Armenian-Quebecois Institutional Completeness and Identity:

Trauma and Quebec Context

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ABSTRACT

Armenian-Quebecois Institutional Completeness and Identity: Trauma and Quebec Context

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The motivation behind this study is the uniqueness of the Armenian-Quebecois community. This diaspora has had to adapt to their new home, Quebec, the only francophone province of Canada, as well as live with the intergenerational trauma of the 1915 Armenian Genocide. Quebecois nationalism and Armenian desire for cultural retention created contention for these ethnic groups. The Quebecois francophone community and the Armenian diaspora are two strong communities that are both emotionally attached to their culture and heritage. Both communities have faced political and social challenges in order to find a common political ground of association. Their historical circumstances as well as adaptability and compromise have settled this friction. This settlement paved way for Armenian institutional completeness and identity in Quebec. Twelve interviews with members of the community were conducted to understand this phenomenon. Particularly, members of three institutions – the Armenian school, church and family – as well as individuals socialized by these institutions. Results show that the degree of Armenian institutional completeness in Quebec allows Armenians to retain their culture and gain a strong sense of Armenian identity. Additionally, Armenian institutional completeness provides tools for integration into Quebec, such as learning the French language and the norms of Quebec society. Armenians in Quebec participate in both their ethnic and civic institutions, leading to a people who identify strongly as Armenians and who have integrated in Quebec society.

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I. Introduction

As an Armenian born in the province of Quebec, I am compelled to understand the phenomenon of my people. During my life, I have experienced profound ties to the Armenian culture despite my concurrent Canadian identity: from being spoken to, during my infancy, exclusively in Armenian to my close circle of Armenian friends, to my Canadian and Quebecois higher education and access to healthcare. These are fragments in my life which have combined my ethnic background, citizenship and civic identity. These experiences have sparked my personal interest in investigating the underlying mechanisms of how Armenians in Quebec have been able to retain such a strong sense of cultural identity while being integrated in Canada and Quebec. This heritage transmission is complicated by the plurality of views held in Quebec regarding ethnic minorities and Quebec nationalism, as well as the transmission of the intergenerational trauma of the Armenian Genocide. As a Master of Arts student, I am now able to delve and attempt to understand this phenomenon.

Quebec is a unique society in the wider nation of Canada and in the continent of North America. It is the only majoritarian French-speaking province within its surrounding Anglo-Saxon territories. Due to the long history of British rule, French-Canadians have felt devalued and have not truly felt at home in their province (Balthazar, 1986). As a result, Quebec experienced the *Révolution tranquille* (Quiet Revolution) in the 1960's, which was a fight for change (Balthazar, 1986; Bordonaro, 2014). The revolution allowed them to voice their concerns and shape Quebec to be their home; they sought emancipation and control of their province (Balthazar, 1986). Consequently, "*maîtres chez nous*" ("masters in our own home") was an important slogan during this period (Dion, 1975). It was also a reality that there were other people in Quebec who did not come from a French settler background (i.e. French-Canadian); it was and remains today a

pluralistic society (Courtois, 2007). Therefore, there was a fine line between emancipation and oppression for the French-Canadians: they did not want to be oppressors to these 'others,' but they also wanted to protect their own culture (Courtois, 2007). Hence, a careful approach was necessary to allow for coexistence.

The Armenians are an ancient civilization who, due mainly to the Ottoman-led 1915 genocide, have become a diaspora (Armenian Virtual College, 2016). The Armenian Genocide began when the Young Turk government exerted their plan of extermination with the aim of annihilating the Armenian people as well as other minorities in the region (Armenian Virtual College, 2016). Their "Pan-Turkic plan" to unite all Turkic people and remove the 'other' was put into effect (Armenian Virtual College, 2016, n. p.). Armenians were arrested, deported, exiled, raped, starved and executed, with one and a half million Armenians killed at the hands of the Young Turks (Armenian Virtual College, 2016). Armenians are now dispersed around the world, including Quebec, and live with the memories of this traumatic event, alongside other cultural legacies, such as language and traditions. This trauma and its consequent mass migrations have played large roles in the story of the Armenians. Although diasporic Armenians cannot fully live as Armenians due to isolation from their mother country, they have nonetheless become strongly tied to their roots. This tie may be due to the threat of extermination of 1915. As a possible consequence, there is a desire for cultural transmission and retention within the diaspora, which has culminated in the creation of Armenian institutions and communities in host countries.

As the Armenian diaspora and Quebec society have merged over time, a unique configuration has taken shape: the Armenian diaspora of Quebec. Although the threat of genocide is no longer present, this diaspora faces challenges to the preservation of its culture and identity. Though Quebec is a receptive and benevolent province, one that welcomes ethnic groups, there

remains a fear amongst Armenians of the loss of culture. In fact, the term "white genocide" is used, referring to assimilation and denoting the potential loss of the Armenian culture and people in the West (Amit, 1989). In Quebec, this cultural fear and threat exists and carries real consequences for the Armenian community. The benevolence of a nation does not signify that assimilation is not possible. Accordingly, how will Armenians in Quebec retain their cultural distinction in an accepting but possibly assimilating environment?

Nationalism and the attitude towards multiculturalism in Quebec further complicates the Armenian community's aim for cultural retention. The Quebecois culture and French language are regarded as superior to all other cultures in Quebec (Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014). Due to the on-going conflict between English and French-speaking groups, Quebec has intervened in many areas, setting forth policies to ensure that the Quebecois culture is of utmost importance, and is preserved (Behiels, 1991). Nonetheless, for some Quebecois, there is a fear of the loss of Quebec culture, thereby creating bitterness towards ethnic groups and possibly, a total rejection of these groups (Behiels, 1991; Handler, 1988). In fact, some Quebecois believe that Canadian multiculturalism, hence diversity of ethnic groups and cultural retention, is a policy which diminishes the importance of French-Canadian history and culture in Canada (Handler, 1988).

Despite this thought, the reality is that Quebec chooses to accept immigrant groups, with whom they must collaborate with. Therefore, policies have been set forth to protect Quebecois culture as well as ethnic groups. For instance, Bill 101 was passed into law in 1977, obliging students to attend French schools (with a few exceptions), which consequently increased the number of students in these schools (Bordonaro, 2014). On the other hand, the *Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration* (Ministry of cultural communities and of immigration) was created in 1981, which supports cultural communities (Handler, 1988). The

diversity of views in Quebec has caused clashes amongst groups, and therefore a delicate dance, i.e. a balance, between ethnic groups and Quebec is necessary.

In response to the fear of assimilation by the Armenians and the desire for emancipation of Quebec, a delicate dance occurred on the part of both parties. The notions of multiculturalism and citizenship help us understand the resolution of this contention. The Canadian value of multiculturalism accepts and celebrates ethnic diversity (Canadian Multiculturalism Act, 1985). Quebec follows a modified version of these values, interculturalism, which retains the concept of multiculturalism but with a greater emphasis on the Quebec culture (Canada Library of Parliament, 2009). Quebec policies follow these principles: "Quebec is a French-speaking society, Quebec is a democratic society in which everyone is expected to contribute to public life [and it] is a pluralistic society that respects the diversity of various cultures from within a democratic framework" as outlined in *Let's Build Quebec Together: A Policy Statement on Immigration and Integration* (Canada Library of Parliament, 2009, p. 13). In both Canadian and Quebec contexts, regardless of ethnic background, individuals can be considered citizens, which recognizes people as members of a nation under the law ("Citizen," 2016). Essentially, citizens of Canada living in Quebec, must respect the notion of interculturalism. Interculturalism, ideally, helps find the balance between strong Armenian cultural retention and Quebec's demand for cultural primacy. This thesis will dig deeper into various aspects of interculturalism that allow for this balance.

Ethnic institutions, as significant elements of interculturalism, have the purpose of socializing numerous generations by transmitting customs, norms and heritage. I will use Raymond Breton's notion of institutional completeness to further comprehend the roles and the impacts of social institutions of ethnic communities in Canada. According to Breton (1964), the higher the institutional completeness of an ethnic community, the less its members need to seek

services outside their community and so, they are confined to their ethnic group. I will further use Rosenberg and Jedwab's (1992) critique that "ethnic communal and organizational development is itself a mode of participation in Canadian" society (p. 267). I hypothesize that the Armenian family, school and church combine Armenian and Quebecois cultures (as well as Canadian), which help in resolving the disagreement that arises due to the variance of these cultures: Quebecois nationalism and demand for cultural primacy as well as Armenian cultural transmission and retention.

For the purposes of this study, I will be theorizing the delicate dance of the Armenian community, performed between the demand of a benevolent environment of the Quebec Quiet Revolution and the Armenian desire to retain their identity in the shadow of genocide. There is the occurrence of social change and development and therefore, I will explore the emergence and growth of the unique historical creation, combining the specificities of space, time and conditions, of the Armenian-Quebecois community. Essentially, the question is: How have Quebec's Quiet Revolution, coupled with the Armenian people's cultural legacies, shaped the emergence of an Armenian-Quebecois community?

This thesis is part of diaspora studies, which is an interesting academic field. For the Armenian nation, their diaspora is crucial: they are advocates for the Armenian cause globally, count more people than the population of Armenia itself and have the eagerness and interest to uphold the Armenian identity (Mihai and Basaraba, 2014). Nonetheless, the Armenian diaspora is under researched, with a notable exception of Laurence Ritter's *La longue marche des Arméniens* (2007). Ritter investigates various Armenian diasporas, including a small section on the Montreal context. I would like to shed further light on the Armenian diaspora and conduct an in-depth investigation of the context of Quebec as a variable in this study. The combination of the Armenian

diaspora a hundred and three years after the genocide and the distinct Quebec context renders this research unique. This study also contributes to the scholarship of the Quebec context as well as mechanisms of identity, citizenship, multiculturalism and institutions.

In the following study, I will include a literature review discussing identity, citizenship, trauma, nationalism and interculturalism; the integration of these notions is central to this work. I argue that identity and citizenship are key themes to explore in order to understand how the Armenian community in Quebec determine and shape who they are and where they belong. The genocide and the consequent immigration of its survivors have caused a reconfiguration and rebuilding of both these notions for the Armenian diaspora. Thus, the Armenian genocidal trauma and the Quebec Quiet Revolution and nationalism are vital independent variables in this study. These are two large-scale social processes which have affected the diaspora, in that they are factors in the establishment of Armenian-Quebecois community organizations and identity. The interaction of identity, citizenship, trauma, nationalism and interculturalism creates a community with a strong sense of cultural heritage and citizenship entitlements. Quebec interculturalism allows for adaptability between Armenians and Quebec society, permitting for Armenian cultural preservation and integration into Quebec society. As a result, a degree of institutional completeness of the Armenian community of Quebec emerges.

The following literature review examines scholarly books and articles regarding identity, citizenship, trauma, nationalism and interculturalism. The literature review has led to the research question of this study, which is the succeeding section of this paper, presenting both the research question and hypotheses.

II. Literature review

This literature review investigates five main themes: identity, citizenship, trauma, nationalism and interculturalism.

Identity

Armenian and Quebecois identities are, like all national identities, tied to the sense of belonging to a larger collective. This sense of collective belonging is based on differentiation: group members become conscious of, and attach themselves to, shared cultural elements that simultaneously emphasize the group's distinction from other groups (Trimble & Dickson, 2010). This sense of self forms what Roger Brown (1986) calls, a social identity. By examining different theories of social identity, from social psychological and sociological perspectives, this section will explore different ways to think about the social identity formation of the Armenian-Quebecois.

Social Psychological Perspective

The Quebecois francophone, and Armenian, communities are two distinct ethnic groups attached to their history, culture and people. While these distinct attachments can create challenges with regards to creating a sense of mutual understanding between these two communities, overcoming these challenges represents an important component of both personal and social identity formation.

According to Roger Brown's theory of social identity (1986), self-image, or identity, is composed of personal as well as collective aspects. While personal identity is the concept of oneself unrelated to social circles, social identity is rooted in group membership. To maintain a positive self-image, which Brown argues is important, individuals must feel like their identities (both personal and social) are viewed positively by society-at-large (Brown, 1986). As a result, individuals undergo a process of understanding and evaluating their identity as well as reflecting

on their self-image. Brown is interested in outlining strategies to help individuals overcome the challenge of transitioning from a negative to a positive social identity.

From my insider standpoint it seems to be the case that Armenians in Quebec have neither a positive nor a negative social identity. Nonetheless, they face a nuanced challenge as they are not a clean slate, ready to be completely assimilated. Brown's strategies can be a useful means of helping us think through some of the challenges Armenian-Quebecois face with regards to maintaining their cultural distinction despite aiming to integrate into the francophone culture.

Brown (1986) discusses three paths[1] to creating a positive self-image by creating a positive social identity. The first path – "exit" – describes an individual's choice to exit their group and no longer be associated with them. The second – "pass" – is choosing to pass as a member of a dominant group (but internally knowing they are part of a subordinate group, as perceived by society). The third – "voice" or social action – is where a group stands up for themselves and demands a re-evaluation of their group identity, and consequently, a rule change. To understand why certain individuals and groups choose particular paths, Brown outlines four important variables to consider: 1) the "possibility of movement", 2) the "sharpness of boundaries", 3) the "perceived legitimacy of the system", 4) the "perceived security of the system" (Brown, 1986, p 562).

In sum, if movement from one group to another is possible, and additionally, if boundaries are vague, individuals can conveniently exit their group or pass as a member of another group. As Armenians are generally perceived as being middle class, Christian and white-skinned, this opens up possibilities for movement to groups similar to them. Their boundaries are vague as society may perceive them to be members of many other groups. In addition, the legitimacy and security

[1] These paths are similar to those described by Albert Hirschman (1970) in his book *Exit, Voice and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms and organizations and States*.

of the system will show if there is room for change in society. While the essence of the former is the consensus of society on the organization of its system, the latter is based on the idea that the inhabitants "cannot imagine things otherwise;" the system is fixed (Brown, 1986, p. 562). In Quebec, it seems safe to say that the system is legitimate, as the individuals who inhabit the province understand, and generally agree with, the policies and laws set in Quebec. Additionally, the system is secure because arrangements (e.g. laws, policies, regulations) are set to create and sustain social stability. Undergirding this sense of legitimacy and security is Quebec (and Canada's) framework of democratic values, which provides space for voice to be used in order to create change.

Since movement is generally possible, boundaries are vague and the system is legitimate and secure within a democratic system, Armenians in Quebec can exit or pass their group membership if they feel they have a negative identity. However, since Armenian-Quebecois (as a collective) do not have a negative social identity, this type of movement would be undertaken as an individual choice. In other words, a reconfiguration of personal identity may be needed in these instances. Despite the fact that an Armenian social identity does not typically create overt problems in Quebec, the "voice" path outlined above is used by Armenians in Quebec to overcome some of the more covert challenges they face as a group. This subtle voice allows for cultural preservation.

Sociological Perspective

Max Weber's sociological theory of stratification provides another way of thinking about social identity. Weber (1946) looks into three sources of power: class, status and party. He describes power as "the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action" (Weber, 1946, p.180). This means that peoples' positionality within economic (class), social (status) and

political (party) groups matter. In other words, these social identities bear on individuals' life chances, which are "the range of options within probable reach, both goods (e.g. cars) and bads (e.g. incarceration)" (Bayar, 2012). The higher their position in these groups, the better their life chances and the more they have power.

With regards to status specifically, Weber explains that it "is determined by a specific, positive or negative, social estimation of honor," a social estimation usually based on race, religion, and/or ethnicity (Weber, 1946, p. 187). According to the Weberian approach, then, Armenians in Quebec should be thought of as a status group due to their distinctiveness as a population. In other words, the Armenian-Quebecois population, due to their sense of belonging to a shared origin and having common values and lifestyles, are a status group. This group does not live like Armenians in Armenia, nor as French-Canadians in Quebec, nor as Canadians in Canada. Rather, these three sections of their identity and citizenship become one, creating a way of being, thinking and lifestyle that is unique to their group. "The social estimation of honour" coincides with Brown's negative or positive social identity – both theories are based on the idea that society's perception on groups are significant and relate to their position in society (Weber, 1946, p. 187).

This additional aspect is that of hierarchy. That is to say, groups are perceived to have low or high status. The existence of such an order, or ranking, of groups demonstrates the power dynamics that are present in society and the value placed on different groups. Nonetheless, the status of ethnic membership "provides [a] basis for social group […] mobilization," despite where this ethnic group may fall on the social hierarchy (Vang, 2013, n. p.). This coincides with Brown's strategy of "voice." Put differently, as Weber notes, ethnic groups are entered into rankings which, as Roger Brown explains, causes those in the lower end to experience a negative social identity

and consequently, a negative self-image. These groups may then follow Brown's strategies of exit, pass or voice to improve their self-image.

Armenians in Quebec, as previously noted, have, in Weberian terms, a neutral status and hence do not fall in the higher nor lower end of the hierarchy. However, one of their shared goals as a distinct ethnic group is to map out strategies to ensure Armenian cultural retention in a province where the majority, French-Canadians, have prioritized their own history and culture. This situation has made the "voice" path a particularly appealing avenue for Armenian-Quebecois to take as a means of achieving their goals. Here, "voice" translates into social and civil action, and the Armenian community has demonstrably taken action to ensure their freedoms as a minority group in the larger province of Quebec and in the nation of Canada. As citizens of Canada, they have used their positions to set forth and implement their desired freedoms, such as the ability to establish ethnic institutions and to practice their rights, such as cultural retention. By expressing their voice and partaking into discussions and talks with Quebec society, Armenians in Quebec have built a positive self-image. This is the sophisticated and subtle Armenian voice in a benevolent society.

In essence, Weber and Brown's theories both highlight the reality of social groups and their inequality. However, while Weber's theory seems to focus more on society's tendency to hierarchize ethnic social groups, Brown's theory emphasizes the possibility of improving equality of social groups by outlining specific strategies to create a positive self-image (thus destabilizing the preexisting hierarchy and creating change). In summary, the integration of Weber's and Brown's theories demonstrates the challenging reality of social groups, but also the possibility for change – a change that will transform not only the social group, but also its surrounding system.

Social Psychological and Sociological Connection to Ethnic Identity

Combining social psychological and sociological perspectives on identity deepens our understanding of what is meant by "ethnic identity." According to the social psychological approach, ethnic identity is "the manner in which persons, on account of their ethnic origin, locate themselves psychologically in relation to one or more social systems, and in which they perceive others as locating them in relation to these systems" (Gal, Leoussi & Smith, 2010, p. 297). The sociological perspective, on the other hand, highlights engagement "in culturally defined behavior," such as "speaking the ethnic language […] [and] participating in ethnic personal networks" (Gal, Leoussi and Smith, 2010, p. 298).

The integration of both perspectives captures the essence of ethnic identity, and, furthermore, emphasizes the active role, identity, but particularly ethnic identity, takes in peoples' minds as well as the impact it has on their daily lives with regards to self-image, belonging and power. Moreover, the bringing together of Brown's and Weber's two theories, as indicated above, also highlights the malleability of ethnic identity.

The Value of the Term "Ethnonational Identity"

Some critics of ethnic identity, such as Jean-François Bayart, a political scientisit, do not believe in the authenticity of this notion. As will be explained below, such critics argue that the variable nature of this concept makes it less important than it is represented in this paper. Nevertheless, the present work maintains that the affective element of ethnic identity, the sense of belonging it engenders and the effect on peoples' lives, makes the notion of ethnic identity valid and meaningful.

It is argued that ethnic identity has been made overly ambiguous by the fact that it is changed, molded and socially constructed through discourse (Bayart, 2005). It is also posited that

constructivism is “the principal theoretical revolution in the study of ethnic identities in” social sciences (Chandra, 2012, p. 2). In other words, the notion of ethnic identity is constructed by humans and their discourse around it. Individuals are thus continually active in the process of its redefinition, something that is both endogenous and meaningful to humans. So, while ethnic identity is indeed fluid and shapeable, these qualities do not seem to detract from the notion’s meaning and significance for individuals.

Thinking these ideas through in relationship to the specific example of Armenians is helpful. Armenians have existed for thousands of years, however it is obvious that conceptualizations of what it means to be Armenian have shifted throughout the years. This is an ethnic group that has experienced many transformative victories, obstacles and challenges, including the Armenian Genocide of 1915. An example of further alteration was caused by the consequent migration to other places, such as Quebec in the 1960’s. Furthermore, it is clear that Armenians in Quebec are not like the Armenians of Armenia, Syria or the United States. But despite these variations, Armenians retain a common belief in a shared ancestry, as well as common participation in similar traditions and holidays. Although some may believe that the association to a certain ancestry is a “credible myth of association,” it can be argued that this ‘myth’ is what creates social formations, social identities and a sense of belonging, which unites a people (Chandra, 2012, p. 59).

An aspect of ethnic identity that is particularly amenable to change is ethnic traditions, which may be erased or altered through time and space. For instance, Armenians practice the festival of *Vartavar*. This practice has its roots in pagan times, but its meaning changed when Armenians adopted Christianity in 301 A.D. Initially, it was related to Goddess Astghik (pagan) and was a celebration of “water, beauty, love and fertility,” as she represented (Najarian, 2012).

From 301 A.D. to the present-day, however, this festival is understood as being related to the transfiguration of Jesus Christ. It is interesting to note that despite the change in meaning attributed to the festival, the symbolism of the central ritual element – the spraying of water – did not change (it signifies the spreading of love) (Najarian, 2012). There are, however, differences with regards to how the festival is celebrated in and outside Armenia. In Armenia, there is a large 'water fight' to celebrate. Outside the motherland, during mass at church, the Arch Bishop spurts water on the attendees. According to Najarian (2012), even different regions within Armenia have diverse ways of celebrating. Evidently, this festival has been transformed through time and region. All this to say, it is possible that one's ethnic identity is slightly altered based on these variances.

However, this is not to suggest that all aspects of one's ethnic identity are amenable to change. An aspect of ethnic identity that is not amenable to change is what Chandra (2012) calls "descent-based attributes." These characteristics are passed on throughout generations. One of them is the "genetic and physical makeup" of humans (p. 13). It includes, for example, eye and skin colour. Another such attribute is "cultural and historical inheritance," which refers to things like name and language (p. 59). As these examples demonstrate, these types of markers are much more difficult to change than other elements like traditions.

These examples demonstrate the ability of ethnic identities to both endure and adapt, which, psychologically and sociologically speaking, demonstrates that ethnic identification has value, and affects the society and world we live in. Recent research supports this insight. In a 2010 study, Charmaraman and Grossman surveyed adolescent feelings on the meanings of race and ethnicity. The largest response (58%) expressed "positive regard" towards these concepts, which "represent[s] expressions of pride and appreciation towards one's racial or ethnic background" (p. 148).

Further support for this insight comes from the fact that society is largely structured around policies such as multiculturalism and interculturalism, both of which highlight the social importance of ethnic identity and diversity, and furthermore, will be important to consider for the discussion at hand. As this thesis will demonstrate, the impact and value of ethnic identities is also supported by the example of Armenians in Quebec, who have demonstrated their willingness to exert extra effort and take on a number of challenges in Quebec to simply retain their culture.

Citizenship

Citizenship Defined

Armenians are spread worldwide and seek to be accepted by their host country while continuing to be pulled back to their roots. Citizenship plays a key role in their lives in terms of obligations and privileges, also molding their self and identity.

The Armenians of Canada and Quebec have a sense of citizenship entitlement as they are integrated into these societies. Citizenship describes the status of "a legally recognized subject or national of a state or commonwealth, either native, [one who is born in the country,] or naturalized," one who is born outside the country ("Citizen", 2016). While citizenship affords Canadian-Armenians certain rights and freedoms, they also have duties to fulfill in return. For instance, they have the freedom of speech and of press, but in return they are responsible for obeying the laws which allow for order in society (Ontario Council of Agencies Serving Immigrants, 2016).

According to the 2011 National Household Survey, 14,965 Armenians in Quebec were first generation (i.e. immigrant generation) and 10,190 Armenians were of second and third generations (Statistics Canada, 2011). I hypothesize that Armenians as citizens in Canada and residents of Quebec generally respect and obey the laws and fulfill their obligations as citizens of the nation. For this reason, they must respect the place in which they live.

Ethnic and Civic Identity

Considerations of ethnic and civic identity within the context of Quebec are important and historically significant aspects of this research. While the former is based on belonging to an ethnic group, the latter revolves around participation in one's country of residence. The difference

between them is thus the foundation on which individuals recognize and label their identities, which can then influence politics.

The Quiet Revolution is central to conceptualizing the development and understanding of ethnic and civic identity in Quebec. Before the Quiet Revolution began in 1960, French-Canadians felt oppressed. In other words, due to longstanding tensions with English Canada, French-Canadians did not have control of their own province. During this time, 'ethnic identity' was used as a basis for identity (Tremblay, 2015). Individuals were considered and labelled French-Canadian if their origin was one of French settlers; everyone else was excluded. This particularly differentiated them from English Canadians, who French-Canadians felt were subjugating them. The exclusion of non-French-Canadians (e.g. immigrant groups) living in Quebec created another sort of distinction. After the 1960 revolution, French-Canadians aimed at, and succeeded in, becoming "masters in their own home" (Dion, 1975). They became the leading political force in Quebec, and, as a result, their attitude toward citizenship shifted: a new civic identity, a Quebecois identity, emerged (Dion, 1975; Tremblay, 2015). Anyone who lived in the province and participated in the democratic life of Quebec, regardless of ethnic background, was now considered Quebecois (Tremblay, 2015; Dion, 1975; Courtois, 2007). This shift represents a crucial aspect of modern Quebec: in this newly progressive atmosphere, everyone was included in the development of Quebec. All *Québécois* and *Québécoises* became part of this society and its progress.

As history progresses and paradigms shift, it becomes necessary to create new concepts to help us come to terms with these changes. With the shift in power in Quebec society, pluralism becomes important to consider. Pluralism is the existence of diverse groups of people within a society, such as ethnic groups in Quebec, and "a specific attitude towards [this] ethnocultural plurality" (Bouchard, 2011, p. 44). Its "emergence […] [created a need] to redefine the notion of

us to account for the increasing diversity of Quebec" (Piché, 2015). Additionally, the people of Quebec wanted to begin looking forward towards the new possibilities contained in their newly modernized society and province, rather than continue looking back to the colonial past (Balthazar, 1986). With the Quiet Revolution came changes, and the ensuing shift in power led to changes in identity and the conceptualization of what it meant to be a Quebecois. Identity was no longer rooted in one's ethnic identity, but rather their civic identity. The transition from French-Canadian (an ethnic identification) to Quebecois (a civic identification) reflects a new Quebecois society, that represents the social context of the current research.

As an Armenian born in Quebec, my ethnic identity (ancestry and heritage) is Armenian, while my civic identity (political participation and daily life) is Quebecois and Canadian. According to a number of Quebec scholars who study pluralism in Quebec, this type of fusion is what Quebec interculturalism is about, "a reciprocal engagement between the Quebecois majority and cultural communities" (Chiasson, 2012, p. 2; Bouchard, 2011; Rocher, Labelle, Field & Icart, 2007). In other words, giving ethnic groups the space and ability to retain their ethnic culture while simultaneously integrating into Quebecois society, which is, as stated by Gagnon, their "communal public culture" (Chiasson, 2012, p. 11). However, according to others, such as conservative nationalists, there is a discrepancy and an incompatibility, between ethnic "others" and a Quebecois civic identity. For instance, Piotte and Couture (2012), both political scientists, discussed conservative nationalism in Quebec and gave the example of Jacques Beauchemin, a conservative nationalist, whose national project does not include Anglo-Quebecois, indigenous people nor immigrants; Beauchemin does not consider ethnic groups in his analysis. From such a standpoint, an Armenian ancestry may prevent me from being labelled "Québécoise." As recent events such as the Accommodation Crisis strongly demonstrates, there are disagreements within

Quebec society on this sensitive issue. How Armenians navigate the integration of their ethnic and civic identities, then, is their delicate dance.

Importance of Cultural Communities for Citizens

Cultural and ethnic communities are beneficial to society. As Kymlicka argues, one should not look at cultural communities as rivals to liberalism simply because they display the distinction between groups of people (Burke, 1999). Instead, one should "render culture as essential to the development of self-respect" and of conscientious citizens (Burke, 1999, p. 121). Kymlicka further argues that cultural communities allow individuals to grow within a "stable culture [permitting] individuals to develop their capacity for self-reflection and personal choice […] [and] develop individuals who will be able to take full advantage of their political membership" (Burke, 1999, p. 121).

Kymlicka's conclusion offers an interesting perspective that relates well to the Armenian community in Quebec. Armenian community organizations in Quebec help Armenians grow and prosper. Most importantly, they do so, not only as Armenians, but as people and as citizens of Quebec and Canada. The Armenian family, school and church, significant institutions in the community, transmit values as well as cultural and societal norms, which are beneficial for individuals' self-development. For example, with a variety of activities and programs, the Armenian General Benevolent Union (A.G.B.U.), an Armenian non-profit organization in Montreal and worldwide, which is associated to the Alex Manoogian school, is a place for personal growth and social well-being. The A.G.B.U. scholarship program, for instance, has personally helped me with my schooling: due to this program, I received a good education and will be able to give back to Canadian society with my education and work. Cultural communities should thus be regarded as active and helpful agents in Canadian and Quebecois societies.

The combined effect of community and citizenship present new historical and political challenges to the community and the larger society. Both groups – the Armenian community and Quebec society – must cooperate and adjust to serve its people. The adaptation of both parties is crucial, and the notion of cultural communities acting solely to benefit its members should be invalidated. Armenians in Quebec balance their citizenship with cultural retention; their cultural retention is not only for distinction, but also an important aspect of integration within interculturalism. Integration which, in turn, may lead to transformations of self and the collectivity.

Trauma

The following part of the literature review will discuss how the internal group processes of Armenians contribute to their identity and cohesion. I will focus my discussion on the Armenian diaspora, particularly the Armenian community in Quebec, and the trauma generated by the Armenian genocide and its narratives.

Trauma and Diaspora Defined; Effect on Identity and Citizenship

The Armenian people experienced a collective trauma which has had a significant impact on this population. Trauma "occurs when members of a collectivity feel they have been subjected to a horrendous event that leaves indelible marks upon their group consciousness, marking their memories forever and changing their future identity in fundamental and irrevocable ways" (Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelsner & Sztompka, 2004, p. 1). The trauma Armenians endured was that of a genocide. In 1915, the Young Turk government decided that "Turkey would become an exclusively Turkish state through the elimination of national minorities" (Armenian Virtual College, 2016). This decision led to the mass murder of 1.5 million Armenians, and, subsequently, a mass migration of the survivors of the genocide (Armenian Virtual College, 2016). This historical and cultural trauma is central to the Armenian story and the main reason for the creation of a diaspora.

The term "diaspora" refers to the dispersion of a group of people who are separated from their country of origin, but who nevertheless retain ties to their roots ("Diaspora," 2017). Their dispersion is predominantly understood as being involuntary, brought on by historical disturbances, which underscores the importance of the second aspect of this term, retaining ties to their origins through the preservation of heritage and culture ("Diaspora," 2017). Quebec is one location of the Armenian diasporic community. Armenians in Quebec have established themselves

and set up churches, schools and other institutions to keep these ties (Kaprielian-Churchill, 2005). The historical circumstances and developments of both Armenians and that of Quebec have allowed for Armenian cultural retention and the maintenance of identity within Quebec society in the shadow of genocide.

Due to the trauma and the creation of a diaspora, Armenians experienced shifts in identity and citizenship. On the one hand, identity shifted as Armenians questioned who they were, what happened to them and what their future held; "the genocide produced a strong imprint in the Armenian consciousness" (Mihai & Basaraba, 2014). The narratives surrounding this experience have been transmitted through generations and have led the Armenians of today to further question the horrific experience of their ancestors. As a result, the genocide adds a distinctive element to their identity, which differentiates them from other ethnic groups who have not experienced this type of trauma. Interviews in this study will further develop this view. On the other hand, this trauma changed the survivors' citizenship. As they were now dispersed in other nations, they had to become members of new countries. Becoming citizens of other nations means adapting to different norms, values, languages, as well as assuming different duties and responsibilities to their host country. In summary, the changes to identity and citizenship brought on by the genocide and ensuing mass migration were transformative for Armenians. This transformed sense of identity/citizenship has been transmitted throughout generations, leading for example, to the Armenian community in Quebec who can identify to both their ethnic background and their host country.

The creation of the Armenian diaspora is also a result of the desire to retain an association with the culture. "Institutional and organizational participation has been the principal venue for expressing 'Armenianness' […] [and these institutions] have forged a strong liaison with the host

society, [easing] transition for immigrant generation and [enabling] the Canadian-born to have access to rich ethnocultural heritage" (Kaprielian-Churchill, 2005, p. 417). The first part of this statement identifies the establishment of ethnic institutions as the means towards the end of cultural retention in the diaspora. These meaningful attachments are an important aspect of diasporic communities, and direct the formation of personal and social identities. The second part of the quotation explains the usefulness of such institutions for both the newcomers and those who are Canadian-born. These institutions allow immigrants to feel at home while integrating in Canada, and also for the Canadian-born to retain their culture outside the motherland.

The successful civic integration of Armenians in Canada and Quebec is dependent on preserving group cohesion as an Armenian community. In other words, this group relies on the sustainability of their community for integration into Quebec society. The link between Armenians and their ability to work together has led to the fulfillment of common goals for the group as a whole, such as the integration of newcomers. In summary, Armenian efforts to build institutions for their community also create integration opportunities. Therefore, ethnic community centers and ethnic group cohesion amongst Armenians do not restrict integration in their host country, as would argue Kymlicka noted previously. On the contrary, these factors assist community members as they endeavor to integrate into the social structure of Canada and Quebec.

Intergenerational Transmission of the Memories of the Genocide

The "intergenerational transmission [of the narratives of the genocide] and the task of not forgetting" these accounts are predominantly realized by Armenian ethnic institutions in the diaspora (Azarian-Ceccato, 2010, p. 106). Armenians have a strong incentive to preserve their history and the legacy of the genocide committed against their ancestors. Therefore, this transmission and its retention are used to further the interests of existing Armenian communities

as organized bodies of immigrants within a changing and demanding society. The prominent role the Armenian Genocide plays in Armenian cultural transmission demonstrates the profound impact this event had – and continues to have – on the lives of Armenians, who continue to demand justice and reparations.

For the Armenian diaspora, cultural institutions play both manifest and latent roles with regards to preserving the history and legacy of the genocide. Manifestly, these institutions function to pass on the awareness and knowledge of the Armenian Genocide. Latently, however, these institutions are linked to promoting Armenian interests, such as improving their status within the community of Greater Montreal (including the City of Laval) and solidifying their influence on the government. In other words, the strong presence of the genocide in the minds of Armenian-Quebecois is inevitably linked to current politics in Quebec.

Today, the fight against genocide and the recognition of the Armenian Genocide represent characteristic features of this ethnic group. Armenian identity was built, destroyed and rebuilt due to the genocide and the transmission of its stories, and so "the persistence in which [Armenians] demand the truth" is "an essential characteristic of Armenian identity" (Mihai & Basaraba, 2014, p. 72). When the genocide came to an end, "with a mentality of survivors," Armenians "prov[ed] their value by rebuilding their identity" (Mihai and Basaraba, 2014, p. 71). The process of remembering this trauma links "the present with its past," and connects Armenians across time and space (Azarian-Ceccato, 2010, p. 106). Diasporic communities are therefore venues for evolving the Armenian identity post-genocide. These "reverberations of narratives" surrounding the genocide create a collective memory, which is important to "ethnic identity maintenance" (Azarian-Ceccato, 2010, p. 106 & 108). "The presence of the genocide in the consciousness of the [present] generations […] reinforced the idea that past and present are related via this tragedy" (p.

120). Although Armenians have a rich culture to identify with, the genocide highly characterizes them, and so this process of remembering, which includes listening, understanding and the power of memory, passes on through generations, creating and recreating the Armenian identity.

According to Ernest Renan (1882), suffering unites a people, even more than happiness; "where national memories are concerned, griefs are of more value than triumphs, for they impose duties and require common effort" (p. 7). This quotation reflects the worldwide Armenian community's fight for the recognition of the Armenian Genocide. Transmission through storytelling across generations has caused the Armenian people to band together to fight for a common cause.

The survival and flourishing of the Armenians after such suffering is their social and collective act of revenge. "Survival went beyond living through the atrocities of the Armenian massacres. Survival meant continuing their own life and replacing the loss of their family" (Saroyan, 2015, p. 237). However, one may ask, what did they replace the loss of their family with? This would then be the preservation of their language, culture, music, dance. While this preservation of heritage can and should be understood as a method of moving on from the atrocity and continuing on with life, it should also be understood as an act of honouring those who fell.

Armenian Immigration to Canada and Quebec

The purpose of discussing the trauma of the genocide and the transmission of its narratives was to highlight their large effects on the Armenian diaspora today. As the preceding section highlighted, the Armenian genocide precipitated the involuntary dispersion of Armenians around the world.

Quebec, and particularly the greater Montreal area, saw a big jump in Armenian immigrants in the 1950's and 60's. There are various reasons for this increase, and it is important

to note that after the genocide many Armenians immigrated to other countries before coming to Canada. Here are some figures: in 1961, 113 Armenians immigrated to Quebec, 684 in 1963 and 860 in 1988 (Chichekian, 1977). One reason for this spike in immigration was an increase in the number of people willing to sponsor Armenian immigrants (Chichekian, 1977). Another reason has to do with intense political, economic and social upheavals in other nations. While some Armenians migrated to Canada from France due to bad economic conditions after the Second World War, others came from Egypt because of issues associated to Arab nationalism under Nasser, or from Lebanon due to its civil conflict (Chichekian, 1977). These will be important to consider since the participants of this study will have undoubtedly migrated from some of these countries and have endured these challenges. This additional element within their life story may also impact their identity formation and citizenship entitlement.

As noted previously, Armenians have come to Quebec with personal baggage. They have dealt with the continuous exposure to the stories of the attempted extermination and forceful migration of their ancestors, as well as the continued denial by Turkey. Their identity has been (and continues to be) impacted by these occurrences and, consequently, Armenians are an ethnic group with an added component that characterizes them: the perpetual fight to gain justice for their ancestors and the determination to preserve their heritage. As a result, it is highly important that their needs be well-received and welcomed in their host country, as this new setting will either aid or hinder the realization of these goals. Within Quebec, however, within their own historical circumstances and the presence of Quebec nationalism, this may cause friction between the demands of the Armenian-Quebecois and the French-Canadian majority.

Nationalism

The strong tradition of nationalism in Quebec and the transformative event of the Quiet Revolution are indispensable in this thesis. These elements have largely shaped Quebec society to become what it is today, primarily by influencing discussions on immigration, the position of ethnic groups, language and integration. To gain a better understanding of Quebec's current system, policies and views, it is therefore crucial that we look more deeply into Quebec's historical context.

Nation and Nationalism

Quebec is a distinct society within the larger nation of Canada and in the continent of North America. The differences in language, culture and history between Quebec and its English neighbours have resulted in nationalistic feelings within this province (Béland & Lecours, 2011). This distinction from the rest of Canada (ROC) has affected Quebec policies. As the following discussion will demonstrate, Quebec's historical circumstances allow us to understand its position as a nation, its diverse stances on nationalism and its policies towards immigrant groups.

The national story of Quebec requires the understanding of the notion of "nation." According to Renan (1882), "a nation is a soul; a spiritual principle" (p. 7). It is not based on race, geography, language nor religion. Renan explains that a nation has a past filled with endeavours and sacrifices. Additionally, it has a present in which the people have mutually agreed to live together and have a will to live in harmony. These sentiments create nations: "sharing, in the past, a glorious heritage and regrets, and of having, in the future, a shared program to put into effect" (Renan, 1882, p. 7). A nation is in a constant referendum as the population's wishes matter above all (Renan, 1882). In essence, history and the agreement to live together in the present and in the future, characterize a nation.

In November 2006, the federal government under Prime Minister Harper, stated: "That this House recognize that the Quebecois form a nation within a united Canada" (*Assemblée Nationale*, 2006). Quebec's ability to achieve nation status within Canada is attributed to its unique features – historical, cultural, linguistic – from the ROC, a uniqueness which has led to diverse forms of Quebecois nationalism. Quebec is heavily affected by their historical connection to France and their fight against British rule, as opposed to the ROC. These differences in history, and the ensuing differences with regards to how French-Quebecois and English-Canadians view themselves, have led Quebec to create certain policies that seem rooted in nationalist sentiments (such as language laws).

The Quebecois have diverse perspectives on nationalism, generating its different forms. This diversity reveals Quebec's politics, potentially affecting their relations with ethnic minorities. For instance, there is a division between nationalisms rooted in Canadian federalism and nationalisms rooted in Quebecois separatism, and both represent different visions of Quebec society. Some Quebecois (federalists) believe in the integration of Quebec in the larger nation of Canada while others (separatists) believe in its sovereignty. The latter believe that "it is easier for nations to preserve and perpetuate their existence if they have a state that they control" (Bélanger, 2000, n. p.). This type of nationalism therefore particularly emphasizes the importance of upholding the Quebecois identity, which, in turn, influences (but does not necessarily limit), the majority's relationship with ethnic minorities (Courtois, 2007).

The question of sovereignty was put into vote in 1980 and 1995. Both referenda revealed a clear division in Quebecois society. In 1980, 59% of the population voted "no" to Quebec sovereignty, while in 1995 a similar referendum took place in which 51% voted "no" (Bausback and Brown, 2012). Quebec has failed to gain independence, causing much frustration to

sovereigntists. I hypothesize that Armenians are sympathetic towards the Quebec cause, particularly the desire of the majority to retain their distinct cultural identity, but may not actively support it. As such, I believe the respondents of this study will have strong opinions on Quebec sovereignty and nationalism.

Moreover, there are other types of nationalism, such as a French-Canadian conservative nationalism as well as a contemporary liberal nationalism. The former emphasizes the collective consciousness of the French-Canadians. They believe in their unity and belonging as the children of the *habitants* (French settlers in Canada) and attach excessively to their past (Handler, 1988; Piotte & Couture, 2012). However, this sense of unity comes from the times of colonization, and therefore does not apply to today's diverse Quebec. In contrast, contemporary liberal nationalism does not base unity on ethnic ancestry, but rather on civic identity (Dion, 1975). Contemporary liberal nationalism "embrace[s] a civic and pluralistic version of nationalism" (Vacante, 2006, p. 96). The transition from a limiting French-Canadian identity to an inclusive Quebecois identity in the 1960's reflects the developments in Quebec and the unity and acceptance of all. Today's Quebec follows more so this liberal nationalism (Vacante, 2006, p. 96).

The effect of Quebec's nationalism and nation-status on ethnic groups is "essentially, the expectation […] towards immigrants [to put] […] effort […] into the acquisition of the French language, [their] participation within the democratic life of Quebec and the adaptation of their culture to Quebec society" (Courtois, 2007, p. 59-60). As the basis of Quebecois nationalism is its distinction from the ROC, their culture is of utmost important in Quebec. Consequently, ethnic minorities must recognize its supremacy and adapt their culture to it (Courtois, 2007). This arrangement creates mutual understanding and an agreement to live together as Quebecois.

The Quiet Revolution and National Revival

The Quiet Revolution was a period of Quebec national revival. The revolution's focus on cultural survival, as well as the identity transformations that occurred during this time, have had clear impacts on the position of ethnic minorities in the province. This section will thus seek to answer the following: How did the Quiet Revolution and Quebec nationalism affect its ethnic minorities? Are these minorities considered part of or separate from Quebecois society? Following the loss of the 1995 referendum, Jacques Parizeau, then premier of Quebec, blamed the loss on "money and ethnic votes." With this statement, did Mr. Parizeau throw all minorities into the same proverbial basket?

"The spirit of the time" in the 1960's was one of social change, with Quebec's Quiet Revolution representing a momentous example of this change (Bélanger, 2000, n. p.). It aimed to create a progressive, liberal Quebec and played an important role in change, modernization and national revival (Bordonaro, 2014; Bélanger, 2000). "*Maîtres chez nous*" (Masters in our home), as previously noted, became a slogan expressing Quebec's patriotism and desire for more control in their province (Dion, 1975). French-Canadians wanted to move on from their colonial past and show their distinctiveness as Quebecois in the larger nation of Canada (Bélanger, 2000). Former French president Charles de Gaulle's 1967 speech in support of Quebec sovereignty, "*Vive le Québec libre!*" (Long live free Quebec), influenced and inspired the Quebec population (Bausback and Brown, 2012). Jacques Portes states, this declaration "entered collective memories as a symbol of the rise of [Quebec] nationalism during the years 1960 and 1970" (Robert, 2013, p. 135).

Theories of Nationalism

I briefly sketched out some of the different types of Quebec nationalism above, now I would like to explain their theoretical underpinnings. The primordialist and modernist approaches

describe two different perspectives of nationalist theory. The former views nationalism as a given because every nation has a root, an origin (Alison, 2013). As Alison (2013) explains, "primordialists focus on ancient and inherited social practices as the source of authentic national community" (n. p.). Quebec nationalists initially had a primordialist perspective as their French-Canadian origin was key to their identity and pride, and a portion of Quebecois (as previously discussed, conservative nationalists) continue to believe in and support this perception. Second, the modernist approach perceives nationalism as a modern phenomenon; it comes from years of growth and development (Alison, 2013). This approach does not assert that nations have a root. Post-60's, Quebec nationalism, or as previously explained contemporary liberal nationalism, is leaning more towards this approach as the nation is less based on its origin and more on its modernization (Vacante, 2006).

The modernist perspective relates to Benedict Anderson's concept of "imagined communities" (1983). Anderson's claim is that a nation and nationalism are 'imagined' or conceptualized, by the members of the community. This is so because "members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, nor even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion" (p. 6). This statement demonstrates that nation and nationalism are socially constructed, and therefore do not have an origin to lean on, contrary to the primordialist claim.

In Quebec, the aim is to create and support a civic nationalism rather than an ethnic nationalism (Alison, 2013). The former is based on citizenship and political participation, thereby following the modernist approach, while the latter is rooted in the primordial claim of a shared origin. Despite this general aim, there is constant debate within Quebecois identity and nationalist politics regarding Quebec's approach to nationalism, diversity and ethnic minorities.

Quebec Nationalism and Its Effect on Ethnic Minorities

The different interpretations of Quebec nationalism impact relations toward ethnic minorities in the province. The transformation of Quebecois identity – the shift from an ethnic to a civic identity – is crucial to consider here (Tremblay, 2015). Shifting the foundation of Quebecois identity from ethnic to civic demonstrates the willingness of French-Canadians to view ethnic minorities as Quebecois, provided they live in the province and participate and integrate into the social and political life (Courtois, 2007). As stated earlier, civic identity is related to the modernist approach. Since this perspective views nations as "imagined communities" that have changed and developed through time, immigrants and ethnic groups are considered to be a part of the nation, recognized and accepted. This perspective reflects the reality of contemporary pluralism in Quebec, as it is simply not as culturally homogeneous as it once was. It now includes many ethnic minorities that must be integrated into the larger society. As a result, Quebec is an intercultural society, with many ethnicities, religions and customs, compromised with the main Quebecois language and identity.

As the preceding comments have indicated, in terms of the political reality of the primordialist and modernist theories, the modernist approach is more accepting of ethnic minorities than the primordialist approach. In other words, the use of civic identity welcomes and includes ethnic groups more than the use of ethnic identity. All ethnic groups, including Armenians, are considered Quebecois and Canadian, and have equal rights and freedoms. The primordialist approach automatically excludes ethnic minorities. For example, if Quebec was its own country and used ethnic identity as a basis for citizenship, Armenians would not be allowed to be Quebecois, nor would they have access to the same rights and privileges as the French-Canadians. Nevertheless, even the modernist approach is not a guarantee of tolerance and

acceptance. Therefore, there is on-going debates and discussions on the rights of ethnic minorities, inclusion and reasonable accommodation.

In addition, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger's (1983) notion of "invented traditions" also offers a critique of the primordialist approach. Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) argue that traditions, which claim to be ancient and deep-rooted, are instead invented and novel. The world is constantly changing, therefore the invention or alteration of traditions responds to this change but also to the desire to keep some aspects of life steady. The nation, broadly speaking, is an example of this occurrence (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983).

The totality of invented traditions for nations, such as the creation of national symbols, flags and practices, are meant to accomplish three goals: first, "establishing […] social cohesion for the membership of groups, […] [second], [for] legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority [and third] […] [for] the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behaviour" (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983, p. 9). In summary, the invention of traditions aims to build national unity and pride. By combining this notion with Anderson's, we find that the nation is an imagined community based on the invention of traditions. Elements that make up a nation are not innate. Invented traditions are part of this social construct as societies themselves create and mold traditions throughout the course of time (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983; Anderson, 1983).

"*Je me souviens*" (I remember) is a Quebecois invented tradition. There is no official interpretation of this phrase, however it is generally believed to refer to the memory of the heroes of Quebec history (Deschênes, 2011). This includes the colonization of the Indigenous people, the settlement of European explorers, the work of missionaries, the rule of French and British authorities from early exploration to the British Conquest to Confederation (The Canadian

Encyclopedia, n.d.). This motto reflects a primordialist perspective; it projects a French-Canadian story of origin that is not appropriately inclusive or relevant for today. It is used to bestow longevity and continuation in a fragmented, checkered history. With regards to the increase in ethnic groups in Quebec, this motto does not exude integration or interculturalism. Rather, it conveys assimilation, forcing everyone to relate to the origin of Quebec with its motto "*je me souviens*."

The association to "*je me souviens"* can benefit individuals and groups, as this motto is a political formula of selection and exclusion, granting rewards to those who can relate to this invented tradition. It expresses acceptance or rejection from Quebec society. Armenians in Quebec want to be accepted and to fulfill their collective goals. To be in good standing in Quebec despite the challenges outlined above, means that Armenians had to take delicate steps to connect to Quebec history. The historical struggles of both groups – Armenians and Quebecois – allow Armenians to be understanding towards Quebec. In fact, remembering the past is a point of connection for these groups – for the French-Canadians it is their settlement in this territory and for the Armenians, it is predominantly the Armenian Genocide. This connection can be used by community representatives as a tool within the larger Quebecois political environment to improve, demand and achieve better position for its members.

Interculturalism

Interculturalism Defined

Quebec is "a nation of converging cultures," where ethnic communities are recognized and supported, but ultimately come together as part of a whole (Handler, 1988, p. 179). The tensions in Quebec due to the need for the protection of Quebecois culture on one hand, and the presence of pluralism on the other, creates an obligation for certain policies. As Quebec "includes linguistic minorities among its citizens, […] it is in its own interest as well as theirs to respect them and to give them efficient support. […] Quebec's collective character is an expression of a francophone culture [and this culture need not be] the only legitimate one in Quebec, but rather it must have the leading role" (Gilbert, 1981, p. 11). As this statement demonstrates, the dominance of the Quebecois culture must be maintained in Quebec, but the recognition and acceptance of ethnic minorities is also a priority. This is known as interculturalism, which certainly does not come without its struggles.

The relationship dynamic between the Armenian community and the Quebecois is a good example of how interculturalism manifests in Quebec society. There is a balance "between [the] two poles: on the one hand, ethnocultural diversity [specifically, the Armenian desire for cultural preservation] and, on the other, the continuity of the French-speaking core and the preservation of the social bond" (Bouchard & Taylor, 2008, p. 120). The integration of the Armenians in Quebec is evident through their acquisition and use of the French language, as well as their participation in society. Moreover, cultural preservation is apparent through the transmission of the Armenian language, history and culture. Excellent examples are the Armenian schools of Quebec[2], where the

[2] École Alex Manoogian de l'U.G.A.B., École Arménienne Sourp Hagop and École Notre-Dame de Nareg

curriculum follows the rules and regulations of the Quebec Ministry of Education, but where there is also the leeway to include Armenian elements. While courses are primarily taught in French, Armenian language lessons are offered, and, likewise, Armenian history is taught alongside Quebec and Canadian history. Interviews with three representatives of Armenian schools will uncover more information which will pertain to the incorporation of Quebecois and Armenian cultures in this institution, as well as the challenges it faces and solutions they devise.

Socialization

Institutions are agents of socialization, meaning that they "play a central role in teaching society's norms [and] values" (Morales-Hudon, 2013). In the Quebec context, one of society's values is that of interculturalism and so, its principles are transmitted through these agents, these institutions, which deal with the supremacy of Quebec culture, as well as ethnic heritage preservation. Therefore, the study of Armenian institutions in Quebec is crucial in this research.

In this thesis, I will combine both primary and secondary socialization in order to come to a deeper understanding of institutions and identity of the Armenian-Quebecois community. In other words, I will uncover the principle of interculturalism that is (or is not) present in these institutions and their methods of unravelling their challenges. In particular, the family, school and church will be investigated as the means in which Quebec integration and Armenian cultural retention are achieved.

Primary socialization is the first process that children undergo to learn about society. The most important actors in this process is the family, who are the "mediators of the social world" and are important figures in children's lives as they transmit ways of being and culture from birth (Morales-Hudon, 2013, n. p.). Armenian families may expose their children to Armenian culture (e.g. language and values), which impacts them immensely as children identify with parents both

cognitively and emotionally (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). They are molded by components of the home from their infancy.

Parental influence greatly affects cultural continuity of children as well as the transmission of language. Van Hek and Kraaykamp (2015, p. 124) find that "active parental guidance," e.g. attending cultural activities, such as concerts and museums, with children, affects "children's cultural participation." It allows for an attachment and a continuation of attendance to these cultural events in their adulthood (Van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015, p. 124). For instance, attendance of Armenian folkdance or music concerts may allow children to continue attending these occasions as adults. Additionally, the use of one's mother tongue in the home is a strong indicator of ethnic identity (Pigott & Kalbach, 2005; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2000). Individuals were most likely to identify with their ethnic background if they spoke their mother tongue in the household, as found by Pigott & Kalbach (2005). This is an example of the impact of primary socialization on younger generations' ethnic transmission and retention. Family is important when it comes to preservation of attendance of cultural events as well as ethnic language transmission, as the home is crucial for ethnic identification.

Secondary socialization follows primary socialization in the sense that the individual is now introduced to new sectors of society, which build on what was transmitted previously by the family. It is less intense than primary socialization as knowledge is simply being refined (Morales-Hudon, 2013). In regard to the Armenian diaspora in Quebec, the Armenian church and school play this role. The Armenian church is important as the protector of Armenian identity and, the Armenian school is important for the transmission of knowledge related to Armenian language and history. In addition, the Armenian church and school may offer an environment that promotes the development of Armenians' networks, thus potentially leading to an increased number of

friends of Armenian origin. I aim to examine both these institutions as well as the informal networks (i.e. friendships) of the respondents.

Ultimately, socialization is the arena in which both cultural preservation and societal integration are enacted. The family, school and church are theatres in which these processes will be evaluated and assessed.

Institutional Completeness

The theoretical framework for this research is Raymond Breton's notion of "institutional completeness," which will be used as a focus to understand the Armenian community in Quebec. Particularly, it is the background for the examination of Armenian cultural retention and societal integration in Quebec society through three of its institutions – family, school and church.

The notion of "institutional completeness" encompasses the idea of life from the cradle to the grave: daycares, schools, summer camps, hospitals, welfare organizations, cemeteries. A community is more institutionally complete the less insiders search for such services outside the community (Breton, 1964). Institutional completeness, hence, allows for a complete integration within one's ethnic group, even while outside one's mother country (Breton, 1964). In other words, if Armenians have institutional completeness in Quebec, they can remain within their community and would thus be able to get an education, employment, health services, amongst other assistance, solely from the Armenian community.

A potential conflict may arise between "ethnic community" and "host country" if an ethnic group has high institutional completeness. Members must still integrate into Quebec even if the community offers many services. They cannot stay confined to their group as they live in a province and country that holds different laws, customs and languages. Therefore, both ethnic identity and civic identity are important and should be utilized. A certain extent of institutional

completeness is hence ideal, enabling presence and involvement in both ethnic and civic centres, as well as aiding in the improvement of political chances of both retention and integration. This is the main challenge facing the Armenian community in Quebec – the search for balance as civic members of Quebec with its own distinction and struggles within Canada and as ethnic members of Armenian origin, an old and rich civilization.

The institutional completeness of the Armenian community in Quebec includes both informal networks as well as established associations. Breton investigated these two types of institutions of ethnic groups as a totality of institutional completeness. The former pertains to personal relations, e.g. friendships and companionships, which are prerequisites for the establishment of formal institutions (Breton, 1964). In other words, friendships between individuals of the same ethnic background are necessary for the founding of formal institutions. Formal institutions, on the other hand, include churches, newspaper periodicals, welfare organizations, as per Breton's study (1964). These formal organizations, set up by the ethnic groups, affect the social cohesion of its members. It keeps them within an ethnic boundary, producing self-identification and social identity formation (Breton, 1964). In this study, I will dig into both established institutions as well as personal relationships as actors for integration as well as heritage transmission for the Armenian population of Quebec.

Rosenberg and Jedwab's (1992) additional assessment of Breton's notion encompasses the leading argument of this research. Despite being seen as alternatives to state-run institutions by Breton (1964), ethnic institutions are not in fact separate entities distinct from Canada (Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992). Rather, they embody the values of Canadian multiculturalism given that, as Rosenberg and Jedwab claim, participation in ethnic communities is by definition participation in the "social, economic, and political" life in Canada (1992, p. 267). This multicultural participation

is enshrined in Canada's cultural discourse. Far from being separate from Canadian identity, ethnic communities and their institutions are the state-supported fundamental building blocks of that identity (Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992). Consequently, Armenian institutions are not only focused on Armenian aspects, but are important fragments to Canadian and Quebecois life.

Rosenberg and Jedwab (1992) give further insight on "institutional completeness" of ethnic groups in terms of state intervention post-Quiet Revolution. The changes instilled from the Quiet Revolution represent interculturalism, such as the active role of the government and its consequent support, both financial and political, of ethnic communities. This action exhibits a partnership between both actors, benefitting the ethnic institutions and the state. The support permits the institutions to accomplish their goals of cultural retention and it allows its members, especially newcomers, to integrate to Quebec and Canada. The changes instilled due to the Quiet Revolution are hence significant for ethnic groups in Quebec.

Although the notion of institutional completeness is the theoretical background of this research, I examine institutions different from Breton. The four domains of social activities that Breton studied were: welfare organizations, churches, newspapers and periodicals. He states that the distribution of these organizations is a good estimate of an ethnic group's degree of institutional completeness. The institutions in this study, however, include the family, church and school. While the family would be considered "personal relations," according to Breton's study, the school and church would be considered formal institutions. In fact, Breton states that although "schools […] are left out, […] [in his study, they are] very significant in the social life of any ethnic community" (Breton, 1964, p. 195). Despite the fact that two out of three of the institutions in this thesis are not similar to Breton's, the notion of institutional completeness does not become invalid.

For the Armenian community, the triad of church, family and school are important. First, the church has been the protector of the Armenian nation since it became a Christian nation in 301 A.D. Second, the family is part of primary socialization which makes it a crucial institution in society (Morales-Hudon, 2013). It also adds that informal network into the triad, rather than simply adhering to formal organizations with official rules and regulations. Third, the Armenian school is a vital institution as the generations of Armenians are greatly exposed to a variety of Armenian elements within it. Although different institutions are studied than Breton, the concept of "institutional completeness" is effective for this study.

Ethnic Survival and Quebecois Identity

The clash between French and English-speaking groups within Quebec has caused the state to pursue action. After World War II, there was large-scale immigration to Quebec who, much to the disappointment of the French majority, associated themselves with the English-speaking population of the province, and who also held on to their ethnic and religious traditions. In the 1960's and 70's, more immigrants entered Quebec and since then, they have been part of a large debate (Handler, 1988). In this section, I will turn to the topic of minorities and discuss the challenges faced by Quebec society and ethnic groups. Specifically, I will explore the effect of Quebec nationalism, the overall attitude toward multiculturalism in Quebec and the language debate.

Due to Quebec's distinct position in Canada, it has had the difficult task of ensuring the supremacy of their culture while accepting ethnic minorities. Since 1968, the Quebec Ministry of Immigration has aided ethnic communities in terms of employment, adjustment and integration, as well as establishments for the preservation of their language and culture (Behiels, 1991). However, not everyone agreed with these actions as some French-Canadians believed that ethnic

preservation was the federal government's way to marginalize the French-Canadian culture (Behiels, 1991; Handler, 1988). They felt that their history will be forgotten, and their culture lost due to the predominance of English-speaking people and immigrants in Quebec and Canada. Multiculturalism, an official policy of Canada, which views the various ethnic groups in Canada as equal, and which promotes pride and celebration of each, is not fully supported in Quebec. That is why, in the 1980's, Quebec adopted interculturalism (Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014). As Gerard Bouchard (2011) states, "interculturalism aims for a strong integration of diverse coexisting traditions and cultures" as well as Quebec cultural primacy (p. 449). This "strong integration" however, is not accepted by all of Quebec society.

Ethno-nationalists in Quebec, such as conservative nationalists described earlier, view interculturalism as a danger. The notion of ethnonationalism is the belief that common ethnic ancestry of group members is the basis of their loyalty to their nation (Walker, 2016). This is a diverse phenomenon however, which signified that ethnonationalism can form a spectrum, ranging from conservative ethnonationalism, connoting racism to a more liberal ethnonationalism. In fact, Quebec nationalism can vary on a "constitutional axis", from federalism to independence and on a "social axis," from diversity to homogeneity within society (Leslie, 1988, p. 31). Conservative ethnonationalists comprise of sovereigntists who "strive for a homogeneous society in which the ethnic Quebecois – non-immigrant francophones – predominate culturally, politically and economically" (Leslie, 1988, p. 31). These ethno-nationalists believe interculturalism is a "worse model" than multiculturalism because "it does not […] allow [the Quebecois] culture to exist as it is, but forces it to change and adapt to new immigrants" (Tremblay, 2015, n. p.). They "believe in assimilation, reject cultural diversity" and view "immigration as an obstacle to [their] independence and to the survival of [their] people, language and culture" (Tremblay, 2015, n. p.).

As the future of the Quebecois culture itself is unclear, it is difficult for ethno-nationalists to accept others, hence their hesitancy of being open and tolerant to immigrants (Salee, 1994).

The group-threat theory, otherwise known as the integrated threat theory, states that perceived threat arises due to contact between different social groups, depending on the "amount and quality" of the interaction (Stephen, Diaz-Loving & Duran, 2000, p. 240). In particular to the case of Quebec nationalism, there are "negative attitudes toward immigration" due to a "threat to the collective [Quebecois] identity" (Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014, p. 322). Conservative ethno-nationalist Quebecois, who would fall on the independence constitutional axis as well as homogeneous social axis as per Leslie's study, perceive ethnic minorities as a threat toward accomplishing their own nationalist interests; they do not want other groups' interests to interfere with their aims of ensuring the survival of their people and culture.

In order to ensure the survival of the Quebec culture, the Quebec Ministry of Immigration "adopted a very interventionist role in immigration," especially in association to language (Behiels, 1991, p. 19). The selection of newcomers (e.g. immigrants who come from French-speaking countries, e.g. Morocco), the integration process and school board laws ensured the continuation of the French language and so, these efforts reduced linguistic insecurity (Behiels, 1991). While in 1969-1970, 85% of all allophone children attended English school, in 1986-1987, this percentage significantly dropped to 36% (Behiels, 1991). As cited by Statistics Canada, in 1971, when it came down to the two official languages of Canada, 79% of immigrants spoke English at home, while 21% spoke French (Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014). However, by 2006, 51% of immigrants spoke French at home. This jump from 21% to 51% was due to Quebec's action of ensuring the survival of the French language.

Although Quebec culture is superior to all others in this province, Quebec nonetheless has accepted and supported ethnic groups. As previously explained, the identification method of the people in Quebec changed after the Quiet Revolution. To reiterate, pre-1960's, i.e. before the Quiet Revolution, identity was based on ethnic background (common origin, religion and language) however, subsequently, due to the Quiet Revolution, identity shifted to a civic basis (territory, citizenship and language) (Tremblay, 2015). This is not a clear shift, and therefore there is still large debate around this issue of identity. Nonetheless, the notion of civic identity recognizes ethnic minorities as part of Quebec national identity. Additionally, the Quebec Ministry of Education helped ethnic groups with the preservation of their language, which demonstrates the support for cultural diversity. In 1978, the *Programme de l'enseignement des langues d'origine* (PELO), or the Heritage Language Program, was set, which allowed students from different backgrounds to learn their language of origin (Behiels, 1991). The acceptance and recognition of ethnic groups in Quebec also gives them rights.

All Quebecois, including ethnic groups, have equal rights. Nonetheless, the Quebec government has put in place laws specifically to protect ethnic groups who may be distinguishable from Quebec society, such as due to the colour of their skin or their mother tongue. For example, the Quebec Charter of Rights and Freedoms was adopted in 1975 and forbids discrimination based on characteristics such as ethnic origin for matters such as employment and housing (Salee, 1994). Diversity of ethnic backgrounds is thus no basis for discrimination. However, not all people follow this law, and as a result, discrimination does, in reality, occur.

Furthermore, in the economic and social rights section of the Quebec Charter, it states: "persons belonging to ethnic minorities have a right to maintain and develop their own cultural interests with the other members of their group" (Quebec, 1975). This statement illustrates the

acceptance and promotion of ethnic diversity and of cultural communities in Quebec. This was applied in 1981 when the *Ministère des communautés culturelles et de l'immigration* was created (Handler, 1988). The mandate of this ministry is to help cultural communities preserve their culture and grow as a group of people living in Quebec. Furthermore, they ensure ethnic groups' integration and participation in Quebecois society (Handler, 1988).

In conclusion, social policies in Quebec have their own history and politics. First, the transition from "multiculturalism" to "interculturalism" and second, the transition from "ethnic" to "civic" definition of acceptance are significant. Lastly, the Quebecois understood that their province's viability depends on their ability to integrate immigrants. In the case of the Armenian diaspora in Quebec, although there are discrepancies between Quebec nationalism and Armenian cultural retention, interculturalism has been respected. Following the demands of Quebec and the policy of interculturalism, the Armenian community has aimed to show the importance of the French language (e.g. in their schools) and guide its members to be part of and participate in Quebec society. In return, Armenians' ambition to preserve their culture, which is strongly due to the genocide, is respected, while following the policy of interculturalism. Hence, Armenians fit squarely into this over-all scheme of circumstances and conditions.

III. Research question and hypotheses

The Armenian-Quebecois community's institutional completeness includes families, schools and churches, amongst other institutions. On the one hand, the reason for this institutional completeness is predominantly the 1915 genocide. Armenians escaped this trauma, creating a diaspora. In the latter half of the twentieth century, a proportion of these Armenians migrated again, some, to Quebec, creating an Armenian community in the only francophone territory in North America. They arrived with symbolic baggage – the desire to retain their Armenian heritage. Interculturalism, on the other hand, is the social and political context of Quebec due to Quebec's own complex history. It follows the idea that ethnic groups can preserve their culture, but that the Quebecois culture and French language have higher importance. The Armenians in Quebec have fused these elements (institutional completeness and interculturalism) to respect their host country and province as well as to stay true to their heritage.

The Armenian community in Quebec is a case study on cultural retention and societal integration. Armenians immigrated with their burdens (war and trauma) as many were descendants of Armenian Genocide survivors and who later escaped other conflicts (e.g. Lebanese civil war, Turkish persecution and most recently Syrian civil war). These struggles left marks in the hearts of the Armenian people, leading to Armenian diasporic communities which have commonly been active, inculcating their history and culture. The institutional completeness of the Armenian community allows for the preservation of their culture, the transmission of their history and the continued fight for the recognition of the genocide.

Quebec, the host province, also had a role to play as immigration leads to diversity and the need for accommodation. Both Canada and Quebec have tackled immigration in order to create a harmonious environment for all its citizens. They have set laws and regulations as well as created

ministries to handle this addition. Although challenges arise, discussions must be held. Due to the historical circumstances of Armenians and Quebecois as well as their ensuing negotiations, both groups have learned to adapt. Armenian churches, schools and families have the support of Canada and Quebec; this support is imperative. In addition, "the recognition of the genocide is part of [the] identity [of Diasporic Armenians] and this is why they need the world to support them, because the recognition of the genocide has for them the same value as the recognition of their identity" (Mihai & Basaraba, 2014, p. 72). Canada's role in the recognition of the Armenian Genocide translates into acceptance and support of this ethnic group by its host country.

Nonetheless, Quebec has had various approaches and perspectives in accommodating its diverse immigrant groups. Accommodation means that both Quebec and ethnic groups will adapt themselves to create a province with co-existing cultures. However, we see a mix of views on the topic of immigration in Quebec. On the one hand, due to Quebec's fear of the loss of their culture, immigration is not welcomed (Turgeon & Bilodeau, 2014). On the other hand, there is the belief that accommodation is possible and ethnic minorities can be part of Quebecois national identity and society (Chiasson, 2012).

Despite the contention that arises between ethnic retention and societal integration, the Armenian people in Quebec have resolved this dispute. With the Quiet Revolution arose the feeling of empowerment – Quebec became a place to express the "collective goals for all of Quebec" with a need and drive for modernization (Bélanger, 2000). As Quebec nationalism was separated from ethnicity and now "based on territoriality," Armenians in Quebec, along with other ethnic groups, were pushed to integrate and become Quebecois (Rocher, 2002, p. 4). The emphasis on the French language versus other aspects of Quebecois culture is imperative; integrating meant the learning and the use of the French language. At the same time, the Quiet Revolution allowed the Armenian

diaspora to grow, as they now had opportunities to preserve and promote their culture. As we saw with Jedwab and Rosenberg (1992), relations between Quebec and ethnic communities transformed in the 60's, helping cultural communities in many ways. While simultaneously encouraging and enforcing integration, the Quebec context allowed the Armenians to retain a sense of cultural preservation and integration within their new home, leading to an integrated and culturally aware Armenian community in Quebec.

This research will examine Armenian sense of identity and community organization in Quebec, involving the drives and means of cultural retention (e.g. customs, language, religion). I aim to investigate how Quebec's Quiet Revolution and the Armenian Genocide shaped the emergence of an Armenian-Quebecois community. In essence, the research question is: how does the traumatic event of the Armenian genocide, within the context of Quebec emerging nationalism and Quiet Revolution, shape self-identity and the social organization of the Armenian community of Quebec? It confronts two concepts and realities, Armenian institutional completeness and Quebec interculturalism, and aims to understand the Armenian community in Quebec with its social, historical and political particularities.

IV. Methodology

The perceptions of individuals with Armenian descent, living in Quebec, are important and valuable for this research. In particular, representatives of Armenian institutions have further insight on the specific associations and the community at large. The analysis of their narratives generates an understanding of the reality of the Armenian diaspora in Quebec.

Research Approach

The qualitative approach used for this study "involves the studied use […] of […] empirical materials […] that describe […] problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2003, p. 5). This approach, as well as the method of interviewing, elicits various perceptions, thoughts and narratives on several topics, which consequently aids in uncovering relations, in this case, between trauma, the Quebec context, identity and institutions.

This research is a combination of a case study and historical research. In fact, a "case study is a type of historical research that sheds light on a phenomenon through an in-depth examination of a single case exemplar of a phenomenon;" as in this study, the case of the Armenian community in Quebec (Lundy, 2008, p. 2). The 1915 Armenian Genocide and 1960 Quebec Quiet Revolution, two large-scale social processes, are used as contributing factors to the establishment, growth and sustainability of the Armenian institutional completeness and identity formation in Quebec. This "historical research provides the critical contextual link of the past to the present" (Lundy, 2008, p. 2). The underlying elements of the transmission of the stories of the trauma and the context of Quebec on Armenian cultural retention and Quebecois integration are developed to discover the effects of the past on the present community.

Method

According to Mason (2002), semi-structured qualitative interviews include four essential elements: "interactional exchange of dialogue, […] informal style […] [of interviewing], […] a thematic, topic-centered […] approach [and] […] a co-production, involving researcher and interviewees" (p. 62-63). Given these elements, semi-structured interviews can yield abundant data to explain the effect of the transmission of narratives of the genocide and the Quebec context on the Armenian community in Quebec.

Further elaborating on the components outlined by Mason (2002) can aid us in understanding the benefits and drawbacks of semi-structured interviews. To begin, the conversational approach of this method gives flexibility to the interlocutors to discuss openly and the ability for myself, as the researcher, to further question and follow-up on their statements. This form of interaction, when combined with reflexivity, aids in a non-biased comprehension of the interviewees' accounts. If one is not reflexive in their thoughts and formulation of questions, he/she can undeniably guide the interviewee and the interview itself. This disregard can generate questionable responses, hence creating biases. Therefore, acknowledging one's effect on the interview, or in other words, reflexivity, is key.

In addition, due to the casual style and informal ambience of the interviews, the study participants feel comfortable to engage freely in this conversation. Additionally, the thematic approach facilitates the interview process and supports the analysis of data. Through a prepared set of questions as well as an informal conversation between the researcher and the participant, information is transmitted and meaning is produced. The use of semi-structured interviews for data collection is the ideal method for this study[3].

[3] Pages 55-56 include a section on the advantages and disadvantages of the interview method, post-interviews

Themes

"A thematic, topic-centered […]" interview guide is practical for both the researcher and participant (Mason, 2002, p. 62). It organizes and classifies the interview with themes, resulting in a well-ordered interview, making the discussions between researcher and interviewee flow well. Moreover, it allows for a detailed narrative within each theme. Questions are prepared within each category but in this case, the participants are free to discuss anything related to it. Each category is analyzed separately and then combined to understand the group phenomenon.

The categories below are the main topics of the interviews as they are the main variables in this study: Armenian trauma, Quebec context, Identity, Institutions and Network, as well as Compare/Contrast to other communities.

Respondents' sense of self reveals their association (and lack of) to cultures and nations, and the reasons for this self-identity. Important social processes that have impacted self-identity are the Armenian genocidal trauma and its intergenerational transmission of stories as well as the Quebec context, including the Quiet Revolution and nationalism. These historical circumstances have affected the diaspora, in that they are factors in the establishment of Armenian-Quebecois community organizations and identity. These social processes are studied to understand their effects on the interviewees as individuals and on the community as a whole. Its by-product of institutions and community members' networks are critical. The basis of this section and by and large, of the thesis, is Breton's theory of institutional completeness. By analyzing Armenian institutions and networks in Quebec, we get a comprehensive picture of this community, most importantly in terms of their means and ends of cultural preservation and societal integration. Lastly, the compare and contrast section uncovers the distinction of the Quebec diaspora of Armenians to others.

1. Armenian Trauma

The narratives of the Armenian trauma, passed on throughout generations, are part of the lives of Armenians. I aim to find how they are represented in the life of the interviewees and how they are depicted in the community's social actions today. The historical distance from the genocide is mediated by time, institutions and discourse. Therefore, the respondents' articulations of the meanings of these narratives and their effects on identity and cultural retention are crucial. I hypothesize that the genocide has played a large role in the respondents' lives.

2. Quebec context

This topic focuses on respondents' perceptions on Quebec society as a whole. Additionally, their view on Quebec's stance on ethnic minorities are explored, as this view can impact their relationship with Quebec and their self-identity. I hypothesize that the respondents have had both positive and negative experiences within Quebec society and with Quebecois, more so French-Canadians, due to the various perspectives present within Quebec on its society and future. I also believe that respondents will have opinions on Quebec sovereignty due its possible consequences on them as an ethnic group in Quebec.

3. Identity

This category gathers the participants' senses of social identity. They will be asked about their identity formation as well as their opinions on the comprehensive group identity of the Armenian community in Quebec. Roger Brown's and Max Weber's theories of social identity and status group, respectively, will be used as a basis for analysis of respondents' answers. I hypothesize that participants will have a sense of Armenian identity. On the other hand, due to the variety of interpretations on Quebec and its forms of nationalisms within its society, Quebecois social identity amongst the respondents might be varied.

4. Institutions and network

Raymond Breton's concept "institutional completeness" is the basis of this category. In this section, participants open up about their personal networks as well as the specific institution they represent (school, family, church) or the institutions they were socialized in. For the former, I am interested in seeing the percentage of in-group and out-group relations. I hypothesize that Armenians born in Canada have fewer Armenian friends compared to those born elsewhere. Nonetheless, I believe most respondents have more Armenian friends than non-Armenian due to their involvement in Armenian institutions. Moreover, the institutions' roles as agents of socialization are explored. During the analysis phase, I will place them in order based on their influence on the community in terms of cultural preservation and societal integration. Based on my insider experience, I hypothesize that the church is the least influential in the Armenian-Quebecois diaspora today.

5. Compare/Contrast to other communities

Participants are asked to evaluate and talk about the similarities and differences between the Armenian-Quebecois community and other ethnic communities in Quebec, as well as the Armenian-Quebecois community and other Armenian communities in the rest of the diaspora. This category will bring forth a reexamined understanding of the Armenian community in Quebec. By comparing and contrasting, subtle differences and similarities will be revealed; these details will disclose distinct elements of the community. It is also important to keep in mind, as a researcher, that the Armenian community in Quebec is a fairly young community compared to other Armenian communities worldwide.

Sampling and Recruitment

As the Armenian community in Quebec is a distinct population, I use non-probability

(nonrandom) purposive sampling to recruit. In other words, as I am part of the Armenian community in Quebec, I am able to use my judgment and knowledge to choose potential respondents. Evidently, my insider position also comes with challenges, which will be discussed in the following section.

There are three criteria for including participants: first, they must be of Armenian origin and second, Quebec residents. Third, they must either represent one of the institutions studied in this thesis (school, church or family) or be socialized by these institutions. The reason for the last criterion is because Armenian institutions integrate various elements of this study. They are prime examples of the incorporation of Canadian, Quebecois and Armenian cultures within them. As a result, those who have been part of these institutions will have more experience within the community and hence, more narratives and thoughts about the subject at hand. It is important to note that the respondents are not spokespeople of the institutions they represent in this study; they represent themselves.

The list of institutions chosen for this study include both primary and secondary agents of socialization. While the former includes the family, the latter comprises of the church and school. Since there are many Armenian communities in the Greater Montreal region, I will ensure to include a variety of them. To make this clearer: there are three Armenian schools – Alex Manoogian Armen-Quebec, Sourp Hagop and Notre-Dame de Nareg. Alex Manoogian Armen-Quebec is associated to Saint Gregory the Illuminator Church as well as the Armenian General Benevolent Union. This community is non-partisan. On the other hand, Sourp Hagop school is associated to Sourp Hagop Church and the Armenian Community Centre (ACC) Montreal. This organization is associated with the Armenian Revolutionary Federation ("*Tashnaktsutyun*"). Between these two Armenian subgroups, one can see a difference as one is associated to a political

group. Lastly, there is Notre-Dame de Nareg school, associated to Notre-Dame de Nareg Church. This community is a Catholic community, rather than Apostolic like the previous two communities mentioned above, and it is not an association, nor does it have a political connection. There is, in addition, an Armenian Evangelical Church. For these reasons, I will diversify my choice of participants from these various communities and institutions.

The procedure went as is: after speaking to several people of the community, contact information of potential participants were acquired who were then contacted via email and/or telephone in order to receive an explanation of the research, the interview process and to answer any questions and/or concerns. If they wished to participate, the official information and consent form were sent via email to give additional information and to show the legitimacy of this research. The potential participants were very open to the research and agreed to participate, which was very encouraging. Interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes, with an exceptional outlier of four hours. This outlier was due to the abundance of information the respondent had, mostly on Armenian history. The majority of the interviews were conducted in English; two in French. Participants agreed to be contacted if further clarifications were needed for the study post-interview.

Findings on the Advantages and Disadvantages of the Interview Procedure (post-fieldwork)

The interview procedure has both its advantages and disadvantages. Two advantages of face-to-face interviewing as a method of data collection are: a reasonable response rate and comfort in conversing (Shuy, 2011). Additionally, my position as an insider comprised of benefits along with some struggles in terms of predispositions and biases.

My experiences in accordance to the two advantages stated by Shuy made the conducting of the fieldwork manageable and exciting. In terms of the response rate, each person contacted was

open and willing to participate in an interview. This process gave me the confidence to go forward with this research and confirmed the interest in the research question. In addition, interviews are similar to conversations as it compels "small talk, politeness routines, joking, nonverbal communication and asides in which people can more fully express their humanity. And naturalness leads to open expression and comfort" (Shuy, 2011, p. 541-542). I met the participants in a location that was suitable and familiar to them – work or home – making participants feel at ease. My position as an insider, additionally, rendered the participants more comfortable in their discussions as there was an "expediency of rapport building" (Chavez, 2008, p. 479). These elements of the face-to-face interview method created a positive and safe environment, lending to a very welcoming, open and talkative group of participants.

On the other hand, the main disadvantage and difficulty faced during the interviews was my predispositions and biases. I was required to constantly "examine [my] […] personal role," beliefs and opinions in order to prevent the distortion of information through my biases; reflexivity was a crucial element (Babones, 2015, p. 462). My main source of predispositions came from the fact that I am an insider. According to Chenail (2011), "given this affinity, these 'insider' investigators may limit their curiosities so they only discover what they think they don't know, rather than opening up their inquiries to encompass also what they don't know they don't know" (p. 257). Throughout the interview process, I noticed that I made assumptions by filling in the gaps of stories that interlocutors told and the informants, at times, would make "common sense constructs," which I understood as an insider to the group (Babones, 2015, p. 462). However, clarifications are necessary as this 'common sense' might not necessarily be so (Babones, 2015). As I became aware of this reaction, I found a method for bias reduction. I improved my interview skills by asking for further explanation for every statement that I could have potentially interpreted

wrong. I simply asked, “can you elaborate on that?” rather than formulating a question based on an assumption. This awareness also helped in the data analysis process.

This mediation “between insider perspective and researcher position” is crucial (Chavez, 2008, p. 474). These positions can create a conflict in relation to the distance between myself and the research. To what extent do I integrate myself in this research? Initially, I tried to distance from it to prevent any biases. However, I later recognized the significance of my own experiences and beliefs. Although I must detach myself from my subjectivity, I am, in fact, part of this group and have experienced being an Armenian in Quebec; my experiences should not be overlooked. Therefore, I aimed to be constantly reflexive and keep the balance between integrating myself in this study and staying away from subjectivity.

Data Analysis (post-fieldwork)

For the purposes of this study, the thematic analysis method was utilized for the analysis of the data. This is a “method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns,” which allow for an in-depth examination of the information generated through the interviews (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79).

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), the thematic analysis method comprises of six steps. These steps were minimally modified and used for this analysis. First, a familiarization with the data is necessary (Braun and Clarke, 2006). By being part of the interview process and transcribing each interview verbatim, I became acquainted and familiar with the interlocutors’ statements and stories. Coding began within the second step. At this point, I found the most pertinent and most discussed subject matters and then identified and named them (*Table I: first column*). In fact, the third step was grouping the subjects within the themes of the interview guide. Since the interview guide itself had five broad topics embedded (identity, trauma, Quebec context,

institutions and network, compare/contrast to other communities), this classification was easy to do. However, a modification was made – one of the topics from the interview guide (Compare/Contrast to other communities) was merged with the topic of the Quebec context. This decision was made since the most relevant discussions of that section compared and contrasted Armenian diasporas worldwide to that of Quebec. The fourth step was to create a "thematic map of the analysis" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87). The subjects were combined and placed under the themes of: Armenian trauma (subjects #9 and 10), Quebec context (subjects #1-5), Identity (subjects #1, 6 and 8) and Institutions and Network (subjects #7, 11-14) (*Table I*). This categorization and order became the narrative of this research study.

The last step was the creation of the complete story of the analysis (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Here, there was an "ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme and the overall story the analysis tells, [thereby] generating clear definitions and names for each theme" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 87). The final step was to write the report: choose the most relevant and informative quotes by interlocutors, discuss the data within each theme and within the overall story and connect to literature and the research question. The most pertinent topic of this study is "Institutions and Network." It is in this section in which all the themes, and hence the story, come together.

Table I: Subjects emerged from interviews and its associated theme

Most discussed subjects	**Theme**
1) In presence of war and violence pre-migration to Canada → Canadian safety and freedom	Quebec context + Identity
2) Quebec's unique form of integration (compare/contrast to other communities; counter: ghettoization)	Quebec context
3) Parallel between French-Canadian and Armenian struggles	Quebec context
4) Welcoming character of Quebec (counter: extreme nationalism)	Quebec context
5) Quebec support: financial, political, moral	Quebec context
6) Identity formation	Identity
7) In-group and out-group relations (group cohesion)	Institutions and Network
8) Armenian language debate	Identity
9) Genocide: fuel for cultural retention debate (characteristics of Armenians)	Armenian trauma
10) Memories of the genocide: transmission and understanding	Armenian trauma
11) Family	Institutions and Network
12) School	Institutions and Network
13) Church	Institutions and Network
14) Institutions of Armenians in Quebec: general comments and future	Institutions and Network

V. Results and discussion

The following chapter will state and explicate the key findings of each theme generated from the interviews (Trauma, Quebec context, Identity and Institutions and Network). These results will also connect to theories and literature discussed within the literature review.

The themes Armenian trauma and Quebec context build a discussion around the independent variables of this study: the Armenian Genocide of 1915 and the Quebec Quiet Revolution. On their own, they do not answer the research question: how does the traumatic event of the Armenian genocide, within the context of Quebec emerging nationalism and Quiet Revolution, shape self-identity and the social organization of the Armenian-Quebecois community? Instead, they answer to their impact on respondents, which then informs the subsequent sections.

The third theme (Identity) reveals respondents' sense of self, which determines their association to and sense of belonging towards certain groups. This variable is strongly impacted by the previous two themes. The last theme (Institutions and Network) takes into consideration the above variables and is the core of this study. This part is an integrative section which incorporates the overarching theme of institutional completeness (including focused descriptions of the nature of each institution studied – family, church and school – as well as informal institutions, precisely friendships) along with the independent variables of the Armenian Genocide and Quebec context as well as the notions of cultural preservation and societal integration.

As discussed in the *Methods* section, participants were recruited based on their Armenian ethnic background, current residence in Quebec as well as their position in one of three Armenian institutions in Quebec – school, family or church. In addition, individuals who have been raised

and socialized within these institutions were recruited to understand their perspectives as well. Below is a table outlining the demographic information of the respondents (*Table II*).

Table II: Demographic information of respondents

Institutions represented/ Demographics	**"Church"**	**"Family"**	**"School"**	**"'Socialized by the institutions"**
Pseudonym	Armen*	Hera	Chant	Vartan
	Gabriel*	Taline	Mesrob	Dzovig
	Viken	Garen	Vartouhi	Nvart
Age**	86	54	36	31
	54	33	52	23
	48	57	64	27
Gender (M/F)	M	F	M	M
	M	F	M	F
	M	M	F	F
Place of birth	Turkey	Lebanon	Lebanon	Syria
	Lebanon	Lebanon	Lebanon	Canada
	Armenia	Turkey	Lebanon	Canada
Years in Quebec**	(1957) 60 years	(1990) 27 years	(1990) 27 years	(1991) 26 years
	(2003) 14 years	(1990) 27 years	(1990) 27 years	23 years
	(1997) 20 years	(1980) 37 years	(1990) 27 years	27 years

**How to read this table:*
Armen is one of the participants of this study. He represents the Armenian church in Quebec, as he is or was involved in this institution. He is 86 years old and male. He was born in Turkey and moved to Quebec in 1957. He has lived in Quebec for 60 years.
Gabriel is also representing the church. He is 54 years old and male. He was born in Lebanon and moved to Quebec in 2003. He has lived in Quebec for 14 years.
***Calculated in 2017*

1. The Armenian Trauma

The Armenian diaspora is a product, predominantly, of the Armenian Genocide. Its foundation is due to the dispersion of the Armenian people escaping the horrors of this trauma who, in addition, hoped to build a community in their new country of settlement. As a result, one cannot discuss the Armenian community of Quebec, without reflecting on the traumatic event of the genocide and its intergenerational transmission of narratives.

1.1 Intergenerational Transmission: Memories of the Genocide and Consequent Sentiments

The transmission of the memories of the genocide enters the consciousness of the survivors' succeeding generations (Azarian-Ceccato, 2010). This awareness creates powerful feelings, as proven by the participants, knowing that their ancestors faced such an atrocity and were on the brink of extermination.

The knowledge of the genocide is passed on to the respondents at a young age, transforming into a deeper awareness and consciousness later in life. The "narrative of the trauma is told and retold as part of a child's socialization" (Azarian-Ceccato, 2010, p. 108). The stages include first, the transmission of stories by families and schools (including Armenian literature) and second, the comprehension of these stories and their impact. Each respondent had knowledge about the Armenian Genocide at a young age (as young as age three), but they began understanding its gravity later in life. Nevertheless, respondents as young as six years old were capable of grasping the impact of the genocide on the Armenian people. In fact, the account of the genocide, as indicated by Mesrob, "is in the books, it's in the literature, it's in the air you breathe, it's in your house, it's everywhere!" These stories are uncovered in Armenians' childhood and entered into their psyche, creating certain feelings and affecting their instincts (Pezeshkian, 2011). The

exposure to stories of the genocide from such a young age has built generations of Armenians not only aware of their ancestors' past, but who have an exclusive doctrine of understanding.

The most expressed feeling that has emerged amongst the participants is their sense of empowerment, considering that a century has passed from the genocide. This sentiment will be characterized in this thesis as being "past the victimhood," as Hera stated. It is a revival of the group, putting the focus on the survival of the Armenian people, which generates strength and optimism. Mesrob stated that the survivors resisted: "they defied destiny, defied life, defied the enemy." The transmitted stories of the genocide have created this awareness and have built Armenians to become "stronger and [more] confident, especially in controlling [one's] life and claiming [one's] rights" (Empower). The additional element of the lack of acknowledgement by the perpetrators adds to Armenian empowerment.

Consequently, the Armenian people are driven and believe highly in justice. This is a natural effect of trauma: "the imprints of traumatic peak experiences are […] visible on the collective memories of […] Armenians and hence could bring about justice-seeking political behaviour" (Rezvani, 2014, p. 252). This statement is confirmed by the respondents' thirst for justice as all the respondents feel it is their duty to fight for and create genocide awareness and recognition. This is indicated as being possible through various means including, but not limited to, participation at demonstrations or transmission of the story of the genocide to non-Armenians. Interview participant, Hera said: "we are children of the children of those who lived, who survived. The weak perished, in every way. The weak physically, the weak emotionally. […] We have that extra resilience to survive, to work harder." Armenians' past is connected to their present, and their continuous effort to remember and demand justice for the genocide demonstrates that consciousness and empowerment (Azarian-Ceccato, 2010).

To sum, the telling of the account of the genocide begins at a young age and impacts the Armenian people throughout generations. The comprehension of the magnitude of this trauma, leads to the development of the particular feeling of empowerment amongst the participants. This sentiment comes from their ancestors' will and perseverance to survive and has created the responsibility to transmit genocide knowledge. Their ancestors' experience of survival as well as the lack of recognition by the genocide perpetrators cause the respondents to have a justice-seeking characteristic.

1.2 The Effect of the Narratives of the Genocide on Cultural Retention and Identity

The establishment of Armenian communities worldwide necessitated the development of institutions to preserve the Armenian culture over many generations. The question is: is this drive for cultural retention impacted by the occurrence of the genocide and the transmission of its narrative?

I will begin by describing the notions of 'culture' and 'cultural preservation.' As previously noted, culture is defined, in this thesis, as the ensemble of the arts, historical events, religion and language passed on throughout generations amongst the Armenian people. This definition was put together based on the participants' answers, when asked, "what does it mean to you to be Armenian?" 'Cultural preservation,' or in other words "cultural heritage" is the diffusion of the above elements. It is defined as the transmission of "culture, values and traditions" throughout generations and "implies a shared bond, […] [a] belonging to a community, [and] […] represents […] history and […] identity; […] [a] bond to the past, to […] [a] present, and [to] the future" (Khan Academy, 2017, n.p.). Therefore, cultural preservation will be referred to as the tendency to identify as Armenian within the Quebec diaspora and to identify to and retain some or all the

elements listed by the respondents (e.g. language, literature, spirituality), symbolizing the Armenian culture.

The narratives of the Armenian genocide play a large role in Armenian identity and cultural retention. All twelve respondents believed that it was a large factor, however, four respondents also said that it should not play as big of a role as it has. The reason for the fundamental significance of the narratives of the genocide is because the Armenian people live with the losses of their people, as indicated by Gabriel. The occurrence of the genocide and the telling of its stories are the cause of several aspects of Armenians' lives today: living in a diaspora, working toward linguistic and cultural preservation, fighting for genocide recognition. In terms of linguistic and cultural preservation, the Young Turk government aimed to erase the Armenian population and heritage however, the Armenian people must not complete this plan of extermination, stated Mesrob. In other words, Armenians must continue to survive by retaining their culture. Taline stated: "the [occurrence of the] genocide [experienced by my ancestors] has put this responsibility of making sure that I do my part in preserving my culture and identity. I don't know if I would've been to this extreme, and this determined, if it wasn't for the genocide." Other respondents echoed this view.

The account of the genocide has added this extra layer on Armenians' identity, causing a deeper connection for the respondents toward their ancestral background. Vartouhi explained that the Turkish government wanted to cut Armenian roots, but in attempting to doing so, they inadvertently reinforced them. This perspective is associated to the previously mentioned notion of the empowerment of the Armenians. All respondents felt empowered to retain what their ancestors have created and to continue their legacy. Pakbaz (2015) confirms my finding through the story of William Daniel, a survivor of genocide (Pakbaz, 2015). Daniel desired to preserve his

culture through the creation of music after this horrific event. One of his "motivation[s] […] was to preserve the Mesopotamian culture and language […] in the West, where the current generations abandon the language and cultural traditions" (Pakbaz, 2015, p. 117). We see the effect of the genocide on the desire to promote culture in the diaspora. The experience of genocide is a drive toward the transmission of its stories and consequently, of its cultural heritage and a basis for Armenian identity.

Four respondents also stress that Armenians should focus less on the genocide and more on other Armenian features for their identity and drive toward cultural retention. Here are three quotes:

"I don't want to be identified with [the genocide], but it's there. We are much more than [that]. We have a culture, we have almost 5,000 years of history, we're part of an old civilization, a creative one."

"We don't need to base our identity [on the genocide]. We have years of history, we have our own alphabet, we have our own church, so we have so many strong identity qualities."

"It's been the most tragic part of our recent history, but it hasn't defined who I am because I've grown up in a household where culture is valued more than anything else. It was more about Armenian music, Armenian books, Armenian poems. […] Sometimes I worry that [the genocide] becomes such a central focus that everything else becomes disregarded. So, while we're trying to avenge or get justice, we're not producing, developing."

The concentration by Armenians worldwide on the commemoration of the Turkish genocidal plan and actions has created a reaction toward its one-dimensional presentation of Armenians as individuals and as an image of collectivity. The above-mentioned participants sway their focus from the deplorable genocide to the richness of the Armenian culture, including its long history and literature. By being represented by a deplorable part of their history, instead of the many years of creativity and strength, Armenians are characterizing themselves predominantly as grandchildren of genocide survivors. The narrative of the genocide has become the departure point to a full discussion of Armenians' individual and collective biographies, especially in the diaspora.

The beauty of the Armenian culture has therefore been unintentionally undervalued and to some degree, forgotten. The genocide and its stories have become such a strong presence in Armenians' lives that it has taken over the richness of the Armenian culture. According to the four respondents, Armenians must remember and bring back all that it has to offer, such as its unique alphabet, its beautiful *khatchkars* (cross-stone) and distinct music. These elements, amongst others, should be highlighted and should create the base for Armenian identity and cultural retention.

Although the Armenian people have much to be proud of and base their identity on, the genocide has become a critical component in recent history. The transmission of its story has been so impactful that it has entered the consciousness of its people, and is continually being transmitted across generations, thus becoming a point of departure on the discussion of the Armenian story. The story of the genocide has consequently become a drive for cultural retention and a foundation for Armenian identity.

2. Quebec Context

Post-Quiet Revolution, the change of the notion of Quebecois identity from ethnic to civic, the policy of interculturalism and the government's new role and strategy with ethnic groups have impacted the Armenian community in Quebec. In this section, I will discuss Quebec's role in the preservation of the Armenian culture and Armenians' integration into Quebec society.

2.1 Quebec's Unique Form of Integration

Quebec's unique form of integration makes the Armenian diaspora in Quebec distinct, as disclosed by the respondents. Integration within Quebec allows ethnic groups to adapt to Quebec without renouncing their heritage. I discover that, as Chant put into words, there is a "secret recipe," which will be unravelled in this section. I will discuss the Armenian people's space in Quebec as well as contrast to the American, Ontarian and Lebanese-Armenian diasporas.

Armenians can preserve their culture in Quebec due to the latter's own search for identity. This paradox demonstrates the Armenians' collective behaviour on cultural preservation as well as the Quebecois aim for interculturalism, which is implemented to ensure the survival of the francophone culture. With their continuous emphasis on this culture, one can see that they are incessantly working to establish and advise ethnic groups of its "leading role" and continuously aiming to secure its position in its own province (Gilbert, 1981, p.11). Evidently, there is a fear of the loss of their culture, causing them to put into place such a strategy. However, this culture itself is not anchored, in other words, it is not dominant, thus averting ethnic groups in Quebec from attaching to it, indicated Gabriel. To add to this idea, Hera stated: "The French here are in a perpetual search because they're not French-French, they're Quebecois French and in North America so it's not identified as strong, […] so it doesn't engulf you in a way." Due to this

uncertainty, it gives space to ethnic groups, such as Armenians, to attach to their own culture. They are not inclined to assimilate in Quebec society however, they must integrate.

This insecurity allows the Armenians to establish their own position and accomplish their collective goals in Quebec. There is "this crack in the wall […] [in Quebec] and in between, [Armenians] can find ways to survive." By agreeing to adhere to Quebec interculturalism, Armenians' aim for cultural preservation, in return, is respected. This reciprocal respect is due to Quebec's historical conditions but is also a politically calculated strategy for Armenians. In fact, the notion that Armenians in Quebec are more attached to their ethnic background than to Quebec is confirmed by the respondents. Only one respondent strongly identified as Quebecois in the sample, versus all twelve who strongly identified as Armenian. This may be a result of Quebec's search for identity allowing for the attachment to Armenian cultural heritage amongst its group members.

Additionally, it is important to note that Armenians in Quebec have a different experience with cultural retention and integration than Armenians in the United States, Ontario and Lebanon. The variations between these communities show how the history and current politics of each region affect the local Armenian ethnic group and community.

First, the United States has an assimilationist policy, in contrast to Quebec's interculturalism. This policy is a melting pot in which individuals 'melt' in society, which signifies that they lose a lot of who they are. They do so to fuse to the society in which they live, clarified Gabriel, which may cause the potential loss of culture. It is not only the policy itself that does this, but also, "in the U.S., the cultural context [itself] is so overwhelmingly powerful that assimilation happens quickly. The soft power affects the whole world so imagine the people who live there, they assimilate into the current very very quickly," declared Hera. Soft power is defined by Joseph

S. Nye, Jr. (2009), as an implicit power. Rather than using force, soft power uses attraction that entices people. The influence of the United States is spread worldwide; "the waves are much stronger there," Mesrob explained. Consequently, there is more assimilation and absorption into the American society than there is in Quebec, leading to less Armenian cultural retention in the United States.

In contrast, Quebec does not have an assimilationist policy. In terms of its position within Canada, they must value multiculturalism, i.e. the acceptance and recognition of ethnic groups, but in order to ensure the survival of the francophone culture, they adjusted the policy of multiculturalism to a model of interculturalism. The historical circumstances of Quebec have led it to interculturalism and hence, prevented an assimilationist policy to come into play in this province. Additionally, Quebec society and culture is not powerful enough to lead to assimilation such as the United States.

Second, Ontario is affected by Americanization, as opposed to Quebec. In Ontario, there is consensus among respondents that its people are 'Americanized' due to "the over dominance of the Anglo-Saxon culture." The English language is also rampant in this province, said Mesrob. Dzovig and Nvart explained their experiences with Armenian youth from Ontario, stating that they understand the Armenian language, but typically speak English. For instance, at a youth camping, Dzovig explained that she would speak in Armenian to the Ontarian-Armenian camp-goers, but they would respond in English. Additionally, at a scout's summer camp in Armenia, Nvart explained that Armenians from Kuwait, Lebanon and Syria were poking fun at Armenians of North America due to their broken Armenian[4].

[4] There is a difference between Armenians of various parts of North America – further research can be conducted to discover these contrasts in detail.

Quebec is not affected by Americanization to this degree due to their distinct culture in the larger continent of North America. As Quebec's history is dissimilar from the rest of Canada, their current situation and politics are also different. Their present state is affected by their history, chiefly the colonization and settlement by the French. This part of history has had a large effect on Quebec, creating a dominant francophone culture in the province. As a result, this culture has become central, averting the effect of Americanization in Quebec.

Third, in Lebanon, Armenians keep to their own communities, as stated by the participants. In other words, it is isolationist, as opposed to Quebec. Hera, while born and raised in Lebanon, disclosed that there is not one unique culture in Lebanon: there are "Christian Arabs, Muslim Arabs, Maronite, Orthodox…" Therefore, there is no force making ethnic groups comply to a majority, she affirmed. Armenians in Lebanon are an officially recognized and active community in the country and have high institutional completeness. Respondents revealed that some Armenians do not necessarily speak proper Arabic because they live and function fully within an Armenian milieu, where the Armenian language is predominant. Ritter (2007) confirms these findings as she portrays the Lebanese Armenian community as one which is strongly attached to its Armenian culture. This portrayal is seen through her discussion of Bourj Hammoud and Anjar, both areas in Lebanon dominated by Armenians, as well as her discussion on the prominence of the Armenian language in the Armenian diaspora of Lebanon. Quebec, on the other hand, gives the opportunity to Armenians to preserve their culture while integrating in Quebec; it, in fact, discourages the isolation of ethnic communities.

Once more, the history of Quebec has created its current circumstances, which contrasts with Lebanon. In this case, Quebec history has created a province discouraging and rejecting isolationism. This contrast with Lebanon is the central area of dissimilarity between both

Armenian communities. Integration within Quebec is crucial for the Quebec nation. Its system obliges its inhabitants to incorporate themselves within their host country and province as it is crucial to Quebec for its inhabitants to be part of this common culture and to build a community in which all members feel like they belong to the society; all inhabitants should be regarded as Quebecois. As described by the respondents, this is not the case in Lebanon as Armenians in Lebanon are not made to feel Lebanese. This is confirmed by the number of respondents who are born in Lebanon and who identify as Lebanese (one out of six).

To further analyze the differences of these four regions (United States, Ontario, Lebanon and Quebec), let us examine the *jermag chart* ("white genocide"). These regions are affected by the *jermag chart* to different degrees. This term is used by the Armenian people, symbolising the blending of Armenians into the predominant culture in the West, thus leaving behind the Armenian heritage (Amit, 1989). It denotes precisely the West therefore, the United States, Ontario and Quebec face this threat. Cultural preservation is key for the prevention of the "white genocide" or, assimilation. Due to the American assimilationist policy and the Americanization of Ontario, the Armenians in the United States and Ontario are prone to undergo this "white genocide." These communities may easily fuse into the society around them, by acculturating to their norms and customs and by speaking mainly their local language. Due to Quebec's distinct position in the West, the Armenian community in this province is prone to undergo this phenomenon to a lesser degree or, at a slower pace. The Quebec context and particularly interculturalism allow Armenians in Quebec to preserve their heritage and furthermore, as discussed previously, Quebec's search for identity leaves room for ethnic cultural retention. "White genocide" is nonetheless a reality in the United States, Ontario and Quebec.

Considering that Lebanon is not part of the Western world, they do not face the threat of the *jermag chart*. The Lebanese culture is not powerful hence, its Armenian minority is not forced to adapt to and assimilate to the Lebanese society. As a result, Armenians are first, free to follow their customs and second, establish their institutions as they wish. The Armenian-Lebanese diaspora's high institutional completeness leads them, to a certain degree, of isolationism. As a result, they can perpetuate the Armenian language and heritage for generations. As the Armenians in Lebanon remain within their ethnic boundary, the *jermag chart* is not a threat to them.

Quebec is a unique place for ethnic groups. Its search for identity and its unique history and culture provide a gateway for cultural preservation. Moreover, Quebec is not greatly influenced by the United States, preventing the Americanization of ethnic groups. In addition, it does not have an assimilation policy, but it requires ethnic groups to integrate into the francophone communal culture. Lastly, it does not allow isolation; in fact, there is a necessity to integrate. These contrasts with other Armenian communities highlight the positives of being an ethnic community in the only francophone province of Canada and largely, in North America.

2.2 Welcome and Support from Quebec

All respondents who were born outside Quebec (10) underline the welcoming and openness of the province. This character comes along due to Quebec's and Armenians' historical experiences, which have laid the groundwork for their political and social contexts. These circumstances have led to this hospitality, but needless to say, had its own complexities and setbacks.

The welcoming of immigrant groups by Quebec is cherished by the Armenian people, but issues related to nationalism are also noted (to a lesser extent than the former). The liberty given to these groups is valued by the Armenian ethnic group. This openness has led to the acceptance

of ethnic groups and is a great contributor to the Armenian community, as it allows them to be who they are and to achieve what they want to achieve, explained by Garen. This opportunity is especially embraced by respondents who have come from countries in which they experienced war and/or persecution. The Quebec government helps ethnic groups in the employment and integration sectors and have established the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, thus protecting ethnic minorities (Behiels, 1991; Salee, 1994). Canada and Quebec have adopted the newcomers, as Vartouhi explained, and they, in return, are proud of their host country and society. "French-Canadian people […] [have] open hearts," indicated Armen. Overall, the respondents acknowledge and appreciate the kindness and welcoming nature of Quebec.

Another way Quebec has displayed its hospitality is by the moral and financial support the Armenian community receives from the Quebec government. Respondents discussed the presence of politicians at Armenian institutions, such as community centres, churches, and special events (e.g. Armenian Independence Day march, Genocide Remembrance march). These municipal, provincial and federal elected officials are present to maintain and strengthen ties between the government and the Armenian ethnic community of Quebec. The Quebec government's continuous encouragement further demonstrates Quebec's openness and its support for Armenian heritage preservation for the community, and all the respondents acknowledge the presence of this support. In addition, Quebec's financial contribution toward the Armenian schools is significant. These schools are subsidized by the government, which means that they are partially paid for by the students' families and partially by the government, as the majority of the participants voiced. "I think this is kind of an invitation to be Armenian" owing to the fact that the funding of Armenian schools allows for the ongoing transmission of the Armenian culture, affirmed Vartan. In fact, it is correct to say that ethnic communities are state-supported (Rosenberg and Jedwab, 1992;

Gilbert, 1981). With the aid of the government, the community is both able and encouraged to sustain their educational institutions. Quebec's moral and financial support has been beneficial to the Armenian community.

Undesirable encounters, due to Quebecois conservative nationalism, have also been experienced. Due to its position as a distinct society in Canada, nationalistic feelings have developed in Quebec (Béland & Lecours, 2011). As Hera described: the discrimination that French-Canadians have faced, has caused some of its group members to become extremist. In other words, some French-Canadians "were so militant to the extent of not only not respecting your Armenian identity but they also had a problem with Canadianness," she said. Moreover, Mesrob narrated the story of a class outing at a waterpark, which took place outside of the two great metropolises (Montreal and Quebec City). He described: "you don't find any tolerance towards non-Quebeckers there, even from your face, [the way you look]. Because my students were talking differently, they were talking Armenian, [the locals] were saying things like 'the Arabs are here, the Muslims are here.'" This "narrow-mindedness" stems from this conservative nationalism of being afraid of the extinction of one's own culture, which then creates certain racist feelings and the rejection of ethnic groups. However, both Hera and Mesrob acknowledged that firstly, there is a generational change and secondly, that it is not a majority of French-Canadians who have this racist viewpoint. Nonetheless, their experiences have affected them. For instance, Mesrob said: "the heart is with self-determination [of Quebec] but the head is with Canada." He believes in sovereignty, but not in a nation who will reject cultural diversity as he has encountered.

The historical circumstances, leading to particular social and political contexts in Quebec, have played a large role in the above experiences of the respondents. These structural factors set the stage that shape the everyday life and perceptions of Armenians in this province. Due to

Quebec's historical context, its need to preserve the francophone culture is emphasized. As previously stated, Quebec struggles to retain its distinction due to the supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon culture in North America; hence leading to the conservative nationalism which has been encountered by some respondents. Conversely, the increase in ethnic groups in Quebec has added an additional element of struggle. Quebec must find a way not to be dominated by the powerful Anglo-Saxon culture in its surroundings as well as by its ethnic minorities who have a need to preserve their own heritage, while agreeing to receive the latter's demands. Armenians' need to preserve their heritage is predominantly due to their near extermination under Turkey in the first half of the twentieth century. Accordingly, Quebec and Armenians have certain social and political conditions, in which accommodation and adjustment have been necessary.

Within the scope of interculturalism, there have been adaptations on both ends. There is a mutual understanding of the dominance of the Quebecois culture by the Armenians and the Quebecois's acceptance of Armenians and the need for retention of their heritage. This understanding is built on cooperation and the mutual interests of both Armenians and Quebecois, who have political entrepreneurs working toward the political interests of their groups. With their own history, resources and prepared agendas, the Quebecois and the Armenians aim to improve their status in the province, while ensuring the satisfaction of the other. In this case, Quebec encourages Armenians to organize as a community as long as they accept Quebec's overall interest in transforming Quebec into a francophone community. Paradoxically, divergent community interests have enabled a practical cooperation in which ethnic identity has flourished within a nationalist province. This cooperation succeeds as long as each side respects the position of the other, in addition to their own within the intercultural frame.

2.3 Parallel between Armenian and Quebecois Struggles

The Quebecois and Armenian causes are similar due to their "existential crisis of disappearance," as worded by Vartan. In other words, both groups have a fear of the loss of their heritage and seek to protect it. Their struggles pertain to land and sovereignty as well as cultural and linguistic preservation. These are the political and cultural lines of convergence between Armenians and Quebecois aspirations.

The independence of Armenia and Kharabagh are in parallel to the demands of the French-Canadians, as explained by Taline and Mesrob. Due to Armenia's independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic in 1991, Taline explained her positivity towards the sovereignty of Quebec from the rest of Canada. In 1991, when Armenia gained independence, it also gained the ability to fulfill its potential. Taline hence asks: "why not Quebec?" In addition, Mesrob discussed the Kharabagh liberation movement which aimed to unite Kharabagh with Armenia. Kharabagh is a region populated by ethnic Armenians, but whose land has constantly been disputed between Armenia and Azerbaijan. During the period of this movement, Mesrob explained, the Quebec referendum was occurring. "We, Armenians, have the right to self-determination, and Kharabagh and the Quebecois and the French-Quebecois don't have that right? […] If tiny Armenia has the right to be a country, why not Quebec." These participants understand the value of sovereignty through the experiences of Armenia and Kharabagh, leading them to empathize with the Quebec cause.

The fight for minority rights and language by the Armenian people and Quebec is also comparable. Two participants, Chant and Mesrob, explained this similarity through two Armenian holidays. First, the minority status of francophones in Canada makes their history, culture and language even more valuable to its people. They must be perpetuated and maintained in order not

to get lost in an Anglo-Saxon continent. “The more you feel threatened, the more you know it’s hard to survive, the more you attach to your culture,” Vartouhi expressed. The same phenomenon is felt by Armenians due to the genocide, facing the potential disappearance of their people and heritage. Chant explained this phenomenon, affecting the Quebecois and the Armenian people, through his explanation of *Vartanandz* (The Battle of Avarayr). *Vartanandz* was a battle for minority rights between the Christian Armenians and Zoroastrian Persians in 451 A.D. The Armenian people were “fighting to get respect that they are different, something Quebec is fighting for, for Canada to see them as a distinct society,” he exclaimed. The Armenian people and the Quebecois resemble in this way – being different than others made these two groups more prone to struggle and fight for their rights.

The second similarity between the Quebecois and the Armenians is their on-going effort to utilize their languages. One can see the importance of the French language in Quebec through its selection of newcomers, the integration process and school board laws (Behiels, 1991). One can additionally see the importance of the Armenian language through Armenians’ constant effort to pass it on throughout generations found in this research through participants’ goals and the centrality of language to their identity. The function of language in culture is crucial: how will the Armenian or the Quebecois have creations, such as poems, literature, songs, and be able to preserve their culture in that manner, if they do not have language, Vartan questioned. *Tarkmanchats Don* (The holiday of Holy Translators) is a celebration honouring the creator of the Armenian alphabet, Mesrob Mashdots, as well as the translators who translated works, including the Bible, into Armenian. Mesrob explained how he described this holiday to Quebecois teachers at the Armenian school and “they are amazed and identify with it,” and so the significance of language is evident in both groups.

Vartouhi summarized the above occurrences: When you look at minorities, what makes them exist often is the question of identity because there is the constant threat of being assimilated by the majority. Therefore, first, they have to know who they are and then have a rapport and respect with the others, not to be swallowed by the majority. Vartouhi's statement demonstrates that both the Quebecois and the Armenian people, as minorities, struggle with this probability and as a result, highlight the prominence of linguistic and cultural preservation.

In summary, the similarity in struggles of the Quebecois and Armenians allow for understanding and rapport. To further illuminate this empathy, "Quebec was the first jurisdiction [in Canada] to recognize the genocide in 1980," stated by Vartan and Mesrob. The Bloc Quebecois brought forth this issue: "the Armenian Genocide wasn't the issue of the Armenian community, it was their issue," said Mesrob. It is about defending the minority and voicing injustice for both groups.

3. Identity Formation

To gauge the integration and cultural preservation of the Armenian diaspora in Quebec, it will be necessary to examine the respondents' identity formation. The Armenian Genocide and the Quiet Revolution have arguably had the largest impact on the self-conception of this community. The way that these events are translated into the institutions of family, school and church – institutions which are largely responsible for transmitting the norms, values and culture of this community – can also impact their identity formation. To begin to comprehend the effects of these events and institutions on the identity formation of this community, it will be necessary to examine respondents' sense of self.

3.1 Self-identification of two respondents

For Armenians, as Hera illustrated, identity can be described as layers of an onion. While the outer layers represent things that contribute to their identity, such as where their ancestors came from, their country of birth, their country of residence, among others, the core represents the part of their identity they predominantly understand themselves in reference to. Although all of the layers are important to consider, the core should be understood as the essential constituent. In this section, I will explore the responses of two respondents: a mother (Hera) and one who is socialized by the three Armenian-Quebecois institutions studied (Vartan). I chose Hera because of her comprehensive articulation of her self-identity, and Vartan due to his strong identification as Quebecois.

Further elaborating on the metaphor of an onion, Hera stated that her core is the Armenian language, something she described as her "refuge." While other aspects of her identity (the outer layers) have changed over time, the Armenian language is something she has known her whole life, and is thus central to her identity in a way the outer layers are not. To explain the centrality

of the Armenian language to her conceptualization of self it will be necessary to explain why she does not consider the other layers to be as central. These outer layers include, but are not limited to: 1) her country of birth (Lebanon), and 2) her life in Canada and Quebec. Although she was born in Lebanon, she explained that she does not consider it to be a central part of her identity because culturally, she was raised Armenian, not Lebanese. Furthermore, since she only immigrated to Canada at the age of twenty-seven, she stated that, although Canada is "the most beautiful outer layer where [she] can feel safe and secure," she was never truly able to "form a strong bond" with the country. Finally, as she is not proficient in the French language, she states that she feels isolated from Quebec culture – that she is "an observer of the Quebecois" rather than a Quebecois community member herself. In other words, although her country of birth and the country and province she now calls home are layers of who she is, these are not layers that hold deep meaning for her, nor does she think of any of these layers as being more important than the other. Her core, however, her language, is central. It is the most important element of her identity as it is the constant in her life.

Out of all the interlocutors, only Vartan, who is raised in Quebec and socialized by all three of the Armenian institutions studied, firmly identified as Quebecois, which makes his viewpoint an important one to consider. When asked about his identity, he responded: "Armenian and Quebecois…and a distant third is Canadian." Similar to Hera, Vartan's Armenian identity is linked to the Armenian language. His family ensured that Armenian would be his mother tongue, and as such it is of vital importance to him. Speaking Armenian, he stated, feels natural to him: "I still dream in Armenian. I think in Armenian." The Quebecois facet of his identification is rooted in the notion that the Quebecois are fighting a similar battle to Armenians. As he came to understand the Quebecois struggle in late high school and early CEGEP, he began to identify with them. This

similarity he sees between the situation of the Armenian people and Quebecois has created understanding and support, and hence a bond, between himself and French-Canadians. His Armenian ethnic background and Quebecois civic identity are principal features of his self-identity – the core – while his Canadian civic identity forms an outer layer.

3.2 Identity of Armenians in Quebec

I will now analyze the overall social identities of the sample. Table III reveals the various identifications mentioned by the participants, and the impact these identifications have on their self-concept.

All respondents report having a strong sense of Armenian identity. Since the participants represent Armenian institutions in Quebec and/or were socialized by them, this is not a surprise, and confirms that the institutions of family, school and church have a strong impact on the community as transmitters of the Armenian identity[5]. When asked "what does it mean to you to be Armenian?," several responses were received. The most predominant response was the combination of many elements: culture (literature, songs, dances, traditions, food), history, the genocide, collective vision, language and spirituality. As explained above, two respondents focus largely on the Armenian language, explaining that their mother tongue is deeply-rooted and captures the essence of their upbringing and the importance of their family. For another respondent, Armenian identity comprises mostly on Armenian history, while another states that little things such as one's last name (Armenian last names typically end in –ian or –yan) hold value to being Armenian. Overall, the majority of the participants believe that various elements contribute to their Armenian identity. In this thesis, when referring to the term "culture," these

[5] A further investigation on the effect of each institution is found in section 4 of the results (Institutions and Network).

interviewee responses are what I am referring to. Culture is hence defined as the ensemble of the arts, historical events, religion and language passed on throughout generations amongst the Armenian people, which creates a collectivity. This characterization signifies that Armenians in Quebec have been exposed to many facets of the Armenian heritage.

Table III: Social identities of respondents

	Number of respondents (n)				
	Strong sense of identity*	**Sense of identity ****	**Appreciation of this culture/place *****	**Very little or no identification ********	**No mention†**
Armenian	12	-	-	-	-
Canadian	5	5	1	-	1
Quebecois	1	4	4	-	3
Other:					
Greater Montreal: Montreal/La-val	2	1	-	-	9
Birthplace (Lebanon, Turkey, Syria)	-	1	-	8	3 (2 born in Canada – view "Canadian"; 1 born in Armenia – view "Armenian")
French culture (France)	1 (Respon-dent raised in France)	-	2	-	9

****"Strong sense of identity" is an identity that was either mentioned first or was emphasized by the respondent.*
*****"Sense of identity" is an identity that was declared briefly.*
******"Appreciation of this culture/place" is not an identity; it refers to the expression of recognition and respect for a certain culture or place, but without identification towards it.*
*******The meaning of "very little or no identification" is clear—the culture or place has had very little or no impact on one's self-identity.*
† "*No mention" signifies that the culture or place was not discussed nor presented.*

Within eight of the interviews, a discussion emerged on the Armenian identity and knowledge of the Armenian language. Five respondents stated that knowledge of the mother

tongue is crucial, but believed that if an individual feels Armenian without knowing the language, that it is nevertheless a valid feeling. However, two respondents expressed the sentiment that the language is a crucial facet of Armenian identity; in other words, one cannot be Armenian without knowing their mother tongue. It has been well-documented that the use of one's mother tongue in the home is a strong indicator of ethnic identity, so it is not a surprise that the respondents confirmed that knowledge of the mother tongue had a strong effect on feeling Armenian (Pigott & Kalbach, 2005; Phinney, Romero, Nava & Huang, 2000). While the Armenian language was identified as being crucial for all respondents, some expressed an understanding of Armenians who do not speak the language, but nevertheless identify as Armenian.

Following the Armenian identity, respondents accentuated the Canadian identity (N=10). As most stated, the freedom that Canada has given them is a gift. Respondents have escaped war and/or persecution, and Canada accepted them. They are therefore grateful for this new chance in life, for increased opportunities for themselves and their children. They identify as Canadians because of Canada's values for openness, acceptance and freedom. Other respondents additionally discussed the value of the passport: "the Canadian passport has a good reputation and is granted great respect." While the Canadian identity represents respondents' second social identity, the identification as a Quebecois is the subsequent social identity.

With regards to identification as a Quebecois, respondents reported that they largely feel a "sense of identity" and/or an "appreciation[6]" (N=8), which are explained through their views on Quebecois hospitality, culture and struggle. Similar to the views on Canada, participants also expressed their appreciation for Quebec's openness and its acceptance of immigrants. The Citizenship and Immigration Canada website declares that "the Government of Quebec has

[6] Refer to Table III for the definitions of "sense of identity" and "appreciation."

services to help immigrants feel welcomed and become part of Quebec society. If you are a newcomer, these services will help make your immigration experience more successful" (Government of Canada, 2017). The respondents confirmed this statement – and, as Vartouhi noted, receiving newcomers amicably in this way is not something that is seen in every country.

Furthermore, respondents also connected to Quebec culture via its French language, as well as its battle for linguistic preservation and sovereignty. The French language is praised by the respondents and they are proud to be able to speak it without losing their own heritage. They can be identified as French-speaking Canadians, as they speak and appreciate the French language and identify as Canadian more than Quebecois. Although participants speak French, they do not completely identify to the francophone culture. In fact, most of those who identify as Quebecois within my sample are those who were raised in the French educational sector in Lebanon. They learned the language and the culture earlier in life hence allowing them to associate to Quebec after migrating. In addition, the comparable struggles between the Quebecois and the Armenian people sincerely causes the interlocutors to admire and respect the Quebecois cause as well as understand their patriotism. As Taline put it, "I like the Quebec culture. Just how they are – they have that joie de vivre. They love their language, like we do, they want their independence, I appreciate that." While the findings indicate the interlocutors do not have a strong sense of Quebecois identity, the responses demonstrate that they nevertheless feel proud of and appreciate Quebec.

3.3 Brown's Theory depicted in the Armenian Community in Quebec

According to Roger Brown (1986), social identity is the concept of oneself in relation to a group as revised in the literature review. When responding to the question, "how do you identify yourself?", interviewees discussed their ethnicity and citizenship in relation to the various cultures

and countries they have been exposed to and which they associate with. Therefore, the notion of social identity is an important conceptual framework that can be used to help understand the responses. In addition, Brown's notions of exit, pass and voice, as explicated in the literature review, are crucial in the understanding of the formation of respondents' social identities.

The participants have had to negotiate their social identities and hence, have subconsciously reproduced Brown's notion of exit of their respective groups. In this thesis, the formation and shaping of respondents' sense of identity is required predominantly due to their exposure to many nations. The majority of the respondents were born and raised in another country (Turkey, Lebanon or Syria) and subsequently immigrated to Quebec, Canada, whilst having Armenian origins. They are required to pick and choose which groups they want to associate with, consequently creating their social identity.

Due to the possibility of movement, vagueness of boundaries, legitimacy and security of system, movement is regulated, nonetheless, possible for the respondents (Brown, 1986). The participants and Armenians at large, are indistinguishable from the rest of Quebec society. In other words, they do not have a certain 'look', a physical appearance, and therefore, can exit their group or pass as a member of another group. Regardless of this capability, all respondents identify as Armenian. They decided to remain in this group rather than take the paths revealed by Brown (exit or pass). Their decision to identify as Armenian, however, causes them to use the path of 'voice', as explained by Brown, to improve their status in Quebec. On the other hand, although most respondents were born in Lebanon, only one identified as Lebanese. The respondents were able to exit this group as there was a possibility for movement. Moreover, the system itself within Quebec is legitimate and secure, but also open to change. For that reason, respondents are free to choose their social identity, to move out of or remain in groups.

Vartouhi has engaged in this process of negotiating her social identity. She stated: "I am Armenian, living in Quebec within Canada, but I am *lavalloise*." Although she was born and lived in Lebanon for thirty-seven years, she exited the Lebanese group. She never received her Lebanese citizenship, which impacted her, leaving her to feel sidelined and consequently, causing her to dismiss that identity. This exit was possible based on Brown's four variables explained above: possibility of movement, vagueness of boundaries, legitimacy and security of system. However, she decided to retain her other identities as they produced a positive self-image. First, her home is an Armenian home, where the Armenian language and traditions are dominant. Second, her study of the *francophonie* in Lebanon has led her to value Quebec and their "approach and openness." Third, her Canadian citizenship made her feel, "for the first time," as if she "belonged on this plant." Fourth, living in and seeing the development of the city of Laval for twenty-seven years has prompted her to identify with this city as well. Essentially, Vartouhi has analyzed the benefits of each group as well as her sense of belonging to form her social identity. By deciding to exit, pass or use voice, she has built her social identity, which to her, has created a positive self-image.

Furthermore, the self-identity of the respondents directs us to understand the path and actions of Armenians in Quebec as a community. Minority groups may either acknowledge the values of the majority and conform to them, or put forth their ideas to create change in society (Brown, 1986). The Armenians in Quebec, and more specifically, in Greater Montreal, are a minority group who follow both paths. In other words, they partially become part of the majority group, as seen by respondents' answers on integration. They learn and use the French language, as well as participate in the democratic life of Quebec. While they respect and cooperate with Quebec's demands, their sense of identity towards it is low. Therefore, they have also been part of the change in Quebec society when, in the 1960's, ethnic groups were given more rights to be who

they are. All respondents strongly identify with the Armenian identity, with the subsequent sense of identity being towards Canada. They have created a unique social identity: Armenians who have retained their cultural heritage, who have integrated in Canada as well as Quebec, but to a lesser extent.

To analyze Brown's theory further in combination with Weber's concept of status group, Armenians are a neutral status group. Brown essentially argues that groups that have a negative social identity, i.e. are viewed in a bad light, will work towards creating a positive social identity to improve their self-image. In terms of the Armenians in Quebec, they neither have a negative nor a positive social identity, as explained in the literature review and confirmed by the respondents. Therefore, they do not necessarily need to attain a positive social identity. They are a neutral status group, i.e. have a neutral "social estimation of honour," a neutral self-image and they do not "make much noise" as indicated by Vartan (Weber, 1946, p. 187). This status, in fact, may be a strategy for social mobilization, allowing Armenians in Quebec to preserve their culture within a nationalist nation. They must maintain this neutral identity by simultaneously participating and contributing to Quebec society, while working towards cultural distinction. The Armenian case redresses Brown's and Weber's theories by creating a range that goes beyond "positive" and "negative." By combining Brown's theory of social identity and Weber's concept of status group, we see that Armenians in Quebec do not need to struggle to gain such a positive social identity. Hence, their distinct, neutral status gives them the desired result of both societal integration and cultural preservation.

4. Institutions and Network

Within this study, I investigate the institutions of family, school and church as actors within the Armenian community organizations in Quebec and as means towards cultural preservation and social integration of this population. In this section, I will examine each institution and their impact on the community itself as well as on its members.

4.1 The Role and Importance of Family for Armenians in Quebec

Children's first relationship is with their parents, thus making parents invaluable players in their children's lives. This initial learning begins with the family, as is known through the concept of primary socialization (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Family transmits norms, rules and heritage starting from the day one is born. I, therefore, chose family as an institution to study in this research as it plays a crucial function of cultural and norm transmission.

The interviews aimed to get at respondents' attitudes towards the role of the family in Armenian community and identity in Quebec. This inquiry calls into question the importance of the Armenian family, as well as its part in the foundation of the Armenian-Quebecois generation. I am interested in examining the impacts of the genocide account and the Quebec context on parents and their experiences with their children, being of Armenian descent in the francophone province of Quebec.

According to all the interviewees, the institution of family, along with the home environment, has a substantial role in the larger Armenian-Quebecois community. Hera stated that the family is "paramount; [it] takes precedence over everything." If the family does not transmit "the language, culture, history [and] identity," as Chant specified, the other institutions will not be able to entirely do so. Families who rely solely on an institution such as the school to pass on the heritage, and who simply enroll their children in an Armenian school because they are in their

comfort zone, will also not see the results of cultural transmission, stated Hera. The family itself must emphasize the culture at home.

Pigott and Kalbach (2005) found that language spoken at home is a stronger predictor of ethnic identity than language spoken outside the house. In other words, and within the framework of Armenians in Quebec, individuals who speak Armenian at home are more likely to identify as Armenian than those who speak another tongue. Therefore, family and the home environment are crucial for mother tongue maintenance and hence, identity. All participants speak Armenian in the home, currently and/or growing up, and they all strongly identify as Armenian. Pigott and Kalbach's study is validated through this research.

As stated earlier, learning begins with the family. Parents' values, expectations, norms, culture all pass on to children as those are what they are primarily exposed to (Berger and Luckmann, 1966). Taline stated: "family is important because that's what they're learning [and] seeing and that's what they're dealing with on a daily basis." One of the respondents socialized by the institutions (Dzovig) reiterated what was said above: "Family plants the seed… the Armenian seed. […] You can go to the school but when you come home and it's just not an Armenian environment, 8 hours at school isn't going to do anything." She stated that in her home, her family speaks Armenian, follows Armenian news, watches Armenian shows… She further discussed her grandparents' cultural activities in the home which are similar to her parents. According to Kraaykamp (as cited in van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015, p. 125), "when it comes to parents' cultural activities at home, such as media use, direct cultural socialization through imitation is […] obvious." When Armenian parents read or listen to Armenian news in the home, for example, Kraaykamp found that there are "strong imitation effects" (as cited in van Hek and Kraaykamp, 2015, p. 126). That is, that children have a likelihood of following their parents' activities and

continuing this cultural preservation. This evidence is portrayed within Dzovig's family dynamics. The focus on primary socialization, linked to the emphasis on the home environment, is key regarding cultural retention as is found through the respondents and the literature.

On the contrary, Gabriel, Dzovig and Garen brought up their anxieties towards the dissolution of the Armenian family in Quebec. Although this number is low, their concerns are real and hence relevant to present in this thesis. As found in past research, Kaprielian-Churchill (2004, p. 250-251), says: "Armenian marriage patterns in North America for the twentieth century reveals, not surprisingly, that: intermarriage rates have risen over the past hundred years; the increase is evident […] in Montreal." The three respondents are apprehensive that Armenian families will not endure due to intermarriage. As stated in literature and by interviewees, the term "white genocide" is used by the Armenian people (Amit, 1989). This is a term for assimilation which can happen due to intermarriage. It potentially leads to the disregard of heritage transmission, which is a real fear amongst the community.

In particular, Garen's argument is the closed-mindedness that was circulated amongst the Armenians, producing the mentality that the Armenian people must marry within their group. Despite this frame of mind, which led to the formation of Armenian families, this occurrence is changing, as proven by Mesrob and Vartouhi (former and current teachers). They have both observed the increase of interethnic students within the Armenian schools, signifying that there is a rise in intermarriage. Today, a quarter of the students (of one of the three Armenian schools) come from mixed marriages. In addition, Statistics Canada found that people in mixed unions (marital or common-law) "are younger compared to those in non-mixed unions" (Statistics Canada, 2006). Armenians in Quebec cannot expect the continuation of in-group marriage with

the new generation, affirmed Garen. This finding reflects the Armenian reality in Quebec and may affect cultural transmission and retention.

Family is a vital institution for cultural retention and the home environment is highly influential. Yet, the reduction in the number of Armenian families is a real concern and may thus decrease Armenian cultural preservation in Quebec in the future.

4.1.2 Informal and Formal Institutions: The Debate on Ghettoization based on Breton's Theory of Institutional Completeness

The combination of the participants' responses regarding family and marriage as well as Raymond Breton's theory of institutional completeness bring forth a debate on ghettoization. The presence of formal and informal institutions may cause ethnic communities to be ghettoized. "Ghettoized" is defined in this thesis as a group remaining within their "ethnic boundary," that is to say that they stay within their own group (Breton, 1964, p. 199).

Informal networks (e.g. family) and formal institutions (e.g. church) affect one another, according to Breton (1964). On the one hand, informal networks are required for the establishment of formal organizations. On the other hand, "the presence of formal organizations in the ethnic community sets out forces that have the effect of keeping the social relations of the immigrants within its boundaries" (Breton, 1964, p. 196). In other words, families, for instance, are important for the establishment of formal institutions which subsequently allows for the continuation of these informal networks. Therefore, according to this theory, due to the presence of both informal and formal networks within the Armenian community in Quebec, the community may segregate and ghettoize itself, i.e. remain within their "ethnic boundary" (Breton, 1964, p. 199). Is this the reality of this community?

Three of the six respondents who brought up the topic of ghettoization believe that Armenians are disconnected from the rest of Quebec. In fact, they say that Armenians are ghettoized in three ways: geographically, culturally and socially.

First, in Ontario, the Armenian people are "in Windsor, in London, in Saint Catharine's, in Hamilton, all over Ontario," declared Garen. You do not see this in Quebec, i.e. "Armenian families living […] in Joliette or Saint Jerome or Valleyfield or Sherbrooke," he voiced; Armenians live in the bloc of Montreal, Laval, Brossard. However, Mesrob said that this is not ghettoization, this is concentration. He said that "the city doesn't allow you to be in a ghetto when you walk out of the house. […] You cannot speak to a passerby or your butcher in Armenian." "Concentration of a particular population group is considered present if the share of this category is clearly higher in one or several districts in the city than it is in the city as a whole" (Musterd and DeVos, 2007, p. 338). Considering the province of Quebec as a whole, the Armenian people are in fact geographically concentrated in certain areas. This may be due to the popularity of the Greater Montreal Area for immigration as well as the preference for the English language which is rampant in this area. Ethnic enclave is another concept, similar to the term 'ghetto.' It is "an area where a particular ethnic group numerically dominates, and has spawned corresponding religious, cultural, commercial and linguistic services and institutions" (Qadeer & Kumar, 2006). This notion does not portray the Armenian community in Quebec. Therefore, we can conclude that Armenians in Quebec are geographically concentrated, but do not form a large enough percentage of any area to be considered an ethnic enclave nor a ghetto.

Second, Armenian ghettoization in Quebec may be in the form of a detachment from the francophone culture. Culturally, Armenians generally are not active in the broader Quebecois community, Vartan stated. In fact, from the twelve participants, only he firmly identified as

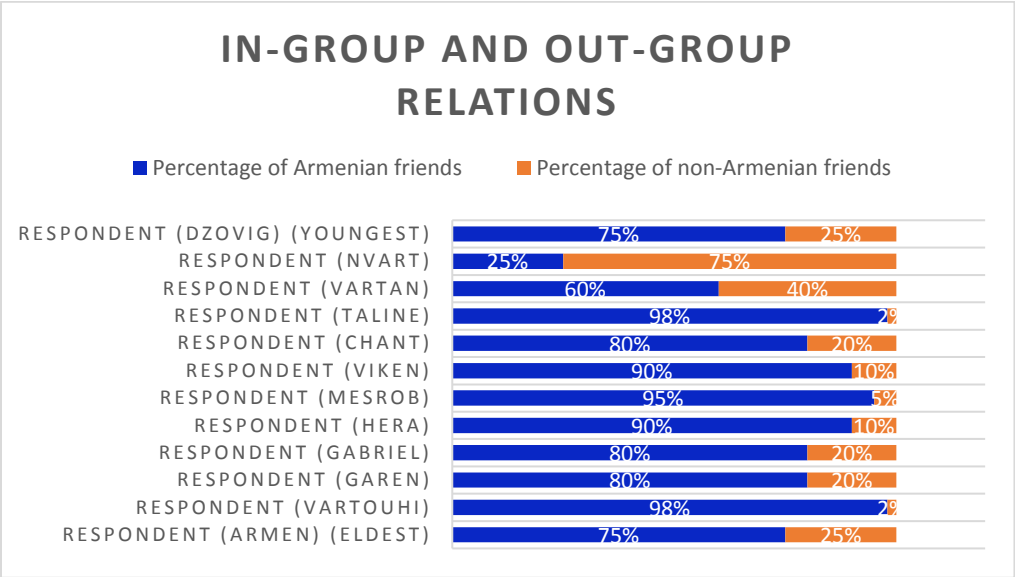
Quebecois and two other participants refer to their love for French and Quebecois literatures. However, other participants do not discuss their cultural involvement or admiration of Quebec. It is important to note that interviewees were not explicitly asked about their cultural involvement in Quebec. Armenian ethnic group cohesion can therefore lead to the creation of these cultural boundaries.

Third, it is stated that Armenians are socially ghettoized, which is proven through the large percentage of in-group relations amongst the participants (*Graph I*). This portion shows that Armenians create bonds and relationships with other Armenians more than with people of other backgrounds. According to these numbers, social isolation to a certain extent reflects the reality of the respondents. However, this may not reflect the future of this community. The average percentage of Armenian friends is lower amongst the respondents who were raised in Quebec. By examining the Armenian community of France, Vartan stated that they are socially and culturally involved in their country, but have generally lost the Armenian language. "Maybe that's the trade-off," he questioned. Armenians in Quebec are socially isolated in terms of group relations, but they have retained the language, as well as participate in Quebec life to a certain degree and speak French and English. Communities cannot have both cultural retention and assimilation (i.e. not concentrated in a certain area nor culturally or socially isolated). Therefore, based on this sample, it is clear that respondents are fairly socially isolated, and so the community cannot be deemed socially ghettoized.

In conclusion, according to Breton's theory, the sustainability of formal institutions allows for the continuation of informal networks, such as families. The reciprocity between the "informal networks" and "formal institutions" led to a debate on ghettoization (Breton, 1964). I conclude that Armenians in Quebec are not ghettoized, but are geographically concentrated and moderately

socially and culturally isolated. Their group cohesion contributes to the solidification of ties amongst group members, but also leads to the creation of social and cultural boundaries.

Graph I: Percentage of in-group and out-group relations of respondents



4.2 The Role of the Armenian School in Quebec

School attendance is a large portion of students' lives and this grand exposure to teachers, peers, school structure and curriculum makes this institution central in their lives. The educational system additionally diffuses both social and academic learning. The former socializes individuals "to internalize norms [in order] to function in society," such as expected behaviour (Morales-Hudon, 2013, n. p.). The latter is based on learning about various fields and subjects. In this study, I uncover the position of the Armenian school in a Quebec intercultural society. I investigate the school's role and ability to transmit the Armenian culture and identity as well as to aid with integration in Quebecois society.

According to the findings, there is a greater emphasis on Armenian cultural preservation than Quebec integration in Armenian schools. Ten respondents discussed the preservation of the Armenian culture via the institution of schools. There is the belief that "the school is a guarantee

for [Armenians'] future" because of its role in cultural transmission, stated Chant, a principal. By communicating and conveying all that is brought forth from the Armenian heritage, schools are building the new generation of Armenians who have a strong sense of their identity.

According to the respondents socialized by an Armenian school in Quebec, it played a large role in learning Armenian history, preserving their Armenian language and identity. Dzovig and Nvart discussed the importance of the school in terms of writing, reading and speaking the Armenian language. Although their families enforced these in the home as well, the school played a large role within these realms. It effectively diffused that knowledge, as well as the knowledge of their ancestors' history, to these two alumni of the Armenian school. Vartan acknowledged the "fantastic role" of the Armenian school as an institution to attend as an immigrant. "I had really good teachers who taught me French, but it was very comforting that we're in an Armenian context." In this sense, the school was crucial for him as a newly arrived individual who needed a familiar environment to reduce the culture shock, but also, to integrate. Additionally, a former teacher, Vartouhi, explained the traditions that are perpetuated within the schools, which unite the people of this ethnic group. By keeping the language and traditions alive, Armenians are preventing themselves from being assimilated, she said. By conversing with the respondents, I find that the Armenian schools in Quebec fulfill their obligations of cultural preservation.

Integration within Quebec is another aim of this institution. Chant and Mesrob (both representatives of the school) defined the Armenian schools as such: "Armenian school that gives education in [the] French [language]" and "French schools with little Armenian program." The former described the school as Armenian with its vital trait of the French language. The latter depicted it as a French school, which includes a portion of an Armenian curriculum. In both portrayals, the French language is emphasized.

The learning of the French language is the "number one way to integrate [the students] into Quebec society. With that comes everything that touches the Quebec culture, the courses we give, the excursions we make with them to show them museums, the history of Quebec and Montreal," stated Chant. The schools fulfill their function by building students' knowledge of French and of the history of Quebec and Montreal. They expose them to these essential elements as they characterize this diasporic community; the Quebec context and its associated knowledge is imperative. Armenian schools in Quebec have also helped newly arrived immigrants and refugees, recently from Syria (of Armenian descent), by opening "*classes d'accueil*," as indicated by participants. These classes are made specially for these students in order to reduce their culture shock, be in an environment they are acquainted with while learning about Quebec and the French language. As stated above, Vartan exclaimed the importance of the Armenian school for himself when he came to Quebec as an immigrant at the age of five. The French is predominant within this institution as proven by the curriculum. This can be demonstrated by the fact that in the primary school, five hours and in high school, four hours a week are dedicated to Armenian subjects, as indicated by a school representative. Thus, one can evidently see that there is a small Armenian element within the school program as well as a strong emphasis on making space for courses taught in French. The students of the Armenian schools of Quebec graduate with a valid diploma of Quebec education, as stated by Mesrob, where they learned about their present home as well as their ancestry.

The Armenian components within the school increase as we look at aspects other than the curriculum; that is, the Armenian environment. This milieu includes Armenian teachers, peers, celebration of holidays, etc. and this influence must not be disregarded. Six respondents discuss the importance of this network. Two teachers (Mesrob and Vartouhi) explained their positions on

bringing out the Armenian identity and activism of their students. “I try to sow [their] seeds and it’s up to [them] to combine this blend and base [their] identity. […] My job is to facilitate the early stage of that.” He described the school as a home (along with three other participants) and his position as a father figure within the institution. He aims to build and inspire the students’ ‘Armenianness’, to guide them to be themselves and to know where they came from. Furthermore, Vartouhi emphasizes the importance of being implicated in the larger Montreal and Quebecois communities as Armenians in her classrooms. She aims to create a generation who is active and involved in their home country, but who also know where they come from. By doing so, she hopes to motivate her students to connect to others in the larger society. Teachers at the Armenian schools play a crucial role in their students’ processes of identity formation.

Four other respondents explain the social aspect of the school: being able to be Armenian outside of the home and family helps you stay Armenian, Dzovig claimed. That is why your social circle, i.e. coming from the school, is important. “Social interaction with same-ethnic peers is likely to reinforce ethnic identity,” as found by Phinney et. al (2000, p. 139). Once the family loses its role as agent of socialization, the peers take over, Hera stated. This change puts the power of influence in the hands of peers who now have an effect in their peers’ cultural retention. The bonds between friends are strong and have a “big influence on social life [and] identity formation,” as stated by Hera. In fact, Phinney et. al (2000) found that peers strengthen identity formation. The enrollment in Armenian schools is potent as it brings with it an Armenian environment. Secondary socialization, and hence, social surroundings is influential on students’ cultural retention.

Integration in Quebec society via the Armenian schools can only be fulfilled to a certain extent because the combined Armenian curriculum and environment are powerful. Four respondents explain difficulties that Armenian youth face once they leave their Armenian school.

Although the Armenian schools of Quebec aid in learning French and in social integration by learning the history, culture and norms of Quebec society, this is not enough. Two teachers explain this occurrence.

> When [the students] change schools, […] that's when they receive a slap in the face and the students come to me saying that we didn't know that there is a whole world out there. It's very reassuring being in an Armenian school in the beginning, to feel at home, but it is also misleading because we are not in the motherland.

It is clear that the Armenian school is not similar to any other French or English school in Quebec. Nvart's experience validates this difference:

> It was like someone who comes to a new country and doesn't know anything about that country and feels like an outcast. That's how I felt when I changed schools. The first few weeks was a horror story. It was crazy. It was really bad, and I remember calling my old principal and begging him to come back to the Armenian school. It was my home, you know.

The Armenian environment even within a Quebec context is different than anything outside Armenian institutions. Therefore, if one is solely within the Armenian institutions, it becomes harder to adapt to anything other than what they know. However, Nvart had the lowest number of Armenian friends, compared to the rest of the respondents. This number proves that although she struggled, she was eventually able to navigate and adapt to the outside world. Taline described this shock as well, but to a lesser extent. After this culture shock, she adapted. She learned about Quebec society and recognized their acceptance of ethnic groups. This learning and growth transpired in high school (Collège Beaubois), CEGEP (Cégep Gérald-Godin) and University (Université du Québec à Montréal). She then learned to love the Quebec culture and identity. Essentially, Armenian schools in Quebec give the tools for integration, but do not finish the job.

Participation within the Armenian community does not lead to isolation from Quebec society nor does it evidently lead to assimilation within Quebec. In other words, individuals who are involved in the community do not enclose within themselves, nor do they become acculturated

to Canada or Quebec. Rather, they balance these two situations, i.e. they become partially integrated to Quebec while being attached to their Armenian heritage. As Rosenberg and Jedwab (1992) explained, for some Canadian sociologists, ethnic community involvement is viewed as preventative to involvement within the Canadian society or, as an alternative. This is an inaccurate statement in the case of Armenians due to the moderate degree of Armenian institutional completeness. This extent obliges Armenians to participate outside their ethnic community. In fact, all three parents interviewed enrolled their children in French or bilingual daycares, despite the presence of Armenian daycares. Additionally, respondents who are part of the group that was socialized by the institutions, all took part in extracurricular activities outside their Armenian circle. The presence of ethnic communities does not prevent Armenians from participating in the Quebec milieu.

In addition, Armenian schools are not alternatives to "host" institutions, as worded by Rosenberg and Jedwab (1992), because of their powerful element of the Armenian environment. It is not possible to compare the Armenian schools to other schools in this province. As noted previously, the Armenian surroundings make an immense impact, which disallows us to view it as comparable to other Quebecois milieus. Rosenberg and Jedwab (1992) state that ethnic communities can be "a mode of participation in Canadian social, economic and political life" (p. 267). According to my analysis, Armenian schools are, to some extent, a mode of participation within Canadian and Quebecois societies. Due to the learning of the French and English languages, as well as Canadian and Quebecois histories, Armenian students are knowledgeable and become moderately integrated via their school curriculum. Furthermore, they learn about the norms and expected behaviours of Quebec. However, due to the Armenian milieu and curriculum, these

schools do not fully integrate their students to society at large. Consequently, Armenian schools in Quebec are partially "a mode of participation" within Canadian and Quebecois life.

To conclude, Armenian schools in Quebec fulfill their aim of cultural transmission more than integration in Quebec. While the former occurs through the curriculum and the setting, including peer socialization, the latter is fulfilled through the curriculum. However, it is the reality that the school is not a complete depiction of Quebec society. As such, leaving the Armenian school comes with a sense of struggle and culture shock. Due to the extent of Armenian institutional completeness however, Armenian students must still enter the outside world, i.e. Quebec society, which allows them to further integrate following their departure from school.

4.2.1 In-group and Out-group Relations

In this section, I analyze in-group and out-group relations of the Armenian community, the cohesiveness of this group as well as the impact of the institutions on these relations. The former will demonstrate the presence of an ethnic boundary when it comes to friendships, while the latter will describe group cohesion, within the entirety of the Armenian community, due to the genocide, and the lack of cohesion on the basis of politics.

Students at Armenian schools feel a sense of group membership and as a result, build in-group relations. They have a "sense of awareness of membership […] [related to] value connotations […] [as well as] an emotional investment" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 2). This affective element and commonalities that stem from being a group member intrinsically create in-group relations, i.e. relationships between individuals who identify to that circle. The in-group relations of the respondents are significantly higher than their out-group relations due to social surrounding and identical culture. In other words, the sample has more Armenian friends than non-Armenian friends due to the presence of Armenian institutions (*Graph I*). According to Saharso (as cited in

Trimble & Dickson, 2010, n. p), ethnic identification is a "self-perception […] includ[ing] social processes, involv[ing] one's choice of friends." Therefore, studying personal relations is meaningful due to its association to ethnic group membership and identification.

Armenian institutions create space for this ethnic group to become acquainted with other Armenians. The majority (10 out of 12) of the respondents are born outside Quebec, specifically, Lebanon, Turkey, Syria and Armenia. These countries (excluding Armenia) have a high degree of Armenian institutional completeness – neighbourhoods, schools, various associations, etc. Their friendships come from their communities and through family as childhood friends. Hera stated that these relationships are "circumstantial." As the respondents were brought up within a primarily Armenian environment, this automatically created that high number of in-group relations. One exception is a respondent born in Quebec, Nvart. She was raised in an Armenian family, attended Armenian school (until 8th grade), was baptized at the Armenian Church and was part of an Armenian scouting group. However, her out-group relations are far more than in-group. Her point of view is the emphasis on the significance of mixing with people of different backgrounds to "gain different perspectives"; she appreciates this variety. She made friends of different backgrounds once she attended a French high school, anglophone CEGEP and began working. The respondent with the second lowest percentage of in-group relations also explained the importance of the friendships built outside the Armenian community. The increase in non-Armenian friends developed once he submerged in Quebec society mostly, university and professional life. By being in a multicultural environment in the Greater Montreal Area, relationships with people of different backgrounds are formed. As most respondents were raised outside Quebec in countries with high Armenian institutional completeness, this caused a higher number of in-group relations.

Another reason for the closeness and attachment to Armenian friends by the respondents is commonality: common language, traditions and history. These elements create the distinction between an in-group and out-group relationship. The respondent with 25% Armenian friends also made this statement: “even if I only have a few Armenian friends, they mean that much more to me; they’re important to me.” Although her percentage of Armenian friends is low, she values them because of the identical culture, which as she stated, brings her comfort. These elements are commonalities that allow for strong bonding, in contrast to friendships with non-Armenians. Garen and Vartouhi took it one step further. “With the Armenians, there’s always a discussion, a subject to talk about, to complain, to dissect, to criticize, to have fun, to laugh, it’s deeper. It’s deeper because language, culture and interests are very close,” stated Garen. Due to these similarities, for these two participants, Armenians simply and quickly understand each other. In other words, they do not need to explain why they react a certain way, exclaimed Vartouhi. Many respondents, however, also clearly stated that “a friendship does not have an ethnicity.” They do not see differences between their Armenian and non-Armenian personal relations, based solely on ethnic background. In essence, the Armenian factor within a relationship adds an element of comfort.

In summation, as Breton found, formal institutions of ethnic groups affect the social cohesion of its members by keeping them within an ethnic boundary (Breton, 1964). This conclusion goes for the Armenian community in Quebec however, due to their level of institutional completeness, Armenians must step outside their ethnic institution at some point, causing them to

gain friends of different backgrounds. Armenian institutions, nevertheless, create a space with a powerful element of Armenian culture and people, leading to a high number of in-group relations[7].

Age and age of migration to Quebec were also considered when examining personal relations. This variable was important to recognize due to a potential generational shift. If one looks at age, one can see that the percentage of Armenian friends is quite steady, until we reach the younger ages. In fact, the average in-group relations of the sample is 78.83%. There are four respondents who fall below this average – the three youngest participants and the eldest. The eldest participant (Armen) has lived in Quebec the longest from all the participants (60 years). He has been very involved and has held various positions within a francophone university setting. In addition, he has contributed to the establishment of the Armenian community of Quebec. Therefore, I theorize that these associations have had an impact on his social surroundings, which have consequently affected his personal relations. The other respondents (Vartan, Dzovig and Nvart) fall below the average because they are raised in Quebec and hence exposed to a multicultural society and institutions in Greater Montreal from a young age. I contemplate that exposure to Quebec society hence, the number of years living in Quebec in proportion to the rest of their lives have a large effect on one's in-group and out-group relationships.

Group cohesion of Armenians will now be explored through the Armenian Genocide and Armenian political affiliations. The meaning of cohesion is, essentially, the presence of a unity and cooperation amongst members of a group. According to Breton (1967, p. 199), "the arousal of public interest in the life of the group probably results in greater cohesiveness of the group."

[7] It is important to note that the interviewees are members of the Armenian community of Quebec. This choice of respondents is inevitably those who acquaint themselves to this ethnic group and the community. Results would vary if respondents were chosen from outside the community.

Additionally, as Renan (1882, p. 7) would state, “griefs […] require common effort” or in other words, pain unites a group. One of the public interests of the Armenian people, as well as one of their abominable heartaches, is the genocide and their work towards its recognition. Consequently, the Armenian Genocide has a unifying effect on this ethnic group, A member of the Armenian Genocide Centennial Committee of Canada who organized the March for Unity for Genocide Prevention in 2015 conveyed that “community groups banded together for the march to educate the public about genocides so that they may prevent one from happening in the future” (as cited by Dehaas, 2015). This march was mentioned by Hera and Vartouhi, who expressed their appreciation of the unity of the Armenians fighting for their cause.

On the other hand, when discussing group cohesion, another element emerged by participants, who revealed a lack of group cohesion, due to politics. According to Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983), the invented traditions of a nation create cohesion, such as national anthems and flags. However, for the Armenian community, within the discussions with the participants, rather than conversing about patriotism based on these elements, politics was discussed. “Political factions, competition, division” – these words emerged numerous times in the interviews. As Mesrob explained, there are three political groups – Armenakans, Social Democratic Hunchakian Party and Armenian Revolutionary Federation. These were revolutionary parties which emerged in the late 1800’s who fought against Ottoman oppression and for the Armenian nation. Some of the communities and individuals in Montreal and Laval are associated to these parties and therefore, there are divisions within the Armenian community.

In terms of the perspectives of the respondents on these political factions, there is also a divide. Half the respondents had only negative comments about these separations, whereas the other half made both negative and positive remarks. The positive comments followed the notion

that the variety of organizations creates an institutional completeness. “If there is homogeneity, uniformity, eventually, there is no interest left,” said Hera. With the diversity of institutions, Armenians can pick and choose where to get involved. They can consider aspects such as location, political affiliation and types of activities offered. Moreover, a large number of institutions as well as a large number in the variety of institutions paves way for Armenians to work on greater projects for the community[8]. Nevertheless, all the respondents expressed their worries. Hera and Vartan told the fictional story of an Armenian man stranded on an island. This man builds his life on this island, and ten years later, he is rescued and shows the people his creations. He says: “this is my home, this is the community school, this is my church.” Someone asks: “what’s that?” He responds: “That’s the other church. We don’t go to that one.” This story portrays the division amongst Armenians globally. With this diversity, Armenians may view themselves as an Armenian who is a member of this or that group, as stated by a few participants. However, the majority also exclaimed their optimism towards the future generations since they believe that the youth (from different political factions) have less trouble working together. They hope that the presence of many and various institutions will be used towards the positive element of diversity rather than division.

In sum, Armenian institutional completeness creates an environment susceptible to the creation of in-group relations. Both the space it creates, as well as the heritage it transmits, allow for Armenians to build friendships with others of their ethnic background. The more Armenians are exposed to Quebec society however, the lower their percentage of in-group relations will be. Therefore, those raised in Quebec will have fewer Armenian friends than those raised in countries such as Lebanon. In addition, due to the genocide, there is a form of group cohesion, but due to

[8] It would however be misleading to say Quebec (the province as a whole) because the institutions are concentrated in the south of the province – Greater Montreal.

political affiliations, Armenians are divided. According to the participants, Armenians remain amongst themselves in terms of personal relations, but are also divided based on political association.

4.3 The Peripheral Importance of the Church

The church has been an agent of socialization for centuries. Its influence has diminished, but it nonetheless remains significant in modern society (Cornwall, 1988). Particularly for the Armenian people, it has been part of their group identity since 301 A.D. Hence, it is an important institution for this ethnic group and is used in this study as one of the three institutions of cultural retention and integration for Armenians in Quebec. I aim to uncover the mission of the Armenian Church in the Quebec diasporic community as well as its influence on Armenians in a secularized province. In every aspect, this ethnic group has had to perform a delicate dance, that is to find a balance. I will analyze this delicate dance related to religion and the church.

The various Armenian churches – Apostolic, Catholic and Evangelical – have their identified mission and goals. It is important to understand and consider the views of these denominations as explained by priests and a church goer (Viken, Vartouhi and Gabriel). The Apostolic and Catholic Churches have multiple functions and responsibilities. Their role is different than it is in Armenia as the diaspora has problems associated to language, culture and religion. Therefore, their mission is to spread the word of God from the gospels as well as to create an educational approach towards the conservation of the Armenian language, traditions and history. Essentially, their aim is both cultural and religious. In contrast, the goal of the Armenian Evangelical Church is not cultural; it is purely religious. Its objective is to preach Jesus Christ, and so it merely promotes the message of the gospel. They also consider themselves a contemporary church, which constantly undergoes changes. This characteristic is unlike the Apostolic and

Catholic Churches, which are historical churches that hold on to their traditions. The Armenian churches (excluding Evangelical) therefore have a broader aim than simply religious.

According to the other nine respondents (excluding the representatives of the church), there was a wide variety of responses related to the role of this institution. Eight out of the nine respondents, however, attributed a partial importance to the church. This partial importance in and of itself was different for the participants. In fact, Garen explained that every institution in the community plays a role. If one institution inspires its member(s), it has done its job. The church is one of these institutions, he stated. The next seven respondents portray this illustration.

These respondents believed that there are certain aspects of the church that are meaningful, but they do not depict the church, in its entirety, as a crucial institution or agent of socialization for the community. Dzovig and Taline emphasized the church's significance for the elderly as they are religious and attend the church for various religious and social reasons. Nvart focused on the social aspect of the church. With school, with family and with scouting, she attended for holidays and events, however, this was a social participation for her rather than a religious involvement. Chant discussed the importance of the church's spiritual guidance. He proclaimed that the church helps the community to be psychologically and spiritually well, which in turn, helps them be healthy members of any community. Along these lines, Vartouhi explained the importance of Christianity for her, but not related directly to the Armenian Church in Quebec. She brought up her reluctance towards this institution due to politics and self-interest. Vartan echoed this perspective however, the cultural element of the Armenian church, nonetheless holds a deep meaning to him. He explained the symbolic aspects of the Armenian music, *krapar* (Old Armenian) and other traditions, which he appreciates and treasures. Mesrob explained the role of the church as the establisher of Armenian schools. In this sense, according to him, one of the

reasons the church is important is due to its further building of institutional completeness. As we can see, each respondent believes in only one aspect of the church that is significant to them and to the community. Additionally, these aspects relate to being Armenian and Christian, and therefore we do not see a role of social integration within Quebec by the institution of the church. Due to the lack of importance for the institution of religion and the Armenian Church as a whole, this agent of socialization has the smallest effect on respondents when comparing to the institutions of family and school.

The Armenian Church in Quebec has different implications for each of its members. This is seen through the transition of the centrality of religious institutions in the 1960's to their minor role in 2018. Breton (1964) found that religious institutions had the largest effect in terms of in-group relations. "Churches are very frequently the center of a number of activities; associations are formed and collective activities are organized under their influence and support" (Breton, 1964, p. 200-201). Breton explains that churches have been the center of gravity for communities. Today, the Armenian community does not solely center around their churches. Due to their institutional completeness, this community has more options for centres and activities. In fact, the three respondents who represent the group socialized by the institutions, participate in activities that are part of their community centre, such as the scouting movement and the Armenian Youth Federation. One can see the diminished involvement of members of the ethnic group within the religious institution. Although elements of the church are still important for the participants, other institutions have become more central.

In addition, due to Quebec's aim for secularization, a delicate dance had to be performed by the Armenian community in 2008 when the Armenian faith and Quebec secularism led to a challenge. Two priests explained the issue which arose when the Government of Quebec enforced

a program change in private schools. The Ministry of Education changed its religion program to "ethics and religious culture." With this new program, schools must "teach religions from a secular, cultural and morally neutral perspective" (The Canadian Press, 2015, n. p.). For the Armenians, this caused its schools to lose their specificity. By switching the Armenian religion course to ethics and religious values, Armenian schools can no longer promote the Armenian faith. They must now teach Christianity as one of many truths, rather than *the* reality for the Armenian people. In addition, this change disallows priests to visit schools. As the Armenian Church and school are associated, this became problematic. Due to the contrast between the Armenian people and Quebec society, Armenians in Greater Montreal have had to deal with this dilemma and remove the Armenian religion course from its curriculum.

4.3.1 Success and Future of the Institutions

The Armenian institutions in Quebec are vital for the maintenance of this community as is found in this study. Its future is essential to uphold the Armenian identity, but where does their future lie?

The majority of the respondents are optimistic towards the success and future of their community. Institutions have been successful in transmitting the heritage to its group members and retaining that culture for generations. This achievement is seen via the respondents' sense of identity, the characteristic of this community as being Armenian-speaking as well as hard-working by keeping the institutions active. "The Armenian community prepares events, they have different centres and committees. They make the effort to get the message out and say we're here and we're proud to be Armenian," expressed Nvart. The amount of centres, associations, activities and networks of this community, along with the hard work of its members, is note-worthy. It is part of the "Armenian magic," as Mesrob explained, described due to the fact that all these institutions

are run predominantly by volunteers. It is also admirable, as Hera and Mesrob explained their interactions with people of other backgrounds who are "in awe of [Armenians'] capabilities […]: creating schools, funding schools, generating the necessary funds for all these organizations to run."

Nevertheless, Vartan, who is doubtful about the future of the community, said that the less the culture is emphasized, the more Armenians will conform to the society in which they live. "I don't think we're in a country where these institutions can last more than a few generations and it's not because it's a hostile environment, it's mainly because it's not a hostile environment that people don't realize it's disappeared." Quebec and Canada allow and support cultural activities, schools, etc. to aid in heritage transmission and retention. However, it is up to them to constantly and persistently work towards this goal. It takes "effort," as mentioned by many participants. In contrast to the benevolent society of Quebec, Armenians from the time of the genocide, which was a hostile occurrence, have this additional desire to retain their identity and culture. As Vartan explained, the hostility of the genocide caused a fuel within Armenians to work towards their goals. However, the benevolence of Quebec society may reduce that fuel and energy. Therefore, Armenians must retain their group membership and identification to continuously have a group who is motivated to be involved within their community. The totality of the institutions must therefore remain to keep the Armenian identity, and vice versa. These elements propel this group to volunteer time and other resources within the community.

The future of the Apostolic Church is the most unknown from all the institutions. "Armenian institutions have to make sure they have the flexibility to change and change before the trend is over," said Chant. Due to the nature of the Armenian Apostolic Church, change is difficult and as a result, there is the belief that the church has profound work to do to keep the

community interested. The Evangelical Church constantly changes as their focus is not on tradition, but on the message of the Bible. For example, their music and rituals adapt to the present times and to the interest of today's world and youth. While five-hundred people attend mass at this Church, the attendance of mass at one of the Apostolic Churches is on average eighty. This is a significant difference.

Additionally, the community has a couple of Apostolic Churches. Taline explained that Armenians should use their resources to create an institutional completeness that is needed. "I think we have way too many churches. […] Let's invest the money into things that matter: elderly homes, hospital, little medical centre," she said. The three respondents socialized by the institutions do not attend church regularly – what will happen to their children and grandchildren then, asked Gabriel. The Association for Canadian Studies in Montreal conducted a nationwide survey about religiosity. Quebec was the province found as the least religious, with 33% stating that religion is important to them (Boswell, 2012). According to the General Social Survey of 2011, Quebec has the lowest percentage (11.1%) of those who attend religious services weekly (Wilkins-Laflamme, 2014). These percentages characterize the religiosity of Quebec society and may reflect the future of the Armenian community. Although its importance may diminish, due to its significance throughout Armenian history, the Armenian Church will always be there.

As the Armenian community in Quebec is a young diaspora, their aim towards cultural transmission and preservation is fulfilled. The hope towards its future is present as dedication and effort are seen within its members. Worries and concerns are also perceived, but to a lesser extent than optimism. These uncertainties are largely towards the institution of the Armenian Apostolic Church in Quebec.

VI. Conclusion

The 1915 Armenian Genocide and the 1960 Quebec Quiet Revolution (as well as the overall Quebec context) have shaped the Armenian community of Quebec to be what it is today. The unique historical circumstances of both Armenians and Quebecois have led to the necessity of developing a delicate dance in order to balance the effects of both social processes – genocide and revolution. This balance is required to harmonize living as an Armenian minority group with goals of cultural preservation, in the majority culture of Quebec within its nationalist context. This dance has created a compatibility between the groups and has developed this distinct diasporic community.

The purpose of this study was to demonstrate the unique historical creation of the Armenian community in Quebec, combining the specificities of time, space and conditions. The Armenian Genocide produced, within the Armenians, goals of cultural transmission and retention, as well as attainment of justice for the unrecognized genocide of 1915. Additionally, the Quebec Quiet Revolution has socially, politically and culturally altered Quebec, generating a Quebec nation that accepts and supports ethnic minorities whilst embracing Quebecois nationalism. The conflictual desires of both groups are relieved through the enforcement and implementation of the intercultural model in Quebec.

The emergence of the distinct Armenian diaspora in Quebec is grounded in interculturalism. “Quebec is a French-speaking society, Quebec is a democratic society in which everyone is expected to contribute to public life [and it] is a pluralistic society that respects the diversity of various cultures from within a democratic framework” (Canada, 2009, p. 13). This statement is the foundation of interculturalism. The interests of both groups can be realized if there is the understanding of the above elements. As there is the fear of the loss of Quebecois culture,

interculturalism enforces the supremacy of this culture over others. Armenians have understood and embraced this idea, and in return, there is support for the Armenian community by Quebec society. Quebec support has resulted in Armenian institutional completeness, giving rise to Armenians with a strong sense of Armenian identity, integration into Canada and partial integration into Quebec.

Armenian institutional completeness, specifically the family, school and church, was studied in this thesis. Institutional completeness has played a key role in the delicate dance of Armenians as it has aided its members integrate in Quebec to a certain extent, while simultaneously retaining their ancestral heritage. The institutions transmit knowledge of the French language, the history of Quebec and Montreal and convey the norms of Quebec society. They additionally transmit the knowledge of the Armenian language and history as well as its values and culture. However, the downside is that the Armenian environment prevents its members from fully integrating in Quebec. The Armenian milieu builds a setting in which 'Armenianness' is dominant and highly influential on its members. As a result, this study found a larger emphasis on Armenian cultural preservation than Quebecois integration via these institutions. The shortcoming of institutional completeness is its lack of exposure to the outside society. Nonetheless, the extent of Armenian institutional completeness and government action enforce the importance of Quebec society and culture. Armenians *must* engage in institutions outside their community as they have moderate institutional completeness; in other words, they must seek services outside their own centres, leading to more integration once they step outside their ethnic boundary.

The emphases on integration and cultural retention is further illuminated through the respondents' sense of identity. The community has a profound sense of belonging toward their ancestry, as we see through the data: all twelve respondents have a strong sense of Armenian

identity. The participants primarily feel Armenian, as is found in this study, due to the Armenian Genocide which has strongly impacted them. It has created a need to remember their ancestors, their past and to protect their legacies. Integration within Canada and the feeling of belonging was also found: ten respondents expressed a sense of Canadian identity. On the other hand, integration and belonging to Quebec was moderate with less than half self-identifying as Quebecois. As the Quebec culture is not a powerful force, ethnic groups are not attaching to it (as opposed to the American-Armenian community and the Ontarian-Armenian community who are strongly impacted by Americanization) and in addition, it is creating place for ethnic groups to retain their heritage. A note-worthy finding is the parallel in struggles experienced by the Armenian and Quebecois people, causing Armenians to empathize with the Quebec cause and therefore, appreciate the Quebecois culture and perseverance. The respondents depict the Armenians in Quebec as a status group who are strongly attached to their Armenian roots, who associate to their Canadian nationality and relate to the Quebecois nation.

Within the exploration of the particular institutions studied in this thesis, the order of influence on Armenians' socialization is first, the family, second, the school and lastly, the church. The family and home environment have the largest impact on Armenian children's cultural transmission as they are part of the process of primary socialization. The second is the school, in particular, its environment. The Armenian milieu in the Armenian schools strongly impact the students as it increases the number of in-group relations, which then impact their sense of belonging and identity. The school also continues the process of integration within Quebec society by, most importantly, learning the French language. Last is the church. Respondents each described only one element of the Church that is of importance to them. The institution of church as a whole is not as impactful on socialization as the family and the school. However, all three

institutions make up Armenian institutional completeness which is the heart of the Armenian community.

A striking element of this thesis is the insightful information that emerged when interviewees were asked about the differences and similarities of the Armenian community in Quebec with other Armenian communities worldwide. Respondents' answers were very alike which facilitated the understanding of Armenian communities in the diaspora, but also, more importantly, that of Quebec. By comprehending these other communities, distinctions developed, allowing further enlightenment concerning the Armenian community. Assimilation in the United States, influence of Americanization in Ontario, separation of Armenians in Lebanon and interculturalism in Quebec all demonstrate the different experiences of Armenians in the diaspora as consequences of their political and social contexts.

This study contributes to literature on Quebec, Armenians, diasporic studies and mechanisms of identity, citizenship, interculturalism and institutions. Results are found in these various fields and are incorporated to understand the particular phenomenon of Armenians in Quebec. Further research can concentrate on fewer elements to understand certain phenomena more deeply and comprehensively. Three topics came about to study further. First, a debate on ghettoization emerged in some interviews which led this thesis to explore the thoughts of these respondents on this topic. However, this debate could be a research question in and of itself. Another topic which emerged and can be studied further is the Armenian language. How important is the Armenian language in the diaspora? Should Armenian identity be based on the knowledge of the language? This study can explore other groups who have undergone genocide and examine their importance of language. The third and last topic is the experience of the genocide on the

group's desire and will to preserve their culture. What is the causal relationship of these two variables? These research questions can shine more light on the fields mentioned above.

In conclusion, this thesis, "Armenian-Quebecois Institutional Completeness and Identity: Trauma and Quebec Context", presented the historical social processes of the Armenian Genocide of 1915 and the Quebec Quiet Revolution of 1960 and their large impact on the Armenian community in Quebec. It explored the lengths that the Armenian-Quebecois community went to in order to preserve their ethnic identity while developing into productive members of their host society, and the role of Quebec in this retention and integration. This is a complex balancing act and the delicate dance of the Armenian diaspora in Quebec.

VIII. References

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APPENDIX: Information and Consent Form

INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

Study Title: The effect of the trauma of the Armenian genocide and the Quebec context on identity and institutional completeness of the Armenian-Quebecois community
Researcher: Nayiri Tokmanciyan, Master's student in Sociology
Researcher's Contact Information:
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nayiri.tokmanciyan@gmail.com
Faculty Supervisor: Dr. Meir Amor, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Faculty Supervisor's Contact Information:
Henry F. Hall Building,1455 De Maisonneuve W., S-H 1125-33
(514) 848-2424 ext. 2158
meir.amor@concordia.ca
Source of funding for the study: None

You are being invited to participate in the research study mentioned above. This form provides information about what participating would mean. Please read it carefully before deciding if you want to participate or not. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

A. PURPOSE

The purpose of the research is to determine the effect of the Armenian genocide and the context of Quebec on Armenian-Quebecois identity, desire for cultural retention and consequent establishment and sustainability of their institutions in the diaspora.

B. PROCEDURES

If you participate, you will be asked to respond to questions as part of an interview. This interview will be semi-structured, allowing us to guide the process but also give flexibility to you as the interviewee to discuss openly. This procedure will take approximately 60-90 minutes. It will be

voice recorded and this is mandatory in order to aid us in transcription and analysis. The interviews will be conducted in person at a mutually agreed upon location.

Additionally, after the interview, we may contact you for clarifications. This is to ensure the data is analyzed correctly. In total, participating in this study will take approximately 2 hours over a period of 6 months. Would you be available for further contact post-interview session?

[ ] Yes
[ ] No

C. RISKS AND BENEFITS

You might face certain risks by participating in this research. These risks include: discussing the genocide, which may evoke an emotional reaction.

This research is not intended to benefit you personally.

D. CONFIDENTIALITY

We will gather the following information as part of this research: demographic information, contact information, thoughts and experiences on the effect of the Quebec context and Armenian genocide on Armenian-Quebecois identity and institutions.

We will not allow anyone to access the information, except people directly involved in conducting the research, and except as described in this form. We will only use the information for the purposes of the research described in this form.

The information gathered will be identifiable by the researchers. That means it will have your name directly on it.

We will protect the information by saving all audio recordings on a USB device, and storing this device and all documents including field notes in the researcher's secured folder. All notes will be transcribed and saved on the researcher's personal password-protected laptop. The data will be protected for five years, after which, it will be destroyed.

We intend to publish the results of the research. However, it will not be possible to identify you in the published results; we will not use your name. We will only use the institution you represent and your position related to the institution to describe you (e.g. Principal at Armenian School).

We will destroy the information five years after the end of the study.

E. CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION

You do not have to participate in this research. It is purely your decision. If you do participate, you can stop at any time. By agreeing to participate in the interview, you understand that any information provided until the interview is terminated will automatically be used in the study.

There are no negative consequences for not participating or stopping in the middle.

F. PARTICIPANT'S DECLARATION

I have read and understood this form. I have had the chance to ask questions and any questions have been answered. I agree to participate in this research under the conditions described.

NAME (please print)

_____

SIGNATURE

_____

DATE _____

If you have questions about the scientific or scholarly aspects of this research, please contact the researcher. Their contact information is on page 1. You may also contact their faculty supervisor.

If you have concerns about ethical issues in this research, please contact the Manager, Research Ethics, Concordia University, 514.848.2424 ex. 7481 or oor.ethics@concordia.ca.