' place within the Concordia community, describing Douglas as an alumnus that Concordia would love to forget. The author reports that Douglas' politics have not changed, "it turns out that he is denouncing racism and preaching revolution with all the old fervor" (Montreal Star: February 27, 1979). However, Douglas is cast as an irrelevant and unsophisticated "martyr to the revolutionary causes and victim of capitalist oppression" (Montreal Star: February 27, 1979). The article then criticizes Concordia University's response to the *Alumni magazine* article, saying that it served to forward Douglas' illegitimate political positions. Therefore, even ten years later, media coverage still finds reason to be outraged at Douglas and to show readers why they should also be outraged at Douglas. However, this outrage/vindication emotional-norm pair shifted, in the publication of an article (Feldman: February 11, 1989) in 1989, to disagreement/reconciliation. Douglas was still argued to be the primary leader of the student revolt, but the coverage is now about how he viewed the students actions in 1969 and whether or

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[77] Although the news media characterized the SGW administration as being too accommodationist towards the students during the accusation of racism against Anderson, official documents shows how outraged many SGW officials were during the Hearings (see "Sheldon Report")
[78] SGW was changed to Concordia University when it merged with Loyola in 1975

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not the ban on his re-entry to Canada should be lifted[79]. There is indeed the argument in this

article that what he did was destructive and wrong, however, instead of calling for outrage

against Douglas, the emphasis is on reconciliation, "Douglas now wants nothing more than to

extend an olive branch to Perry Anderson." Douglas was quoted saying, "Of course I want

reconciliation. I really hope that we can come to an understanding someday" (Feldman:

February 11, 1989). However, Douglas refused to apologize for his actions in 1969. For him

that would amount to renouncing the fight for equal rights. However, the article focuses on his

assertion that he seeks reconciliation. This issue of reconciliation is further taken up in two

articles written in 2000, which discuss the possibility of Douglas being pardoned by the

Canadian government (Moore: May 28, 2000; Stackhouse: May 29. 2000). Therefore, the article

takes a stance that disagrees with Douglas, but instead of feeling outraged there is hope that they

can reconcile. Instead of covering the story by arguing that Douglas violated social norms, the

argument is that there was a reason behind his violation of social norms that had to do with many

blacks' experience of injustice in the 1960's. However, still highlighting the disagreement

between Douglas and Canada the article states that he refuses to apologize to anyone, "I don't

want to tell thousands of young black Canadians that I did not mean to stand up for their rights"

(Stackhouse: May 29, 2000).

The articles can be understood in terms of the hope response. The object of fear, or

problem, was constituted as Douglas' illegitimate use of power in inciting the riot. The initial

feeling of outrage of the media connected to a vindication-driven quest for dealing with the

problem. To overcome this initial outrage and complete the first hope response, the articles

identified the solution to the problem of feeling outrage, which was vindication: the writing of an

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[79] To place this into context, Douglas served 18 months in prison for his participation in the riot, after which he was deported back to his home country of the Dominican Republic and prohibited from re-entering Canada.

article that denounces Douglas, in order to implement security. The same could be said about the articles where disagreement/reconciliation emotional-norm pair. In the first hope response, there was a feeling disagreement with Douglas and this provoked a reconciliation-based quest for a solution. The exercise of power remained the same (i.e.: writing articles that criticized Douglas) but their emotional response was different. I will take up this question later on in my conclusion, but it suffices to say that while the emotional response was different, the emotion management strategy was the same and this is what I take up in the next section.

### 6.3.2. Emotion Management through a Campaign of Fear

Each of these articles contains a powerful message about how the audience should view a controversial figure. Similar to Anderson, who is represented as having been wrongly accused, Douglas is represented as the person who made wrongful accusations, and therefore, when discussing his role in the SGW riot, the news media's emotion management efforts promote the view that Douglas is an "erroneous" activist. Moreover, this argument is promoted through a wider campaign of fear.

When we consider the *Montreal Star's* coverage of the Concordia *Alumni Magazine* burning, we are left with the impression that Douglas was and still is a figure to be feared and that supporting his politics would be an incorrect decision. We are left with the impression that the political views of Douglas are suspect and connected to the attempted destruction of Concordia. This position is furthered by the Star's article entitled, "Coming up Rosie" where the author (un-named) trivializes Douglas' political views and makes the case that he enjoys being a "martyr to the revolutionary cause and [a] victim of capitalist oppression". (Montreal Star: February 27, 1979). Furthermore, he argues that Concordia was wrong in destroying the magazine because this action does not silence him rather it only makes his position stronger. The

readers of these articles are thus left with the impression that Douglas' views are not only controversial but as erroneous as they were in 1969.

However, the message that Douglas is only an activist began to change in 1989. *The Montreal Daily News* and the *Gazette* both interviewed Douglas, in 1989 and 2000, respectively. In these articles Douglas is described as someone who led a violent riot where "scores of students went on a rampage" (Stackhouse: May 29, 2000), but they also allow him to give his reasons for why the riot happened: "We were not against Perry Anderson or against the university. We were for the justice of black people" (Feldman: February 11, 1989). When asked if he would apologize for the riots, he responded, "That would mean saying I'm sorry for standing up for human rights" (Stackhouse: May 29, 2000). He went as far as asking the Canadian government for a pardon, something granted to Canadian Senator Anne Cools after she apologized for her participation in the riot (Moore: May 28, 2000). The articles also tell the readers that Douglas eventually became the Prime Minister of Dominica, and make a point to portray Douglas as a hard-worker; "I'm a head of state in my own right who has strived to get to where I am now" (Moore: May 28, 2000).

This discourse still emotionally managing readers to accept the view that Douglas is an erroneous activist, but the article also casts him in a different light. The articles provide a broader understanding of Douglas and portray him in more desire-driven terms. They confirm just how illegitimate his cause was in 1969 was, while also creating a space for their readers to see Douglas as a hard working man who stood up for what he thought was right. This change reflects a shifting emotional response and provides a stark contrast to the coverage of Douglas in the 1960's and 70's. The second sample of articles shows Douglas as the President of Dominica, fighting his reputation as an illegitimate radical from the 1960's. The news media is still

discussing the "Rosie Douglas Ordeal" in terms that highlight the destructive effects of his activism, and the possible consequences of behaving like Douglas. However, this is done while also discussing the troubled atmosphere of Montreal in the 1960's in relation to the discrimination faced by black people, as well as showing Douglas was not a radical anymore, but an authority figure in his home country. While this new emphasis is on the possible reconciliation between Canada and Douglas, there is never the argument that his actions were desirable.

## 6.4. The Riot's Legitimacy: A Discourse of Fear

In this sample of articles, the riot's legitimacy is rarely discussed. Indeed, this section's sample of articles could be titled, "the Illegitimate Riot". Because of the negative connotation of the word "riot" (Hunt 1997; McKoy 2001) even labelling the event as a riot places it in the realm of being illegitimate. I call this section, "the riot's legitimacy" because the news media of the 1960's does not even entertain the possibility that there is anything positive that came out of the riot. The activist atmosphere, or radical imagination (Mills 2007) in Montreal that surrounded both the QLM and Black Power movements created an atmosphere where those who were being accused of being anti-francophone and/or racist, felt outraged. This riot provided them with a chance for vindication by giving concrete reasons for their hostility to the rioters politics and further, the chance to practice emotion management through a campaign of fear, so as to give legitimacy to a more institutional-based form of activism.[80]

### 6.4.1. The Media's Emotional Response:

Outrage/vindication provides the most adequate emotional-norm pair for understanding the media response to the SGW riot. There is one article in the sample that was written during

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[80] By this, I mean to say that the rioters were accused of being too confrontational, radical and violent. Their grievances may have been worthy of pursuing, but their reliance on occupying and destroying the Computer Centre shattered their legitimacy (The Gazette: February 22, 1969).

the occupation before the riot, but it already showed evidence of outrage. In a summary of a hearing between the students and the administration, a clear dichotomy is drawn, "the radicals returned and took over the hearing. Committee members set calmly as they were surrounded by students who attempted to present their position" (Winslow: 1969). This discourse marks a clear separation between the two parties. By describing the students as radicals and the committee members as calm. This establishes a distinction between who is "right" and who is "wrong" in this instance and provides us with a relevant example of show-casing the media's outrage.

The post-riot discourse is no different. In an article written days after the riot, there is discussion about the denial of bail for the participants. The reasons given were "the accused has threatened university officials and conspired against the administration long before the outbreak of arson and vandalism" (Lebel: February 19, 1969). After the issue of bail is covered, the article summarizes why these students are charged with crimes. However, the issue of the riot being a protest against racism is not discussed, only the specific charges of "conspiracy to commit arson and three counts of conspiracy to commit mischief" (Lebel: February 19, 1969). This was echoed in a Gazette article that covered four McGill medical student's petition to condemn the rioters' politics. The students, all white, criticized the actions of the student activists being undemocratic and based on intimidation (Montreal Gazette: February 22, 1969). What makes these two articles significant is not that fact that they give those who oppose the action a voice, but that they leave the voice of the participant out. This helps to deny the riot any legitimacy. In another article that consisted of various viewpoints on the riot, 14 out of the 16 interviews took the opinion that the riot was illegitimate (Moon & McAuliffe: April 5, 1969).

Thus, once again the news media promoted the fear-driven emotion of outrage. This is the first hope response, or the quest for identifying the emotional-norm pair to the situation,

which was outrage/vindication.  The second hope response allowed them to move from the desire-driven emotion of vindication to the exercise of power, which is the act of writing the articles that label the riot as illegitimate.

*6.4.2. Emotion Management and Campaigns of Fear and Desire:*

In their attempt to sway public opinion toward condemning the actions taken by the students at SGW, the news media labelled them as being on a "rampage" (Moon and McAuliffe: April 5, 1969), believing in undemocratic principles (The Gazette: February 22, 1969) and being "unyielding" in their efforts to bring down the University (Winslow: 1969).  When examining the articles, we see similarities in the emotion management techniques in the Douglas and Anderson analyses.  The news media is attempting shape public opinion by presenting the riot as an illegitimate act through fear-driven terms.

In their coverage of the post-riot, the news media report that the prosecutor for SGW argued that the defendants should be denied bail on the ground of what was destroyed, a two million dollar "ultra-modern computer centre" (Lebel: February 19, 1969).  While this was indeed true, presenting the case in this light of its economic harm does act to manage the readers into viewing the riot as illegitimate, especially because the article does not mention the reasons behind the student actions.  In fact, the students are only mentioned when their lawyer is quoted or when their charges are announced.  The students and their actions are only associated with painful consequences.

In further convincing their readers that the riot was illegitimate, the *Gazette* ran one article just after the riot and another about a month later.  The first was written about the four McGill University medical students who felt that recent incidents at Sir George Williams University and McGill University were "not supported by the majority of the student body" (The

Gazette: February 22, 1969). The McGill students do acknowledge the position of the students, calling their actions, "[desperate] over the administration's unwillingness to realize the gravity of the charges placed before it." But the article's point is to denounce the student action as "excessive" and make the point that it should not be tolerated because of its "undemocratic" nature. Any person who agrees with these rioting students is therefore supporting an illegitimate, and undemocratic group of people.

I would now take this argument a step further and claim that the self-disciplinary nature of this discourse, as well as the negative connotation of the word "riot", also makes it a campaign of fear. The news media attempts to emotionally manage their readers by inspiring fear of illegitimate and destructive action. This is done by presenting the riot as something that had only negative consequences. For instance, in the article, "Canada's worst student riot", the caption reads, "These people were involved that disastrous day in Montreal when a smouldering university erupted" (Moon and McAuliffe: April 5, 1969). This discourse may indeed be true, a fire was set in the ninth floor of the Hall building during the riot. However, by presenting the story this way, the reader is only reading about the riot's painful effects. This is furthered when the article points to not only the monetary damage done to SGW, but also to the occupying students "10-hour rampage" and inevitable arrest by the Montreal Police (Moon and McAuliffe: April 5, 1969).

I have been critical of this article's choice to interview 16 people, 14 of whom viewed the riot in negative terms. This helped to convey the outrage toward the rioters, which in turn helped produce the means of moving from outrage to a desire for vindication in the readers. This is also significant in of a campaign of fear. When the reader examines the article and sees pictures of the riot's aftermath and reads stories of people who "thought [their] daughter might be dead", or

"is ready to quit teaching", they are presented with an article that shows them that to act this way and something to be feared (Moon and McAuliffe: April 5, 1969).

Lastly, I would like to discuss an article that the *Montreal Gazette* published as a 40-year commemoration of the SGW riot. The article's tone is similar to the articles published on Rosie Douglas in 2000. The article still promotes outrage/vindication, but associates it with a different form of moral self-control. The riot is still referred to as a rampage and its disastrous effects are still being discussed, "During the rampage, students trashed the university's computer centre, causing almost $1.5 million in damages" (Hustak: February 11, 2009). However, those interviewed in the article also point out what the riot did to raise awareness of racism in Montreal: "Even those who deplore the vandalism agree, in retrospect, that the incident raised black consciousness in Canada and helped make the university, known today as Concordia, a more open and welcoming institution" (Hustak: February 11, 2009). While this is not a clear example of a campaign of desire, there are certainly more elements of this type of campaign than in the articles from 1960's and 70's. Instead of representing the riot as only it's potentially positive effects are mentioned as well. Campaigns of desire rely on a *rhetoric of desire*, where the emphasis is placed on pleasurable outcomes. The conclusions that the riot raised "black consciousness" and established Concordia University as a "more open and welcoming institution" are positive and promote a different understanding of the riot.

Montreal North Post-Riot Analyses

"Sunday night's riot might not solve the problems of Montreal North. But it's sure as hell drawn our attention to them, just as the bombings of the Front de libération du Québec in the 1960's drew Canada's attention to the grievances of French-speaking Quebecers."[81]

6.6. The Riot's Immediate Aftermath and the Attempts to "Calm" the City

After the death of Fredy Villanueva and subsequent riot in Montreal North, the news media that covered the incidents were attempting to emotionally manage two audiences: 1. the rioters and the residents of Montreal North who were sympathetic to the riot and 2. greater Montreal residents who were against further rioting.[82] In this case, the emotional response promoted by the media is different for each audience. When addressing the rioters and those sympathetic, the media discourse was based on the emotional pair of injustice/justice, while those who may have been presumed to be unsympathetic to more rioting were being addressed through alarm/reassurance. Both of these emotion management efforts were examples of a campaign of desire.

*6.6.1. The Media's Emotional Response*

A major difference between the news media's coverage of this riot and the coverage of the SGW riot is that instead of primarily expressing outrage, a broader context was given as to the causes of the riot while attempting to "calm" the city by focusing on the prevention of further riots and the possibility of a public inquiry (Macpherson: September 23, 2008; Magder: August 14, 2008). When addressing the group presumed to be sympathetic to the rioting because of the killing of Villanueva and police brutality (Curran: August 10, 2010) the discourse was based on injustice/justice. Injustice is based on the "fear which is prompted by the perception that one

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[81] Macpherson, Don. 2008. "Lessons from riot: Violence works." Montreal Gazette, September 23.
[82] I do not wish to argue that this group was in way more or less sympathetic to the Villanueva family and/or Montreal North. My argument is simply that the emotional response of victimhood/submission does not apply to them because they were not considered to be the victims here.

lacks the ability to prevent being the victim of an illegitimate exercise of power; its pair is justice" (de Courville Nicol 2011: 48).  Thus, the news media recognised the community of Montreal North was subjected to injustice by the Montreal police, as well as years of economic and social neglect (Aubin: September 23, 2008).  This economic and social neglect was cited as helping to create the conditions that lead to the riot: "Joblessness is a good part of the reason. Unemployment among Quebecers aged 15 to 24 who were born in Latin America and the Caribbean, a broad category that would include the Honduran-born victim and many rioters, stood at 19.5 percent in 2007…That's higher than it is among other groups" (Aubin: September 23, 2008).  Aubin (2008) argues that the fact that few police in Montreal's department are of a visible minority background meant that the primarily Haitian and Latin American neighbourhood is policed by "insensitive outsiders" (Aubin: September 23, 2008).  In driving this point home, Macpherson (2008) compares the Montreal police in trying to distinguish gang members from civilians to Canadian soldiers in Afghanistan trying to distinguish between terrorists and civilians.

Articles also emphasized that the riot had positive effects in that the city should be pressed to launch a public inquiry into the shooting (Macpherson: September 23, 2008).  The idea of having a public inquiry is an example of the desire for justice and will come up again in the Quebec and Montreal government's efforts to prevent further rioting and disorder in the city. In the initial media discourse, however, the notion of a public inquiry was not coming from a public official, but from the news media itself, an idea that would have been inconceivable in the SGW post-riot discourse.  Having this inquiry, Aubin (2008) writes, will "transcend the narrow issue of whether or not the unarmed police officer was justified in killing 18-year-old Fredy Villanueva and wounding two young men."  Thus, response to the feeling injustice, the news

media attempted to focus on justice by discussing a public inquiry (CBC News Montreal: December 13, 2008).[83] This move can be read through the two hope responses. First, the problem is determined to be a matter of injustice/injustice. The object of fear is not the riot but the city's neglect and the police tactics in Montreal North. The second hope response involves a desire for security implemented in the idea of having a public inquiry that will determine what really happened the night of Villanueva's death and end police brutality in Montreal North (Aubin: September 23, 2008; Magder: December 2, 2008).

The media discourse aimed at the second audience was based on the alarm/reassurance pair. They are writing for an audience who may condemn Villanueva's death, but who did not wish to see further rioting. Thus, the news media attempted to show their readers that: everything was being done to prevent another riot and everything was being done to get at the bottom of what caused the riot. For example, immediately after the riot, the CBC ran an article saying that the riot was squashed and arrests were made, and as to the causes of the riot, , provincial police spokesman Gregory Gomez said, "We're talking about the death of a man. It's a big investigation" (CBC News: August 11, 2008). Here, the news media is addressing their audience through the fear that one has when they perceive that they lack the capacity of avoiding a sudden adverse force. The emotional pair to this fear is reassurance (de Courville Nicol 2011: 30). They attempt to reassure these readers that the police presence has been raised in neighbourhoods deemed "hot" by Montreal police: "We'll have patrols in those areas to reassure the public" (Magder: August 14, 2008). Before the Sûreté du Québec's investigation, article talked about another riot and the fear of more rioting, "Police don't leave the people here alone. I'm scared there will be another riot, and more violence." This article then proceeds to reassure

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[83] Specifically, the protesters covered in this article wanted to see the province of Quebec adopt a public inquiry initiative that would allow for a civilian review panel, similar to the one already established in Ontario.

the audience that many people in Montreal North did not want another riot, even supporters of Villanueva: "Lyna Bunla, 16, said she, too, is upset about what happened to Villanueva. 'He was my friend. I knew him. I understand why people were angry, but I think their reaction was exaggerated" (Magder: December 2, 2008).

The first hope response is the moment when the news media determine the appropriate discourse is alarm/reassurance. This allows for the move from feelings of alarm to reassurance. In order to overcome the alarm that there may be more rioting, they must move towards reassurance and the desire for security. The second hope response involves the exercise of power, which in this case, involves the stories that act to reassure the public that everything is being done to prevent another riot. Now that I have identified the emotional pairs that structured the media responses, questions of how this translated into their efforts of emotionally managing their readers to: 1. not riot and 2. have faith in a public inquiry to get to bottom of what happened, can be answered.

*6.6.2. Emotion Management through a Self-Realization-Based Campaign of Desire*

The emotion management strategies surrounding the post-riot discourse tend to follow de Courville Nicol's (2011) arguments regarding societal shifts towards a self-realization-based society. The discourses are framed in a way that encourages the realization of desire rather than disciplining it. Specifically, the news media promoted the readers who may have wanted further rioting to wait for a public investigation. In addressing the second audience, emotion management efforts centered on the news media reassuring them that another riot would not take place. Moreover, since this group also has many who were sympathetic to Villanueva's cause (Magder: December 2, 2008), it may have been presumed that they would already want an inquiry to look into the disturbance.

Several articles also criticized Quebec's policy of investigating matters like Villanueva's death[84]. For example, Macpherson (2008) argued that an independent public inquiry would be desirable, but that politicians resist such investigations, "resisting calls for an independent inquiry, hunkering down while police 'investigate' each other so 'transparently' that they won't identify the officer in the shooting" (Macpherson: September 23, 2008). Aubin (2008) went further saying that, "Premier Jean Charest needs to take charge of this inquiry. He needs to follow the example of U.S. president Lyndon Johnson after the 1967 riots with his Kerner Commission, and name a panel of distinguished people from diverse walks of life…" (Aubin: September 23, 2008). Both of these authors are addressing readers who may not have had hope or desire for establishing a public inquiry, and they may still not; the point however are the efforts by these authors to encourage the readers to want this. The authors are giving examples of how such a public inquiry could work, as opposed to the mandatory Sûreté du Québec investigation.

These articles also exemplify a campaign of desire. There are two rhetorics of desire present in this discourse: 1. arguing that the riot produced positive effects, 2. the hope that a public inquiry will yield positive results. First, the idea that the riot produced positive effects casts the act of rioting as a desirable act: "We'll all get tired of talking about Montreal North after Villanueva's funeral today, unless there's some more burning stuff for us to show on our front pages and newscasts (we heart flames)" (Macpherson: September 23, 2008). Here, Macpherson (2008) is arguing that no one cares about the situation of Montreal North and considering the positive effects that could come along with another riot. These positive effects would presumably be keeping the Montreal public, who live outside of Montreal North,

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[84] Specifically, the policy criticized refers to how a police body is investigated in Quebec if an officer kills a civilian. In this case, since a Montreal police officer killed a civilian, the Quebec provincial police (Sûreté du Québec) was called in to investigate, vice-versa if the provincial police would have killed a civilian.

informed and concerned of the social inequalities and police brutality that exist in Montreal North. While these articles are placing more hope in improving Montreal North through a public inquiry, the acknowledgment that the riot heightened awareness is certainly compelling and evidence of a campaign of desire.

Second, the hope for a public inquiry was/is echoed by the activist organizations interviewed in the articles. Brunilda Reyes, director of Fourchettes de l'Espoir and spokesperson for Mouvement Solidarité Montréal-Nord was quoted as saying: "The city of Montreal must put into place an independent process and shed public light on these events as a way of encouraging the confidence of citizens towards its police institutions" (Ravensburgen: December 2, 2008). An official statement given by Quebec Public Security Minister Jacques Dupuis confirmed the creation of a public inquiry. The official faith in a public inquiry certainly acted to give the idea the credibility it needed to effectively emotionally manage the readers in accepting it as a way to achieve their goals.

## 6.7. The Discourse of Gérald Tremblay and Jean Charest: A Campaign of Desire:

Perhaps heeding the calls to have a public investigation conducted (Montgomery: December 2, 2008), Montreal and Quebec officials began proclaiming their intent to launch a public investigation into the death of Fredy Villanueva.[85] Mayor Tremblay and Premier Charest's discourses were both structured through alarm/reassurance and their moral campaign was based on desire.

### 6.7.1. Tremblay and Charest's Emotional Response:

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[85] In the previous section, I discussed Aubin's (2008) and Macpherson's (2008) desire to have the root causes of the riot included in the investigation; these have not been included and the investigative body has indeed been heavily criticized for not including this issue and other issues of racism and police brutality, although such studies and investigations have since come out and referenced the Villanueva incident (Aubin: December 24, 2009; Curran: August 10, 2010; Mennie: October 23, 2010; Montgomery: October 1, 2010).

The mood of the city and of Montreal North was not immediately hopeful after the death of Fredy Villanueva and the ensuing riot (Magder: December 2, 2008). Many saw the two events as a long time coming for the city, whose officials had long neglected the "wounded" community of Montreal North (Ravensburgen: April 3, 2009). Thus, Montreal and Quebec officials, due to the situation's gravity, also wanted to respond to feelings of city's alarm and reassure the city that everything was being done to "know all the facts" (Montgomery: December 2, 2008). "Painfully aware of the criticism fired at authorities from the Montreal North community and a grieving Villanueva family, Quebec's public security minister announced a public inquiry Monday into the Aug. 9 fatal shooting of Fredy Villanueva" (Montgomery: December 2, 2008). This displays the alarm that the public was feeling in response to the riot. However, the article addressed this alarm by reassuring readers that an investigation would be underway: "The public inquiry is exactly what they wanted. And we want it to be transparent, to happen quickly and to be made public" (Montgomery: December 2, 2008).[86] In much the same way, other articles cite Tremblay as tackling problems that came to focus during the riot, such as poverty: "Tremblay hopes he'll be able to tackle the issues of poverty and crime by helping more Montrealers find jobs," wrote the CBC News (CBC News: December 31, 2008). This article goes on to quote one of Tremblay's speeches: "I think that the best way to answer the needs of people who are either poor or don't have a job is to help them find a job. If people have a job, they'll raise children and they'll be happy" (CBC News: December 31, 2008).

The same can be said of Jean Charest. For example, as time progressed after the initial statement to have a public investigation, things began to get complicated, namely, the Villanuevas were not going to be to able to pay for their legal council (Dougherty: May 25, 2009). This raised considerable alarm as to what was going to happen with the public hearing.

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[86] This was a quote from Gérald Tremblay.

If the Villanuevas could not pay, would the hearing be dismantled?  Should Quebec pay the legal

fees?  Jean Charest stepped in, just like Tremblay, to address the alarm with reassurance: "We

want truth.  And we want to know what happened on that night in Montreal North and that's why

there is a coroner's inquest, so we can know what happened…Judge Sansfaçon can conduct this

inquest in the way he sees fit and we'll deal with whatever recommendations he makes"

(Dougherty: May 25, 2009).  Later Judge Sansfaçon gave Charest the recommendation that the

Villanueva family be legally represented and Charest responded by funding the Villanueva's

legal representation (Dougherty: May 26, 2009).

In examining this move by Tremblay and Charest through the hope responses, I argue

that the first hope response was evident in the identification of alarm/reassurance, as the

appropriate emotional pair.  The objects of fear in this case are 1. that the city of Montreal will

not do what is necessary to find out the truth, 2. The Villanuevas not being able to participate in

the public inquiry because they cannot afford it.  The second hope response involved the exercise

of power by Tremblay and Charest who initiated a public inquiry and order the legal fees to be

paid in order to produce security.

But why would Tremblay and Charest want to support something like a public

investigation?  After all, the outcome of such an investigation could certainly have indicted

someone important in Montreal and Quebec political circles.  Simply their fear of a public

response, namely another riot in Montreal North: "Montreal Mayor Gérald Tremblay said the

city has been working closely with community groups in Montreal North, where riots erupted

hours after the shooting as frustrated residents vented their anger at a seemingly overzealous

police force[87]" (Montgomery: December 2, 2008). Tremblay and Charest, fearing another riot

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[87] Indeed, this theme of an "overzealous" police force has inspired much action in not only North America (Hunt 1997; Sharp 2006), but across Europe too (Waddington, Jobard and King 2009).  Moreover, the method that a city

and pressure from community groups (Montgomery: December 2, 2008), had little choice than to launch a public investigation. Another riot may or may not have been the result, had a public investigation not been launched, but the threat of one was enough.

*6.7.2. Emotion Management through a Campaign of Desire:*

Attempting to reassure the public that was alarmed over the tragic event of a teenager being shot most certainly requires a strategy of emotion management. In much the same way that the news media were addressing two groups in the first analysis, Tremblay and Charest are addressing these same two groups: 1. the group that was sympathetic to the riot, 2. the group that did not want rioting. In emotionally managing the group that was sympathetic to the riot, Tremblay and Charest needed to address two primary feelings: first, the fear that the Sûreté du Québec's investigation was flawed[88] and the desire that a public inquiry will bring justice to the city and the community of Montreal North. These two feelings were managed in a way that sought to emphasize the potential merits of the public inquiry. The fact that they announced their intention of having a public inquiry the same day that the Sûreté found Lapointe innocent may have increased the perception that Tremblay and Charest were on the side of justice.

These emotion management efforts were also apart of a campaign of desire. Just like the media discourse that sought to show readers that a public inquiry was desirable and that further rioting was undesirable, Tremblay and Charest were actively promoting the same message. Their rhetoric addressed the desire for a public inquiry. Tremblay and Charest responded to the

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government used to have of not investigating the causes of a riot or looking into the shooting of a racial minority group member (Harris 2003; Lumpkins 2008) has been increasingly called into question by more contemporary riots (Hunt 1997); although this is not to paint a utopic picture of official investigations into riots and police beatings. Indeed, I cite Hunt (1997) because in his work, he documents the trial of LAPD officers and their beating of Rodney King. The officers were later found innocent, even though the beating was taped (McKoy 2001). I cite this as "progress" from earlier 20th century race riots, like East Saint Louis in 1917, only because such an investigation would never have occurred or have been considered.
[88] Although they never say the word "flawed," probably due to the political repercussions of openly criticizing their provincial police force.

threat of rioting with a campaign of desire. They do not emphasize the painful effects of another riot, such as: a police crackdown. Tremblay and Charest are speaking to the public in terms that solely emphasize possible pleasurable effects.

6.8. The Commemoration of Fredy Villanueva and Conflicting Moral Campaigns:

Perhaps what makes this area of particular interest is that the news media's coverage of it lacks the editorials and/or authority figure discourse. Principally, the news media just covered how the community of Montreal North has commemorated Fredy Villanueva. This makes the task of discovering the emotional-norm pairs and emotion management strategies more difficult. The coverage centres on Villanueva's death and two forms of protest: 1. Directly protesting the death of Villanueva, 2. Protesting police brutality in general. The protests that directly commemorate Villanueva are in August, while the protest against police brutality is usually in March or April. In the coverage of these protests unique emotion management strategies are evident. It is the only context in which self-discipline-based emotion management strategies are at work[89].

*The Media's Emotional Response:*

In the article analysed the media are not addressing the actual commemoration of Fredy Villanueva's death, but the protests surrounding his death. The discourses are different for each protest. I will first analyse the the police brutality protest (now, brutality protest). I argue that social disapproval/social approval is the emotional pair that structures this discourse. According to de Courville Nicol (2011), the emotion of disapproval results from the "perception that one lacks the ability to confront others as disruptive forces. Its pair is social approval" (2010: 26).

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[89] Although the answer to the question of why this is the case is beyond the scope of this thesis and would benefit from more collaborative work done by emotions and critical race scholars to be answered satisfactorily.

We see language of the social disapproval of this protest in their coverage of an incident that occurred just before the brutality protest in 2010, "About 20 hooded individuals dressed in black and carrying rocks, baseball bats and, in at least one instance, a hammer, damaged 11 squad cars, slashing tires and smashing vehicle windows and the vehicle's computers" (Mennie: March 15, 2010). Montreal Police stated in the article that the "20 hooded individuals" were not members of the Collectif opposé à la brutalité policière, but that, "Every possibility in being looked at right [now] and (the possibility anti-police groups are involved) is one of them" (Mennie: March 15, 2010). Perhaps in response to the possible connection, police cracked down on the protest by arresting over 100 people (Cornacchia & Ravensburgen: March 16, 2010). Some of the arrested protesters were carrying Molotov cocktails and other weapons, while "several police were hit with bottles and fireworks" (Cornacchia & Ravensburgen: March 16, 2010). I characterize this as social disapproval because not of what is says, but what it leaves out. Not once in all of these articles are the readers given any information as to why the group has taken to the streets to protest. The protesting group is never interviewed to get their side of the story and for this reason, I characterize the media's response to this protest as reflecting disapproval. In my analysis of the news media's coverage of the SGW riot, I made the argument that the article also emphasized destructive, transgressive aspects. However, in that case, the news media covered the events leading up to the occupation of the Computer Centre and the accusations against Anderson were well known and issues of racism were debated afterwards (Desbarats: March 1969). Moreover, there was a chance for the riot's supporters, albeit very few of them, to express their disagreement with the way that the riot was being represented in public discourse. For these reasons, the news media's coverage in these two cases can be differentiated.

The emotional pair evident in coverage of what I referred to as the "vigil protest[90]" is grief/mourning. Grief/mourning is defined as, "the fear produced by the perception that one lacks the ability to confront the loss of a cherished object through the integration of this loss, while mourning names the desire triggered by the perception that one has the ability to do so" (de Courville Nicol 2011: 28). The media discourse represented grief over Fredy Villanueva getting killed. This grief was transformed into mourning, or the desire to confront the loss of a cherished object. Villanueva was himself the cherished object that was lost, but his death also symbolized the police brutality and desperate social conditions that plague Montreal North (Aubin; September 23, 2008; Aubin: December 24, 2009; Macpherson: September 23, 2008; Mennie: October 23, 2010; Solyom: August 7, 2010).

One year after Fredy Villanueva was killed in Henri-Bourassa Park, groups all over Montreal organized protests (Kilpatrick: September 23, 2008) and gatherings to commemorate his death and criticize police brutality (The Gazette: July 31, 2009). According to the media, this community was "traversing a crisis" (Ravensburgen: April 3, 2009) and "Hoodstock", a musical event that commemorates his death, provided a form of "group therapy" (Magder: August 9, 2009). Echoing much of the sentiment over the social conditions that produced the riot (Ravensburgen: April 3, 2009) Hoodstock coordinators were quoted as saying: "There is still a lot of tension in the community over what happened. We're hoping to channel all that energy into something constructive, rather than destructive" (Magder: August 9, 2009). The other protest, a vigil for Fredy Villanueva, was described as "a day against violence…held in the parking lot…steps away from the spot where Villanueva was shot" (The Gazette: July 31, 2009).

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[90] This includes the actual candle light vigil, the March and "Hoodstock". I use the term the "Vigil protest" for purposes of brevity.

In covering these events, the news media highlights that although there may have been some improvements, many in Montreal North still feel bullied by the police: "It's as if they want us to feel like intruders" (Fantoni: August 6, 2010). The coverage of the first year of both events also show a move from grief to mourning, and capacity to confront the loss that Villanueva's death represented: "Immigrants should not be killed because they are immigrants. My son's death will not be in vain…Up there in the sky, I know he can see this and he is happy now" (Muise & Branswell: August 10, 2009). There is also a focus on the positive contributions: "There are a lot of messages here: firstly we don't stand for police brutality whether it's in Montreal North or at the G20. We also want to raise awareness about authorities trying to deport Dany Villanueva and we wanted to show Canada and everyone that people can protest peacefully" (Martin: August 9, 2010). Madger's (2009) coverage of Hoodstock places the death of Villanueva into the wider context of what the residents are protesting; "The reaction sparked [the reaction to Villanueva's death] a call for change in the neighbourhood in hopes of improving a relationship of mistrust between police officers and civilians, and highlighted the problems of poverty, unemployment and street gangs" (Magder: August 9, 2009). The feeling of grief comes from the lack of ability to confront the loss of a cherished object, provokes the desire to do just that, and thus move from grief to mourning. Villanueva's death was the lost object that came to symbolize larger issues and the social problems facing Montreal North. It is in this space of shedding light on the social issues surrounding Villanueva's death that we can see how the media discourse acts as emotion management.

*Emotion Management and Two Moral Campaigns:*

The Brutality protest was represented as something less desirable than the Vigil protest and this divergence inspired two types of emotion management evident in the news media

discourse. The Brutality protest certainly inspired a campaign of fear. Before the protest began, the media emphasized to the protesters that if they brought weapons to the march and use them on officers, they will go to jail (Cornacchia & Ravensburgen: March 16, 2010). Where the Brutality protest is represented as leading to pain, the Vigil protest is represented as leading to pleasure; although both are highly critical of the police. Take for example, the slogan at one of the Vigil protests quoted by the media, "Never again. Police everywhere, justice nowhere" (Muise & Branswell: August 10, 2009). Examining the media discourse of the Brutality protest produces two key findings, 1. Protesters are not quoted in the coverage. Both protests are organized by many of the same groups. It is therefore, not difficult to imagine that the slogans coming out of these events were quite similar. Yet in reading about the Vigil protest, the reader hears about the positive things that the protesters are trying to do for Montreal North (Magder: August 9, 2009; Ravensburgen: April 3, 2009) and in the Brutality protest, the reader is left with the image of the protesters as potentially carrying Molotov cocktails[91] (Cornacchia & Ravensburgen: March 16, 2010).

Readers were also emotionally managed through a campaign of desire. They were informed of the problems in Montreal North (Fantoni: August 6, 2010; Magder: August 9, 2009; The Gazette: April 3, 2009) and of what the community was doing in response to these problems. Thus, they show that protesting in this way can lead to the experience of pleasure (Muise & Branswell: August 10, 2009). In contrast, the coverage of the Brutality protest encouraged readers to see it as illegitimate and leading to a painful altercation with the police. Readers were thus emotionally managed through a campaign of fear. In the *Gazette's* coverage of this protest,

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[91] Although there was also a teenager at the Vigil protest who carried a Molotov cocktail (Muise & Branswell: August 10, 2009).

the emphasis is placed on boundary transgression and the consequences of doing so, which

always involves some kind of pain (Mennie: March 15, 2010), rather than pleasure.

Conclusion: From Self-Discipline to Self-Realization

I hope that this thesis has proven the usefulness of analysing positive, desire-driven emotions alongside of negative, fear-driven ones and thus, the usefulness of de Courville Nicol's (2011) theoretical approach. I made use of de Courville Nicol's (2011) approach to study post-race riot media discourse in the city of Montreal and showed that we need an understanding of both to fully understand a race riot.

My work contributes to approaches that study race rioting and sought to demonstrate that race and racism are important in Montreal, which should come as no surprise given the large number of "driving while black" cases that have been launched against the city in recent years (Mennie: October 23, 2010; Ravensburgen: July 9, 2010; Ravensburgen September 14, 2010; Scott: March 10, 2010; Solyom: August 7, 2010; The Gazette: December 15, 2010).

In analysing post-riot discourses on two Montreal race riots, a move from the promotion of self-discipline-based emotion management efforts to more self-realization-based emotion management efforts was evident. The news media discourse displays a definitive move from encouraging the repression or correction of an illegitimate or incorrect desire, toward viewing desire as potentially beneficial.

For example, discourses involving Gérald Tremblay and Jean Charest stressed two things: not to riot and trust in the effectiveness of a public investigation. On the other hand, the discourse surrounding Rosie Douglas, in the 1960's and 70's, centred on him being an illegitimate activist who produced nothing beneficial. Moreover, these two discourses reflect de Courville Nicol's (2011) conception of campaigns of fear and desire, since the Tremblay and Charest discourses rely on portraying the positive, desire-driven occurrences that will arise with a public inquiry and the discourse surrounding Douglas portrays him in painful, fear-driven

terms.

    In closing, this study is the first of its kind and would benefit greatly from other studies having to do with race riots in other cities than Montreal.  Indeed, my conclusions, in this respect, are Montreal specific.  An interesting further study would make use of de Courville Nicol's (2011) framework to analyse American or European race riots from the around the 1960's to the present day.

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