

Cinema and the Production of Spatial Memories: Fifty Years of Representing 1960s Montreal in Quebecois Films

Fatemeh Honarmand

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Geography, Planning & Environment

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Science (Geography, Urban and Environmental Studies) at

Concordia University

Montréal, Québec, Canada

June 2018

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CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

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Signed by the final examining committee:

Dr. Nalini Mohabir Chair

Dr. Norma Rantisi Examiner

Dr. Christian Poirier External Examiner

Dr. Sébastien Caquard Thesis Supervisor(s)

Approved by _____
Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

Dean,

Date _____

ABSTRACT

CINEMA AND THE PRODUCTION OF SPATIAL MEMORIES: FIFTY YEARS OF REPRESENTING 1960S MONTRÉAL IN QUÉBÉCOIS FILMS

Since the end of the 20th century, cinema has been widely recognized as a meaningful source of information for studying geographic phenomena including urban development. This thesis aims to further explore the potential of cinema to produce our spatial memories. The research question that structures this project is: how does the cinematographic representation of a certain place during a certain period evolve over time? This question is addressed through the study of the cinematographic representation of 1960s Montreal over time. Seven films released between 1964 and 2014 (*Le chat dans le sac* (1964), *Entre la mer et l'eau douce* (1967), *Yesterday* (1981), *Emporte-Moi* (1999), *Monica la mitraille* (2004), *C.R.A.Z.Y.* (2005), *Corbo* (2014)) were selected for study since they can all be identified as unfolding in Montreal of the 1960s. Each of these films have then been evaluated according to four main criteria: politics, religion, urban mobility and urban development.

This analysis first shows only a marginal interest in Québec cinema of the last 50 years for revisiting the Quiet Revolution despite the importance of this period in modern Québec history. Nevertheless, all seven of the films identified but one (i.e. *C.R.A.Z.Y.*) directly address the political tensions that were at stake during this period. Religion was the second-most common theme identified in these movies. Even though it was not as prevalent as politics, religious issues recurred throughout all the movies studied.

The other two topics under study appeared more marginally in the selected movies, although some trends began to emerge from the study. For instance, the action of the movies released after 2000 took place in the suburbs of Montréal, while the earlier movies barely ventured beyond the downtown core, illustrating the growing importance given to the development of the suburban in recent decades.

This centrifugal movement was not accompanied with a change of transportation since cars remained the main way of transportation throughout the seven studied movies.

Overall this project did not identify radical changes in the way the cinematographic representation of Montréal of the 1960s has evolved over the last fifty years, but it contributed to the development of a methodology dedicated to further examining how cinema participates in the reshaping of our collective spatial memories.

Fatemeh Honarmand

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Foremost, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Prof. Sébastien Caquard for the continuous support of my master's study and research, for his patience, motivation and enthusiasm. His guidance helped me throughout the research and writing of this thesis and his invaluable support helped me to overcome numerous obstacles I faced throughout this project.

I would also like to thank the experts who were involved in the completion of the movies list for this research: Mr. Alex Rose and Dr. Thomas Waugh. Without their participation and input, the research could not have been successfully conducted. I thank my proofreader and second reader of this thesis, Nicklas Haglund, for his thorough work and attention to detail. I am gratefully indebted to his very valuable comments on this thesis.

Nobody has been more important to me in the pursuit of this project than the members of my family. I would like to thank my family whose love and guidance are with me in whatever I pursue. They are the ultimate role models, in particular my mother Zahra Edrisi, who has always been supporting me spiritually and financially throughout my life.

Last but not the least, I would like to thank my better half, Guillaume Legoy. This work would not have been possible without his love and support.

June 2018
Fatemeh Honarmand

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INTRODUCTION

The parallel development of western cities and of the cinema industry at the beginning of the 20th century intertwined these two symbols of modernity. In some instances, this relationship has been so strong that cities such as Paris, Los Angeles and Bombay are now deeply associated with their cinematographic representations (Shiel et al. 2001). While these global cities were becoming cinematographic through the 20th century, it is only toward the end of that century that films were starting to be used to study them and to study Urban Geography (Mahtani 2001; Shiel, Fitzmaurice, and et al. 2001; Kääpä 2011).

Although the utility of cinema as a source has long been disregarded in urban studies (Clarke 1997), authors now widely mobilize its potential in their research (Clarke 1997; Shiel, Fitzmaurice, and et al. 2001; Brunsdon 2007; Braester and Tweedie 2010). Cinema has been used to examine the influence of films on urbanism discourses about Calcutta in order to lighten the critical relationship between space, time and identity in this swift shifting urban space (Dissanayake and Sahai 1992). The national landscape of Kuala Lumpur has also been examined through its associated cinematographic representation of ethnicity and race (Khoo 2008). The interaction between cinema and cities is synthesized by Clarke (1997), for whom cinema is a product of cities and of their development and that reciprocally, cities were produced and reformed by cinematic representations (Clarke 1997).

Following the path opened to further explore the potential of films for the study of urban geography, in this project I propose to address the following question: How does the cinematographic representation of a specific city at a given period evolve over time? In other words, how does cinema keep on refreshing our spatial memories of certain events? To address

this question, I propose to study how the representation of Montréal in the 1960s evolved over time in Québec cinema between the 1960s and the 2010s.

The 1960s offer an extremely rich time period to address this question since the entire Québec society went through dramatic changes during this decade. Québec saw an acceleration of industrialization, rejected the Catholic church, experienced a political movement toward an increasing influence of the francophones and a modernization of urban infrastructure (e.g. construction of the Montréal Metro). During the 1960s, the political power of the state and the social norms of Québec started to collapse and new cultural norms started to emerge to replace them by the mid-1960s (Gauvreau 2005).

It was a journalist that first assigned the title of “Quiet Revolution” (i.e. ‘Révolution tranquille’) to this movement, an expression that was later used by the leaders of this movement (Linteau, Durocher, and Robert 1991). The main political achievement of this movement and of this decade was the secularization of the state and the reconfiguration of the national francophone identity. During this decade the ‘French-Canadian’ became known for the first time as ‘Québécois’ (Zubrzycki 2016a).

Montréal, as the biggest city and the main economic and cultural center of Québec, was even more affected than the rest of Québec by this transition. Consequently, the gap between rural Québec and urban Montréal increased. The “conservative, rural foundation clashed with the sophisticated and self-conscious urbaneness of Montréal and the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s, which sought to inaugurate a modern, secular world view befitting a nation-state-in-waiting” (Melnik 2004a, 29). The transition to a secular state was reflected through the educational system which experienced radical changes afterwards (Magnuson 1980).

This transition from a traditional and religious-based culture to a modern urbanized society had an influence in all cultural productions, including cinema (Linteau, Durocher, and

Robert 1991). The Québec cinematographic productions of the 1960s was influenced by all these changes and in return contributed to making them happen. In fact, the birth of Québec national cinema was associated with the 1960s, which in turn triggered the emergence of important independent directors such as Gilles Groulx (1931-1994) and the release of key movies such as *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Groulx 1964).

In other words, the 1960s had profoundly modified Québec society, the city of Montréal and Québec cinema. Given the importance of this period and of the city of Montréal in the shaping of the modern Québec society it seemed interesting to look at how this city at this specific period of time has been represented in Québec cinema since the 1960s.

To address this question, I have developed a methodology designed to study representational changes. This methodology has been applied to a selection of seven movies released between 1964 and 2014, in which the action unfolds in the Montréal of the 1960s, to better understand how the cinematographic representation of this city at this specific period evolves over time and how these changes might contribute to the reshaping of our spatial memories of this period.

This thesis consists of six chapters. The next chapter will provide an overview of the literature about Montréal's modern history and the intertwined relation it had with cinema since the 1960s. This chapter emphasizes the crucial moments in the history of Montréal and of Montréal's cinema and how the two are related. The methodology I have developed for this project is presented in chapter 3. This methodology focuses on the presence and absence of four main criteria in a selection of seven films set in 1960s Montréal. These criteria are: political aspects, religious aspects, urban mobility and urban development. Chapter 4 presents the data collected while applying the methodology described earlier to study the seven selected

films. These results are analyzed and discussed in chapter 5, which leads into the conclusion of this project in which I synthesize the main results and discuss the limits of this approach.

CHAPTER 1: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1.1 Emergence of Film Geography

“The realm of geography, geography in the sense of all that has been written and depicted and conceived on the subject, consists of a relatively small core area (to borrow Whittlesey’s phrase) and a much broader peripheral zone. The core comprises formal studies in geography as such; the periphery includes all the informal geography contained in non-scientific works-in books of travel, in magazine and newspapers, in many a page of fiction and poetry and on many a canvas... Although much of this informal geography offers little value to us, some of it shows an insight deep into the heart of matters with which we are most closely concerned. I venture to think that, of two geographers equally competent in all other respects, the one the better read in the imaginative passage in English literature dealing with the land of Britain could write the better regional geography of that land” (Wright 1947, 10).

In his 1947 essay, John K. Wright invites geographers to delve deeper into different approaches to geography and urges them not to confine themselves only to the study of conventionally accepted geographical materials. Since then, more and more geographers started to use various mediums such as literature and art for studying our relationships to places.

Cinema is among the mediums that has been used to study geography. One of the first original geographical works using films was done by Wirth (1952), who “examined relationships between narrative, space, and place in film” (Fletcher, Lukinbeal, and McHugh 2012, 14). Accordingly, this research, “showed how narrative structures in film relate to

specific uses of space and place” (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006, 316). Lukinbeal and Zimmermann (2006, 316) state that, “some twenty years later the film historian Höfig (1973) published a seminal work on the 1950s German genre Heimatfilm. While not a geographer, Höfig’s approach focused on looking at the locations being filmed, representations of landscapes, and the economic structure of film production” (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2006, 316).

In his essay *The Dark Side of the Dream: The Image of Los Angeles in Film Noir*, Lent (1987) uses a historical geographical approach to compare how different the cinematographic representations of Los Angeles were between the 1920s and the 1950s. She concluded that while Los Angeles was represented as a land of plenty and a glorious city in the 1920s movies, it was turned into a dark, industrial city of despair in the 1950s (Lent 1987).

Beyond these early examples of research using films as geographical material, it is mainly since the 1990s that cities in cinema have been studied extensively. In 1992, Wilson published one of the first books on cities studied through art and cinema in particular. In this book he uses different mediums such as essays and films to examine metropolitan areas such as Paris and New York and provides a critical perspective on city planning and architecture with an emphasis on gender issues and the ways women were represented in these cities.

In 1996, a series of articles explored the relations between city and cinema (Resina and Ingenschay 2003). In one of them Leigh and Kenny (1996) explore how representations of modern society in films can serve to define urban problems and consequently to resolve them. Films were then seen not only as a way to better understand places, but also to better address urban planning issues.

At the turn of the 20th century, a growing number of geographers were getting interested in films (Cresswell and Dixon 2002; Aitken and Dixon 2006), which led to the development

of Film Geography. Lukinbeal and Zimmermann (2006) have identified four trajectories for this new subfield, systemized by Stadler and colleagues as:

“Geopolitics (examining mise-en-scène and narrative), cultural politics (revealing contested sociopatial meanings), globalization (exploring the impact on economic and pragmatic imperative on film production, distribution, and reception in terms of selecting, representing and visiting film locations), and finally, concerns about film’s capacity to mimic or accurately reflect “real” landscapes and locations in accordance with scientific and aesthetic models of realism” (Stadler, Mitchell, and Carleton 2015, 12)

Each of these four trajectories has been further explored since then. For instance, Shapiro (2008) examined the **geopolitics of movies** to study the United States’ culture and politics after 9/11 and cold-war. Velayutham (2008) analyzed a series of movies produced in Indian cinema to study **the cultural and political** effects of these films on contemporary India. In his work related to cinema and **global economy**, Zaniello (2007) analyzed 201 films from different origins, to understand how concepts of colonialism, neocolonialism and the new era of labor exploitation are embedded in contemporary TV series, nonfiction films, documentaries as well as cult and popular movies of the past. Finally, Roberts (2012a) explored the change of Liverpool’s landscapes through a cinematographic lens. He studied 1,700 movies that unfold in Liverpool, to analyze **the social production of place**, space and memory in the post-modern city and to understand how the city became “cinematic”. This last trajectory about city landscape and time, is the one that I aim to further explore in this project.

Several projects have been exploring the potential of cinema to produce and reflect the imaginary landscape of the city. These different research projects have been inspirational for my own study.

Stephan Barber (2002) compares two cinematographic cultures – European and Japanese – from three different perspectives: history, architecture and culture. He explores the influence of the cinematic imagination of a city on the way people remember that city and how the cinema chooses a city to be represented and how it will be remembered (Barber 2002). The book *After-images of the City* deals with historical shifts in representation of cities and how this representation evolves over time (Resina and Ingenschay 2003). The editors of this book mostly use a cultural studies approach to explore circumstances in which the imagination and representation of a certain city change through time (Resina and Ingenschay 2003). Lyons (2004) discusses how cultural media – music, cinema and literature – helped to *sell* Seattle in the 1990s as a city that is a great place to be (Lyons 2004). In his book, *Cities in transition: the moving image and the modern metropolis*, Webber (2008) has compiled chapters and photographic expositions to illustrate the close and complex relationship between city and cinema and to address how movies, urban landscapes and digital technology have worked together to influence the conceptualization and the representation of the modern city (Webber 2008). “*The City and the Moving Image: Urban Projections*” edited by Koeck and Roberts (2010), provides an interdisciplinary perspective on the relationships between city and cinema which examines the recent theoretical and methodological progress made in studying the urban landscapes through cinema based on a spatial database derived from 1700 movies produced between the 1980s and 2012 (Roberts 2012a). In this book, the chapter written by Penz (2010) that introduced the concept of each “city being itself” was particularly inspirational for my methodology as discussed below.

These different works of research have informed this thesis. Barber (2002) helped me better understand the power of movies on people's memories of the city; Resina and Ingenschay's (2003) book was helpful to better understand the concept of cinematographic representation; Roberts (2012a) inspired me to use films as geographical urban archives; and finally, Penz (2010) offered the main methodological foundation for this thesis as explained in chapter 3.

1.2 The Issue of Representation

As research on city and cinema started to emerge, the concept of representation was crucial for studying cities portrayed in films. Representation can be defined as a “term... to indicate an image or symbol that, through its emplacement within a mode of communication, is presumed to provide either an accurate or false rendering of reality” (Lukinbeal and Zimmermann 2008, 32). The representation of an object is not the true face of it; it is something that is grounded by the representative that imitates it. “It is not reality that is brought into present through representation; rather it is meaning that is brought to light” (Webb 2008, 30). In geographical terms, distorting facts through representation enables emphasizing certain characteristics that are associated with certain places.

Cultural geographers interpret representation in different ways. Matless (1992) argues that representation is not reproducing a truth or an existing object, but rather it is itself a creative formation and thus has an identity. He adds that, neither the representation nor the base has a place of superiority or inferiority, and that “hierarchies of truth” do not apply (Matless 1992, 45). Similarly, Hall argues that representation is the process of producing meaning (Hall 1985). Representation is the construction of “the concepts in our minds through languages [in a broad

sense]. It is the link between concepts and languages which enables us to *refer to* either the "real" world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events" (Hall 1997, 17) .

Minca (2013) explains representation by sharing a memory from his childhood, recounting how he had a map of Europe in front of his bed in which he would mark his future travels. He states that the map "was a space – not only representation of space –it was an actual and material space on which I used to draw my hypothetical future routes, routes loaded with exotic images and promised 'real life' experiences" (Minca 2013, 49–50). Hall (1989) goes further, arguing that he has "been trying to speak of identity as constituted, not outside but within representation; and hence of cinema, not as a second-order mirror held up to reflect what already exists, but as that form of representation which is able to constitute us as new kinds of subjects, and thereby enable us to discover who we are" (Hall 1989, 80). Expanded to Film Geography, the city as it is represented in movies could take different forms ranging from mimicking the real city to being the result of very personal and artistic interpretations.

1.3 Montréal, Cinema and the Quiet Revolution

The city of Montréal has been used extensively over the years to shoot contemporary films as well as historical ones, since it offers both a modern and historic landscape that can be used for both North American and European settings. Montréal served as the background for contemporary movies such as *300* (dir. Zack Snyder 2007), *Arrival* (dir. Denis Villeneuve 2016) and *X-Men: Apocalypse* (dir. Bryan Singer 2016), as well as for older and classic movies such as *City on Fire* (dir. Alvin Rakoff 1979), *Rabid* (dir. David Cronenberg 1977) and *Wait Until Dark* (dir. Terence Young 1967).

Montréal has a long relationship with cinema. In June 1896, the first public screening in Canada took place in Montréal (Morris 1992). Montréal quickly became the center of the Québec film industry (Shiel and Fitzmaurice 2011). In the 1930s talkies started to replace silent movies, bringing to cinema screens the debates surrounding language that are so strongly associated with Québécois identity. Specifically, they raised contention since most of the movies were shot in English while only a small minority of Québec residents spoke English (Melnyk 2004a; Marshall 2001a). This linguistic disparity became a central issue during the 1960s.

The Quiet Revolution's roots could be found in 1945. The confrontation of the very swift modernization of the province as a result of industrial developments, with the influence of Catholic churches as the guardian of old values and anti-modernism, was the genesis of the Quiet Revolution (Gauvreau 2005). In 1948, a group of artists called Les Automatistes released an anti-religious manifesto, *Refus Global*, in opposition to the old values and norms held by Québécois society at the time (Borduas 1948). The Quiet Revolution of the 1950s turned into the "not-so-quiet-revolution" in the 1960s and 1970s, (e.g. the riot in the 1960s and October Crisis of the 1970s) (Behiels 1985, xii). On October 5th, 1970, the October Crisis (La crise d'Octobre) happened, in which Le Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) had abducted the British commercial diplomat James Richard Cross, and the Deputy Premier and Minister of Labor of the province of Québec, Pierre Laporte (Tetley 2014). In the end, Laporte was killed and Cross was released in the exchange of the kidnappers to be exiled to Cuba (Simard 1987). "A much more radical phase of Quebec's Quiet Revolution got underway in the mid-1970s when neo-nationalism was married to social democracy and separatism" (Behiels and Hayday 2011, 13).

In the 1960s under the “unprecedented economic growth and enormous demographic change”, Montréal witnessed multiple transitions (Oberlande and Fallick 1992, 33). These changes happened at the social level with the fight for women rights (Mills 2010), at the economic level with the growing influence of the Francophones in Montréal’s economy (Behiels 1985), and at the spiritual level with the secularization of Québec society (Roberts 2005). Finally, the widespread architectural transformations that swept the city in the 1960s left many indelible marks that can still be observed today such as the Montréal metro and the Expo 67 infrastructure, which all trace their origins from a strong political will to make Montréal a world-class metropolis in order to acquire international status (Edwards 2016).

While the degree of social change in English Canada in the 1960s and 1970s was extensive, the degree of social change in francophone Québec was much more profound. It was not until the 1960s that old social values and habits were cleared away (Finkel 2012). In this era, Québec witnessed the shift from tradition to modernity that heralded the gradual disappearance of old values, the loss of ecclesiastic power, as well as the growth of the media (Pallister 1995). These transitions were the core subjects of interest for Québec cinema during this specific period of history (Shiel, Fitzmaurice, and et al. 2001). Indeed, popular culture such as cinema in Québec experienced a surge in the 1960s with the arrival of a new generation of filmmakers (Remie and Lacroix 1991) who put Québécois cinema on the world map. Incorporating the French New Wave approach to cinema into their art, Québécois film makers describe the deep transformations they observe in their movies throughout the 1960s and even later, be it economical *Le Matou* (dir. Jean Beaudin, 1985), political *Jusqu’au Coup* (dir. Denis Héroux, 1964), or social *Albedo* (dir. David Marvin, 1982). These movies often also depict, sometimes unintentionally, how places changed. *Albedo*, for instance, displays the changes that occurred in Griffintown at the dawn of the Expo 67, when this neighborhood was deemed too “ugly” to welcome tourists and Expo 67 participants (Jansson 2007).

The 1960s was a foundational period for Québec society with the “Révolution tranquille” and the development of the independence movement, as well as for the city of Montréal, which was imposing itself as an international city with the Universal Exposition of 1967 (i.e. Expo 67). This period appeared to be crucial in modern Québec history not only in economic terms but also in social and cultural ones (Dickinson and Young 2003). Representing a national identity became the major concern for the Québécois people during and after the Quiet Revolution (Gougeon 1994). During the Quiet Revolution in Québec in the 1960s, “French Canadians” started to call themselves Québécois, thereby endorsing their own identity (Linteau, Durocher, and Robert 1991). Being francophone was a big part of their national identity (Gougeon 1994) as “‘nation’ was defined in religious and linguistic terms” (Rocher 2002, 3). In fact, as Dion (1975) and Gougeon (1994) point out, the only “capital” that French Canadians had was their religion (Catholic) and their language. Since they started to claim a territory, their national identity started to take shape. The people of Québec wanted to be known as Québécois rather than French Canadian and to have their own identity without being related to any other nations.

In religious terms, the Quiet Revolution saw the transformation of Québec from a Catholic state to a secular one, as described by Gauvreau (2005). The Québec province had previously been so associated with the Catholic religion that the English-speaking population of the country described it as the “priest-ridden province” (Graubard 1989, 266). However, after the 1960s this highly religiously influenced province gradually became a modernized one (Seljak 1996). Drawing influence from these cultural changes, cinema reached a peak during that period as well (Fillion 2012).

1.4 Montréal Cinema in the 1960s

Québec, via its national themed movies, was starting to deliver the voice of the Canadian francophone minority in the 1960s. This was made possible by the path opened up by a number of key individuals after WWII, such as producers J.A. DeSève and Paul l'Anglais (Linteau, Durocher, and Robert 1991). Although the National Film Board of Canada (NFB) was mostly producing short movies or documentaries (Melnyk 2004a), Montréal was the very first place in which the Canadian feature film industry started. After the displacement of NFB from Ottawa to Montreal in 1956, this agency began to finance Québécois feature films as well. In 1967, the Canadian government initiated the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC), a crown corporation, that started to fund the production of feature films alongside the NFB (Stoffman 2016). These two main institutions helped Pierre Perrault, Gilles Carle, Claude Jutra, Michel Brault, Gilles Groulx, and Denys Arcand to release significant cinematographic projects during the 1960s (Spencer and Ayscough 2003).

It was in Montréal that Québec filmmakers resumed to direct feature films (Spencer and Ayscough 2003). Some prominent Canadian feature films were produced in Québec, such as Gilles Groulx's *Le chat dans le sac* which was shot in 1964 (Fillion 2012). In fact, one event that contributed to the rise of the French Québécois film industry was World War II. During and after the war, France was facing major problems that hindered the delivery of cultural products to Québec (Melnyk 2004a). This triggered a movement toward the independence of Québec cinema from French cinema.

Beyond the language issue, the overwhelming presence of Hollywood movies on Québécois screens and their contribution to the Americanization of Québec society posed another threat to Québécois identity. In the early years of the Quiet Revolution, the English-language cinema of Canada was almost non-existent. For instance, in 1960 none of the 558

feature films that were screened in Canada were Canadian (Melnyk 2004a). According to Melnyk (2004a), “The great achievement of Québec society between 1960 and 1990” was to create a film industry based on independent films that “benefited the whole Canadian industry because it helped to elevate Canada’s film identity to a completely new level of international recognition beyond the documentary” (Melnyk 2004a, 144). Thus, Québec’s cinema that started in Montréal in the 1960s played a significant role in the Canadian film industry (Melnyk 2004a).

It was during that period that Québec’s francophone filmmakers came together as a group for pulling the cinema of their province out of its “grande noirceur” (Fillion 2012, 22). Many “Québec film historians have associated Québec’s cinema of the 1960s with political change by calling it ‘le cinéma de la révolution tranquille’” (Melnyk 2004a, 126). After the Quiet Revolution, Québec faced sharp political and economic changes. This significant moment also had some cultural consequences. “Modern Québec cinema has been aptly described as the ‘child of the Révolution Tranquille’. The sudden upsurge of a new generation of brilliant young film makers in 1958-9 and the flood of lively films of the early 1960s is very directly linked to the social and political ferment in Québec at that time” (Lockerbie 1991, 301). Movies of that time were generally declarations to the Québécois national identity (Melnyk 2004a).

1.5 Québécois Cinematographic Context Post 1960s

Although this project focuses on the representation of 1960s Montréal in cinema, my goal is to study how this representation has changed over time through the Québécois cinematographic production on the 1970s, 80s, 90, as well as in the early 21st century. To better understand these changes, it is important to have a good idea of the political and cultural context in which these post-1960s films were produced.

Before the 1960s, although the majority of the population of Montréal was Francophone, most of the main businesses were owned by Anglophones who had no incentive to work or live in French (Palaeologu 2009). The best neighborhoods were inhabited by the English population and commercial and business districts were managed by Anglophones. Signs were written in English, forcing French clients to communicate in English (Palaeologu 2009). During The Quiet Revolution, the Francophones' push for more French in the city and in the Québec province in general was done in small steps (e.g. changing English signs to French) (Levine 1991).

Quiet demonstrations alternated with more violent actions from French Canadians such as the violent 1959 riots during which 58 people were arrested (Palmer 2009). Another major demonstration was the McGill riot on March 28th, 1969, in which more than 10,000 protesters opposed the Anglophone institutional operation of McGill University and asked for nationalist demands including the creation of a "Francophone McGill" (Palmer 2009).

At the same time, Montréal, alongside the rest of the western countries, was experiencing a post-industrial era in which many factors in the city were changing. These changes included shifts in its architecture and urban structure as illustrated by the construction of major highways and of the metro (Kenneally and Sloan 2010). The Quiet Revolution was the time in which Québec was facing great economic and cultural improvement mostly in the "francophone quarters of the province", which was referred to as the modernization of Québec (Testa 2002, 189). All these changes caused cultural and social transition that was seen in city landscapes, architecture and even in the art of the era (Kenneally and Sloan 2010).

This modernization of Montréal's infrastructure was best illustrated by the Expo 67 that brought to the city a range of modern architecture, infrastructure as well as social, cultural and political manifestations. Although, as always, not all the people benefited from it (Kenneally and Sloan 2010), the city mayor of the time Jean Drapeau emphasized its international success

and the pride it brought not only to Montréal, but to all Québécois and Canadians (Lownsborough 2012).

The industrialization of Québec, from which the Québécois felt rightful to gain more profit since they were the majority in the province (Palaeologu 2009), and the language difference that was the most important slogan in those days in which Québécois national identity was constituted and that separated French-Canadians from the rest of Canada (Gougeon 1994), were the foundations on which the Quiet Revolution was built and also the most important subjects of controversy in Québec. It was therefore not surprising to have most of the Québécois movies in the 1960s and 1970s dealing with subjects around a national identity and political movements.

It was during the 1970s that the last non-francophone representative of the NFB was in charge of the institution. Indeed, after the political crisis of this decade only Francophones were nominated Film Commissioner of NBF (Nowell-Smith 1997). “Québécois culture/theatre was supported in 1970s by the independent political movement Parti Québécois” (Dundjerovich 2003, 15). The French language was part of national identity and it had to be represented and reflected in popular culture such as cinema for a better construction of the national identity (Dundjerovich 2003).

Although the political situation of Québec was not stable, the film industry produced important movies and the NFB was in its best years for Québec Cinema. The movies that were released at that time mostly portrayed the lives of everyday people from the time (Nowell-Smith 1997). In October 5, 1970 the October Crisis occurred. *Les ordres* (dir. Michel Brault 1974) was a movie based on this event.

Beside political movies, other subjects were incorporated more in the cinema of the late 1960s and the 1970s, including lighter sexually oriented adult movies such as *Valérie* (dir.

Denis Héroux, 1969) and *Deux femmes en or* (dir. Claude Fournier 1970). *Valérie* tells the story of a Québécois girl that becomes a prostitute, and the movie is considered to have triggered the growth of erotic cinema in Canada (IMDB, *Valérie* 1969). *Deux femmes en or*, the story of two married women who had affairs with delivery men, held the record of being the highest grossing Québécois movie at the box-office of Québec until 1986 (Rist 2001). Sexual content was a recurrent topic in 1970s Québécois cinema such as in *La Pomme, la Queue et les Pépins* (dir. Claude Fournier 1974), in which Fournier “expresses that combination of nationalism, heterosexism and profound sexual anxiety” (Marshall 2001a, 119).

The cinema of the 1970s was dominated by male characters and mostly male-centered (Melnik 2004a), while in some movies women were either in the background or objectified in porn productions or nudity scenes (Marshall 2001a; Rist 2001). Meanwhile, an urge to mobilize movements toward gender issue activism was also on the rise in Québec at the time (Armatage 1999).

A great transition happened in documentary films in the late 1970s, that became more free-style rather than primarily concerned with capturing authentic scenes. *De la tourbe et du restant* (Angrignon and Bélanger 1980) is an example of a non-conventional, stylistic documentary that captures the rural Québec of that time (Rist 2001).

In the early 1970s, Québec was experiencing a triumph in domestic productions and in making profitable commercial features (Ozep 2006). At the same time, there was also a push for generating more profits from cinema. In 1975 the Tax Shelter law was voted by the parliament to attract private investors to the cinema industry (Pendakur 1990; Rist 2001).

“The Canadian Tax Shelter took place from 1974 to 1982; it was put forward by the Canadian government, which introduced 100-percent Capital Cost Allowance (CCA) for

feature films that were of Canadian content. If a film had a Canadian producer, two-thirds of the crew and talent were Canadian, and 75-percent of the technical services, such as post-production, were performed in Canada, they could not pay taxes on their investments until any profits on the film came in through the box office” (O’Connor 2016, par. 10). This tax shelter attracted American investors to Canada, coupled with the fact that the Canadian dollar rate of change was very low at that time (Pendakur 1990).

One of the consequences of this tax shelter law was the multiplication of feature films. In 1979 Canadian film production reached its peak with 66 feature films released and the median budget grew by almost 5 times from 1979 to 1986 (Pendakur 1990). However, this led to the production of totally different films in Québec as compared with the rest of Canada. According to Melnyk (2004a): “the range of films and styles generated by the tax-shelter 1970s was so disparate that one could say that there was no united cinematic culture or expression characterizing English-Canadian film in comparison to Québec cinema, which was highly introspective about its own society and its changes” (Melnyk 2004a, 211). Canadian Tax Shelter led to less francophone films as its market was smaller and less profitable, and an increase in terms of anglophone film production (Marshall 2001a). In the late 1970s political topics were replaced by other ones (Austin-Smith and Melnyk 2010), including more economic ones (MacKenzie 2004).

In the first year of the 1980s, a historic moment for the Québec province occurred. The first Québec Referendum, in which the Parti Québécois (PQ) government lost the vote toward Québec sovereignty (Loughlin, Kincaid, and Swenden 2013). This event had an impact on Québec cultural and cinematographic production. This “Post-Referendum” cinema was less oriented toward political action within Québec and more towards the political relations between Québec and the rest of North America (MacKenzie 2004, 13). In 1982, “Rene Levesque led

the Parti Québécois, which strove for the preservation of Québécois culture, primarily via language... Bill 109 benefitted Québec's film distribution and also allowed for distribution companies and showcasing of film to be allocated, along with the grossing profits of the film production" (O'Connor 2016, par. 11). The main goal of this bill was to reduce the United States' influence on the Québec film industry, and to give some power back to francophone producers (Gittings 2012). During the 1980s, Québécois movies also shifted toward a more postmodernist cinema that might eventually attract more international audiences (Pike 2012). Movies such as *Le déclin de l'empire américain* (dir. [Denys](#) Arcand 1986) and *Jésus de Montréal* (dir. Denys Arcand 1990), are two examples of this new cinematographic form of expression that sought "the social and political assimilation of Québec into the rest of North America" (MacKenzie 2004, 173). *Le Déclin de l'empire américain* won 13 awards in film festivals around the world including the Cannes Film Festival for FIPRESCI Prize in 1986 and 8 Genie Awards in 1987 (IMDB *Le Déclin de l'empire américain* 1986).

During this decade "... much has changed. Rapid social evolution has had beneficial repercussions on cinema, as on all the arts in Québec... a deep-seated uncertainty and insecurity still color many films of the 1980s" (Remie and Lacroix 1991, 303). In 1984 the Canadian Film Development Corporation (CFDC), in a symbolic effort, changed its name to Telefilm Canada, suggesting a closer relationship between cinema and television, and a closer monitoring of the content by the state (Walz 2002). "In 1988, the Quebec government created a new organization, Société générale des industries culturelles (SOGIC) that marks the government's desire to support the private film and television industry, and to subordinate culture to its commercial dimensions" (Véronneau 2011, par. 1). In 1994, SOGIC is renamed the Cultural Enterprise Development Corporation (SODEC). The main objective of this foundation was to support the production and the distribution of Quebec's cultural productions. However, the NFB still was the most dominant film production body.

In the 1990s, religion continued to fade in cultural significance, and as the power of catholic churches was not very strong anymore, Québec was determined to portray its secular face (Cermak 2017). Also, the movies of this decade were less concerned with national subjects but rather the international and continental relations or the development of globalism (Melnyk 2004a). Since French language was a minority language in North America, the cinema tried to resist the marginalization of Québec in North America which was caused by their language minority and tried to make more connection with the rest of the world by producing the popular movies that attracted broader audiences to compensate the language difference (Cermak 2017).

In this decade very prominent female directors emerged (Pallister 1995). For instance, Léa Pool who moved from Switzerland to Montréal in the mid-1970s made important films acclaimed by both promoters and critics (Grandena 2010). Her movies generally speak about personal experiences, sexual orientation and the quest for love and place (Grandena 2010). Other avant-garde film directors of that period were Catherine Martin and Lucie Lambert, “(w)hile those who have sought a middle ground between the popular and the unconventional include Louise Archambault and Manon Briand...” (White 2010, 233). These female filmmakers focused on the way women envisioned the world rather than on a more conventional nationalist message (White 2010, 233).

Since the 2000s, roughly more than 20 % of the screened movies in Québec are Québécois which is a fair marketplace segment attributed to a national cinema (Pike 2012). The French language films also held a share in box office sales during this period (Hanley 2016) thanks to a few very popular movies such as *Les invasions barbares* (dir. Arcand 2004), and *Bon Cop, Bad Cop* (dir. Canuel, 2006). Québécois films of this period address broader issues such as homosexuality as in *C.R.A.Z.Y.* (Vallée 2006a) and *Tom à la ferme* (dir. Xavier Dolan 2013). A new generation of internationally acclaimed directors such as Jean-Marc

Vallée, Denis Villeneuve and Xavier Dolan are taking Québécois cinematographic perspectives all over the world. Since the first years of the 21st century, “Québec cinema has been characterized by exceptional maturity and diversity. Several directors have received international attention at prestigious festivals and won high-profile awards” (Véronneau 2014, par. 57).

1.6 Summary

To conclude this chapter, Québec has witnessed a transformation in cinema from a mere documentary oriented cinema of the 1950s (Fillion 2012), to a political and social manifestation in the 1960s and 1970s (Dundjerovich 2003; Kenneally and Sloan 2010), and since the 1980s, to a more diverse cinema that addresses social issues and is concerned with growth and box-office figures (Véronneau 2014; MacKenzie 2004). All the political situation of Québec is mirrored in its cinema, which thrives in the highly competitive North American cinema that views Québec as a minority because of its less prominent language (Cermak 2017). It is certain that the condition and situation of the decades after the 1960s influenced the way the films produced during these decades look at the 1960s. This socio-political context needs to be taken into consideration when studying the way these movies look back at the Montréal of the 1960s. As Sorlin (2001, 45–46) puts it in a very different context:

“After the black revolt of the 1960s and 1970s we do not look at the American blacks as people did before the First World War...If we were studying an historical text written at the same time, we would not compare it with the film version to see if it was true. We would instead try to understand the political logic of the account given in the book, asking why it emphasized this question, that event, rather than other. We should keep the same preoccupation in mind when analyzing films” (Sorlin 2001, 45–46).

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

This methodology developed to address my research question involves two steps: First identifying movies that seek to capture? Montreal during the 1960s and second, developing an analytical grid that would enable a comparative study of different geographical characteristics of Montreal in the 1960s.

2.1 Selecting the Movies

The first step was to identify relevant films that have been released between 1960 and 2015 in which the action takes place in Montréal during the 1960s. This was first done through a systematic search in two online movie databases: the Internet Movie Database (IMDb) and the *Éléphant* project's website, which presents itself as the digital media archive of Québec's films. With these two databases I used the following keywords: "Quiet Revolution", "the 1960s Montreal", "Quebec's independence", "mouvement séparatiste Québécois", "La Révolution tranquille" as well as a mix of key words such as "1960s Montreal" + "Quiet Revolution". This search returned more than 50 movies from each database. These two lists were then shortened by removing films that were not relevant for my research such as the movies that mostly unfolded in rural Quebec rather than in Montreal (i.e. *La passion d'Augustine* (dir. Léa Pool, 2015)). To narrow down the list even further, I used the website <https://www.onf.ca/> (l'office national du film du Canada) and online media archives and film reviewing websites (i.e. <http://www.filmsquebec.com/> and <http://www.allocine.fr>), to read all the synopses and storylines of the twenty movies that were left after merging the two lists. This enabled me to finally identify the movies that would be suitable for this project. I achieved this by removing from my list the irrelevant movies such as the ones that captured the events related to the Quiet Revolution in the 1970s (i.e. *Les Ordres* (dir. Michel Brault, 1974)). This process was

completed by a review of the Québécois movies listed in *Chronologie du cinéma au Québec, 1894-2004* (Lever 2006), to make sure I did not miss any key movies. I ended up with a first preliminary list of six movies.

Léolo (dir. Jean-Claude Lauzon, 1992), was removed from the list since it was not clear that action was unfolding during the 1960s, and since its surreal touch made it extremely difficult to study with an analytical grid.

Finally, to validate this selection, I contacted two experts in Québec cinema: Mr. Alex Rose, who is the Film & TV editor of the <http://cultMontréal.com/> website and Dr. Thomas Waugh, professor of Film Studies and Cinema at Concordia University, Research Chair in Documentary Film and in Sexual Representation and Director of Concordia University HIV/AIDS Project. I asked them to identify any missing films. In response Mr. Alex Rose suggested *Monica La Mitraille* (2004) while Dr. Thomas Waugh's suggested to include *Emporte-moi* (1999). I was then left with a corpus of seven movies to study: two from the 1960s, one from the 1980s, one from the 1990s, two from the 2000s and one from the 2010s. There was no movie from the 1970s that covers all my criteria (See Table 2-1).

Table 2-1: List of the movies selected for the research project

Title	Name of Director(s)	Year of Release
<i>Le chat dans le sac</i>	Gilles Groulx	1964
<i>Entre la mer et l'eau douce</i>	Michel Brault	1967
<i>Yesterday</i>	Larry Kent	1981
<i>Emporte-moi</i>	Léa Pool	1999
<i>Monica la mitraille</i>	Pierre Houle	2004
<i>C.R.A.Z.Y.</i>	Jean-Marc Vallée	2005
<i>Corbo</i>	Mathieu Denis	2015

2.2 Developing an Analytical Grid

To provide a comparative analysis of how the representation of 1960s Montréal has evolved in cinema over the years, I developed an analytical grid inspired by the work of Penz (2010). Penz has introduced the concept of each “city being itself”, which is linked to a clear methodology that examines landscapes in movies through four different criteria: “General Context, Identification, Manipulation and Interpretation” (Penz 2010, 234–39), subdivided into sub-criteria (See table 2-2).

Table 2-2: Summary of Criteria and sub-criteria adapted from Penz (2010).

General context	Identification	Manipulation	Interpretation
Director’s background	City type	Temporal city	The dramatic city
Cultural and political context	City identity	The sound of the city	Impact and polemic
Film genre	City topography	Digital city	Spatial and social practice
	The documented city	People in the city	

Penz has applied this methodology to study Paris as it is represented in *Amélie* (dir. Jean-Pierre Jeunet 2002). Through his analysis of the general context, he identified that the political or social context of the film’s release time is not relevant to Paris of the time in *Amélie*. The identification’s criteria also showed that *Amélie* unfolds mainly in old parts of the city and the landscape does not show any relevance to the date of the movie. City type and identity show that Paris in *Amélie* is not the contemporary Paris, but rather a romanticized Paris. This is reinforced by the recurring use of the accordion in the sound track and by the digital erasing of contemporary landmarks such as a supermarket in the shot of the Café des Deux Moulins.

This methodology enabled Penz to demonstrate that the Paris in *Amélie* does not refer to the real Paris of 2000. It is a fictional Paris that has very little in common with the Paris of 2000. *Amélie* represented a romanticized image of the French capital that has contributed to the framing of the city identification and to its perception by the world-wide audience of the film. It has also contributed to attract thousands of tourists, anxious to follow the steps of *Amélie* in this romanticized Paris (Lawrie Van de Ven 2010).

The main objective of Penz was to differentiate real cities based on elements that represent an existing city such as landmarks, from real cities with fictional elements added in the film such as the addition of buildings using digital effects. Although I was inspired by this approach, the categories proposed by Penz were not all relevant for my spatio-temporal approach and for addressing my research questions. I therefore developed my own methodology inspired by Penz in which I integrated my own set of criteria based on my research question and on the context of Montreal in the 1960s. I tested these criteria by applying them to the analysis of the film *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964). I finally ended up with four main criteria: 1. Religion, 2. Politics, 3. Urban mobility, and 4. Urban development.

As was discussed in the Literature Review, Québec of the 1960s experienced some important changes in terms of religion. The 1960s saw the province secularize in record time, as the Church was dissociated from the government and Quebecers became nominally atheist (Seljak 1996). These religious changes were reflected through the educational system which underwent drastic transformations (Magnuson 1980). Religion appeared as a key criterion to study Montreal in the 1960s with a more specific focus on two sub-criteria: religious education; and religious practices.

My second criterion refers to the political aspects associated with the city. Definitely one of the crucial changes in the 1960s was the swift political shifts instigated by the Quiet Revolution (Fahrni 2005) and the growing generation of French-speaking separatists (Levine 1991). In this context, language was a base of national identity to which Montreal was seen as a city that should be more francophone, both politically and economically (Clement and Williams 1989; Levine 1991; Dundjerovich 2003). Additionally, the language in key sectors, such as education, was a great source of conflict as French-speaking citizens of Québec, that represented the majority of the province, were fighting for French to be recognized as the official language (Levine 1991; Blakeney 2008). This was a major claim since Anglophones monopolized Montréal's well-paying jobs through the 1960s, using a well-structured system of cooptation (*Québec Studies* 1988). This political structure and its socio-economic implication was contributing to the frustrations of the francophones and to the Quiet Revolution. Collective fighting and movements such as the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade that took place in 1968 as a symbol of nationalism (Gérin 2014a), or demonstrations that happened in La Place des Arts, also became part of the nationalist agenda during the Quiet Revolution (Illien 1999).

This political criterion was divided into four sub-criteria: 1. National identity refers to language and identity; 2. Political activities refers to the separatist movement, censorship and corruption; 3. Living condition refers to economic situation and educational values; and 4. Demonstration refers to the collective movements, fighting and parades that appeared in movies.

The criterion of Urban Mobility refers to the means by which residents of Montréal moved throughout the city: mass transportation, walking, car ownership, etc. This criterion was chosen to study the massive changes that transportation methods were going through in Montréal and across North America during the 1960s. Growing prosperity led to the increasing

popularity of “car culture” and the construction of highways. In Montréal, Jean Drapeau finished a project in 1966, under the name of Bonaventure Autoroute which linked the Champlain Bridge to Downtown Montréal for an easier access for people who lived in Montréal’s suburb at the time (Riga et al. 2016). The 1960s was also the period of the expansion of public transportation with the opening of the Montreal metro in 1966 (Dunton and Malkin 2008). This criterion is divided into two sub-criteria: 1. Means of transportation; and 2. directionality, which refers to the direction of the displacement either from the downtown core to the suburb and other towns (i.e. centrifugal), or in the opposite direction (i.e. centripetal).

The fourth criterion is Urban Development. This refers to how urban planning in Montréal shifted away from traditional city planning as the city modernized. In particular, Expo 67 represented massive changes to how Montréal was laid out and how it was perceived. Prior to the 1960s, while Montréal occupied an important position as the center of the Canadian financial sector, the city had fallen into disrepair in the past due to Maurice Duplessis’ policy of favoring rural areas and development over urban ones (Kelly 2010). Expo 67, a massive event that drew attendees and investment from all over the world, required that the city went through a significant overhaul in terms of crime, cleanliness, and safety (Cotter 2016). One of the consequences was a shift towards gentrification and pushing poor people out to the margins of cities, as well as development of the suburban way of life that shaped Montréal’s landscape and its urban characteristics. This criterion was subdivided into three sub-criteria: 1. Housing that refers to the type of housing portrayed in films; 2. Suburbs that integrates any references to the suburb; and 3. Landmarks that refers to the presence of the recognized Montreal landmarks within the films.

These sub-criteria were used to design the recording grid (See Table 2-3). Each time one element related to any of these sub-criteria was identified, a new entry was added to the

grid. This entry included the minute in which this element was expressed (column “Audio/Visual”), the details about this element (column “Indication”) and some extra comments related to this element (column “Comments”). This grid was then filled for each movie (See Table 2-3).

To complete the grid, I watched each movie 3 or 4 times: The first time without pausing and without recording any data to become familiar with the entire story. The second time to record the data and to fill the grid. The third time (and sometimes a fourth time) to double check the results. The outcome of this process was seven excel spreadsheets, one for each of the selected movies. (See Tale 3-3). These spreadsheets also served as a reading grid to study each movie. It is this data collected throughout this process that I present in the next chapter.

Table 2-3: Example of the completed reading grid for the 30 first minutes of the movie *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964).

<i>Le chat dans le sac</i> (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964) 1 h 14 min. <i>Synopsis: Through the perspective of a 20-year-old man, this film symbolizes the political coming of age of the people of Québec.</i>						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Audio/ Visual	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Education	Schools	Both	22':24"	newspaper article	Monopoly...
			Audio	23':45"	Claude's monologue	NO non-religious schools.
			Audio	20':20"	Claude's monologue	"Hypocritical priests ...
			Audio	20':24"	Claude's monologue	education system
	Religious Practices	Religious difference	Audio	0':50"	Barbara's monologue	difference between this couple
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	1':11"	Barbara's monologue	... Anglo-Canadian
			Both	3':08"	Camera zooms, Claude's monologue	... French language
			Audio	6':27"	Claude's monologue	... French language
			Audio	8':44"	Barbara's monologue	... "horrible" accent.
			Audio	9':26"	Claude's monologue	... Americans influence
			Audio	21':00	Barbara's monologue	... her accent.
			Visual	30':00	Camera shows	Stores in Ville-Marie Boutique
		French - Canadian		Audio	32':59"	Claude's monologue

	Political Activities	Québec Separation	Audio	3':02" & 3':06" & 3':40"	Claude's monologue	Québec Separation
			Both	55':30"	Radio	separatists
		Censorship	Audio	16':06"	Dialogue between Claude and a newspaper manager	Censorship...
		Corruption	Audio	24':01"	Claude's monologue	Marist brothers corruption...
	Demonstration	Collective fighting	–	–	–	–
		Parades	Audio	28':00	Newspaper man	rebellior
	Living Condition	Poor & Rich	Audio	21':18"	Claude's monologue	Not having job.
		Education System	Audio	20':24"	Claude's monologue	"I need to learn everything by myself"
			Both	3':08"	Camera zooms, Claude's monologue	political books
	Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike	Audio	3':45"	Claude's monologue
Car			Visual	7':56"	Camera captures	
			Visual	8':40" & 13':00 & 21':30"	Camera captures	Street is full of automobiles
			Visual	29':41"	Camera captures	A bus stop
Urban Development	Housing	Apt	Visual	7':50"	Camera captures	
	Landmarks	Commercial Building	Visual	30':00	Camera captures	Showing stores in Ville- Marie Boutique
	Suburbs					

CHAPTER 3: DATA COLLECTED

In this chapter I present the data collected for each of the seven selected movies based on the four criteria described in the previous section: religion, political aspects, urban mobility and urban development.

3.1 Le chat dans le sac (1964)

Le chat dans le sac (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964) is a fictional film that takes place in Québec during the early 1960s. It tells the story of a young journalist (Claude) who has revolutionary thoughts about Québec's future. Claude believes that Québec should go through radical changes otherwise it will remain a colonized province. Barbara, his Anglo-Canadian Jewish girlfriend does not share the same social and political view. She is more preoccupied with her school and her activities as a theatre student. According to Claude, she does not care about the circumstances that Québec is facing. Claude tries to find a way to make a change as a journalist, but after a period of reflection, he eventually chooses to leave Montréal to live alone on a farm near Montréal. This decision creates a tension with Barbara and eventually leads to the end of their relationship.

This drama was influenced by the French cinematographic New Wave (Fillion 2010). According to Bergala (2013, par. 4), "In France, the Nouvelle Vague was born out of the need for the younger generation to finally forget "the post-war period" and to enter a new era, that of consumption, an economy in full form, carefree, with films where young people could recognize themselves, find new models of behavior and language". *Le chat dans le sac* alongside with *Drylanders* (dir. Don Haldane 1963) and *Nobody Waved Good-bye* (dir. Don Owen 1964), illustrate the transition from documentaries to fiction movies in Québec cinema.

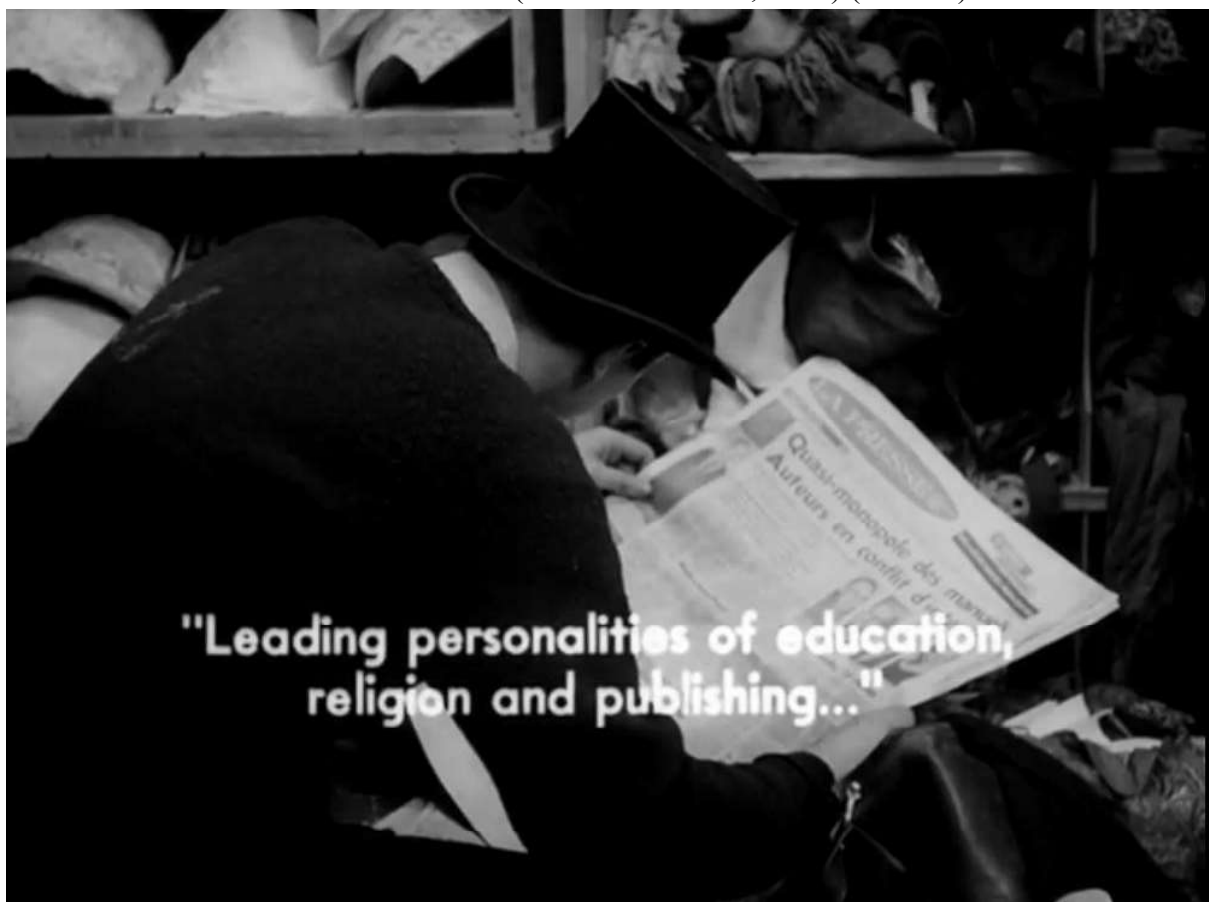
It won the feature prize (Grand Prix) at the 1964 Montréal International Film Festival (White 2006). It was also “identified as a culturally significant film by the Audio-Visual Preservation Trust through the 2002 Masterworks program” (“The Film Reference Library” 2007, par. 5), which recognizes great cinematographic works that preserve the cultural heritage of Canada (Gittings 2012). The film has also been identified as a “cult-movie” and a provocative one that illustrates the socio-political concerns of the era (St-Pierre 2014, 50).

Its director Gilles Groulx was part of Direct Cinema, a group of directors who started to produce fiction films instead of “traditional” documentaries during the 1960s (Fillion 2010). His previous movie *Golden Gloves* (1961) marked “a shift among French-Canadian filmmakers away from the more folkloric conversation pieces of the fifties (made either under Anglophone supervision inside the NFB or by members of the older Québec elite outside of it) and toward a concern with the ethnography of a modern industrial and urban society” (Morris 2007, par. 3). Groulx used his movies as a way to bring to the screen his own critical stance of the social and political situation of Québec, addressing the national identity’s struggles of his era (Bergala 2013). He was highly critical of the media and of their power for creating a consumerist society through their mainstream productions. He used cinema to convey his revolutionary ideas about Québec and to defend Québec’s movement against their people’s oppression (Noël 1994).

Throughout the analysis of this movie, I was able to identify a few specific elements related to the social, cultural and spatial representation of Montréal. First, the movie provides a critique of religion through a critique of the religious educational system. Claude challenges this educational system when he argues that religious schools do not teach critical thinking, but blind acceptance of faith (min. 20). The educational system is also questioned in a newspaper article in the following scene: An article in *La Presse* newspaper mentions the influence religious institutions have on education through their monopoly on the publication and

distribution of textbooks which are not useful for students and affect the quality of education (min. 22) (figure. 3-1). Claude states that he “was educated by hypocritical priests” (min. 20) and goes as far as arguing that there are no non-religious schools anyway which conveys the idea that the entire Québec society of the 1960s – and perhaps all other societies as well – was influenced by religious beliefs.

Figure 3-1: The article in *La Presse* newspaper criticizes the religious monopoly on textbooks in movie *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964) (min. 22).



"Leading personalities of education,
religion and publishing..."

This critique of religion is also expressed with regards to the generalized censorship in 1960s Québec. For instance, Claude reads a book entitled: “*Plaidoyer Contre La Censure*” (min. 3) and discusses censorship in the media with a newspaper manager during a job interview (min. 16). The film also denounces the religious corruption of the era. A monologue

triggered by Claude after reading an article from *La Presse*, claims that Marist Brothers - a catholic education school founded in the 19th century to teach church rules to the students - have embezzled around 220,000\$ (min. 24). This illustrates how the film speaks about the corruption of both religious and public institutions.

Not surprisingly, language plays a key role in the French identity of Claude. In one of the first scenes (min. 3), Claude mentions that reading and learning French grammar is almost as important as his political activism. The only books and articles he reads throughout the whole movie are either about politics or language. He is also critical of Anglo-Canadians, claiming that they lack respect for French language since they “learn it just to visit Paris” (min. 6). On the other hand, his girlfriend Barbara is directly affected by the importance given to French in Québec society, since her theatre teacher does not give her any leading roles because of her “horrible accent” (min. 8). She ends up improving her French accent and gaining respect from her theatre teacher.

This film can also be considered as revolutionary since it implies that riots, revolutions and rebellions are actions that can produce a better future for Québec. Claude reads all the books he can about revolution. Books such as *La Révolte noire*, *La Révolution cubaine*, *Frantz Fanon* and *Parti Pris* (min. 3). Throughout the movie, he describes his ideal world, which would become possible after the revolution. In one scene Claude asks himself: “Am I a revolutionary? I don't know. A rebel? Yes” (min. 50), while in the last minute of the movie he claims that “in 2 years a big change is going to happen” (min. 67). Obviously, the revolution that is mentioned by Claude in this movie is not suggested to be “tranquille”.

The economic situation in 1960s Montréal is portrayed as difficult for the main character. Claude is looking for a job (min. 7), but he is not able to find one that suits his desires and like other young people he is looking for money: “I borrow 2 bucks from Jean-Paul, who

owes Toulouse \$50” (min. 21). On the other hand, there is no observation on the economic struggles of the older protagonists through the movie.

In terms of Urban Mobility, the use of personal cars is prominent in the movie even if we briefly see a bus stop, for bus numbers 63 and 66 (min. 29) - and some people in a bus (min. 47). Most of the trips are made by car. In terms of directionality, most of these trips happened within the inner city, though there is a trip from Montréal to Saint-Charles, the country-side farm, where Claude decides to move in his quest for solitude (min. 48).

Based on these different elements, this movie provides a clear political perspective on Montréal of the 1960s. It emphasizes the importance of revolutionary ideas within the young generation at that time, in reaction to the political, religious, cultural and economic problems and changes this generation was facing. This movie, then, is highly politicized and in direct opposition to the political practices of the time. It clearly supports revolutionary acts and methods, expresses concern about the living conditions in Montréal, and emphasizes the importance and complexity of the language issue in Montréal. Out of the four main criteria under study (i.e. Religion, Political, Urban mobility and Urban Development), the last criterion was almost nonexistent. This movie is not really about the development of the city and its use, but rather about the need for politicized and revolutionary citizens to change the society.

3.2 Entre la mer et l’eau douce (1967)

Entre la mer et l’eau douce (dir. Michel Brault, 1967) tells the story of an ambitious young man (Claude) who leaves his region Pointe-aux-Anglais in the 1960s to go to Montréal in pursuit of his dream of becoming a popular singer. In Montréal he meets a waitress

(Genevieve) and falls in love with her. He eventually fulfills his dream and becomes a popular singer, but the fame and success cannot provide him happiness or a real love.

This movie has an archival dimension since it includes many scenes shot in Montréal of 1967 (Chevrier 1991). Just like *Le chat dans le sac* (discussed previously), it was influenced by Direct Cinema, which was associated with documentaries (Fillion 2012). The movie shows iconic cultural symbols of the 1960s such as the singer Claude Gauthier (Walz 2002) and depicts Saint-Denis street in a captivating way (Chevrier 1991).

This film was directed by Michel Brault (1928-2013), who only directed 5 feature movies throughout his long career, while participating in many other projects and movies as a photographer or documentarian (Walz 2002). Brault always preferred documentary over fiction film (Everett-Green 2014). According to Walz (2002), he was acknowledged as one of the most influential members of Direct Cinema, which became the favorite form of cinematographic expression of “nationalist artists in Québec” (Walz 2002, 75). A few years later, in 1975, he won the best-director award at the Cannes Film Festival for *Les Ordres* (1970) (Everett-Green 2014).

In terms of filming, Michel Brault was a pioneer in bringing the camera closer to the action, as he would let the camera get very close to the actors. The shoulder-mounted camera approach was a new method of filming at that time that later influenced extensively Direct Cinema (Ouellet-Cummings 2006). Brault produced a documentary on the University of Moncton’s student strike that addresses the student strike in opposition to the tuition fee increase in the summer of 1968 (N. F. B. of Canada n.d.). This riot later coalesced into a political movement towards the recognition of the French language as the second official language in New Brunswick (Clandfield, Perrault, and Group 2004). Brault also directed fiction movies such as *Les Ordres* (1970), in which he addresses the 1970 October crisis in Québec.

These movies established him as a political and nationalist director, or as (Ouellet-Cummings 2006, 36 and 37) elaborates:

In the movie *Les Ordres* (1970) “Starting from the wave of arrests in October 1970, Brault follows the hell of several innocent people imprisoned in a few hours as the federal government passes the War Measures Act... Finally, as he did in *Entre la mer et l'eau douce*, Michel Brault focuses his film on the experience of some "ordinary" people who, by their power of representation, succeed in evoking the feelings and perceptions of a vast majority of Québec kers” (Ouellet-Cummings 2006, 36 and 37).

Entre la mer et l'eau douce (1967) is an example of Québec cinema that shows the struggles of the transition from old rural Québec to a modern urban society (Everett-Green 2014). This transition included a movement away from religion. This movement is expressed in the movie in a scene where Claude goes to confession, lights a lantern and makes a Stations of the Cross after having sex with a girl in Trois-Rivières. According to Chevrier (1991, 51), this scene is ridiculous and emphasizes the growing gap between social and cultural practices and religious requirements.

From the Political point of view, this film is grounded in the Québec Independence movement. As pointed out by Chevrier (1991, 51) “Independentist Reggie Chartrand's speech sprinkles the entire film in the background. There is even talk of separatism in open radio lines.” The support for the separatist movement is made clear when the audience hears the manager of the hotel, where Claude stays with his brother, saying on the phone that “French-Canadians regain their national pride after independence.... Cop's kids will benefit from our actions, not just us, all Québécois!” (min. 21).

In his first public performance, Claude begins his song with “I am French Québécois ... Please don't bother me with English Imperial system!” (min 56). He continues by introducing himself at a TéléMétropole contest, as: “Québec -French nationality and proud of his soul” (Chevrier 1991, 51). This nationalism is also conveyed through the many Québec flags hanging on the walls of Claude’s hotel (min. 22), while the rural Québec identity is expressed throughout the movie when characters introduce themselves by mentioning their town of origin: Pointe-aux-Anglais (min. 5), Saint -Irénee (mins. 6 and 29), Lac Bouchette (min. 13) and l'Abord-à-Plouffe (min. 25).

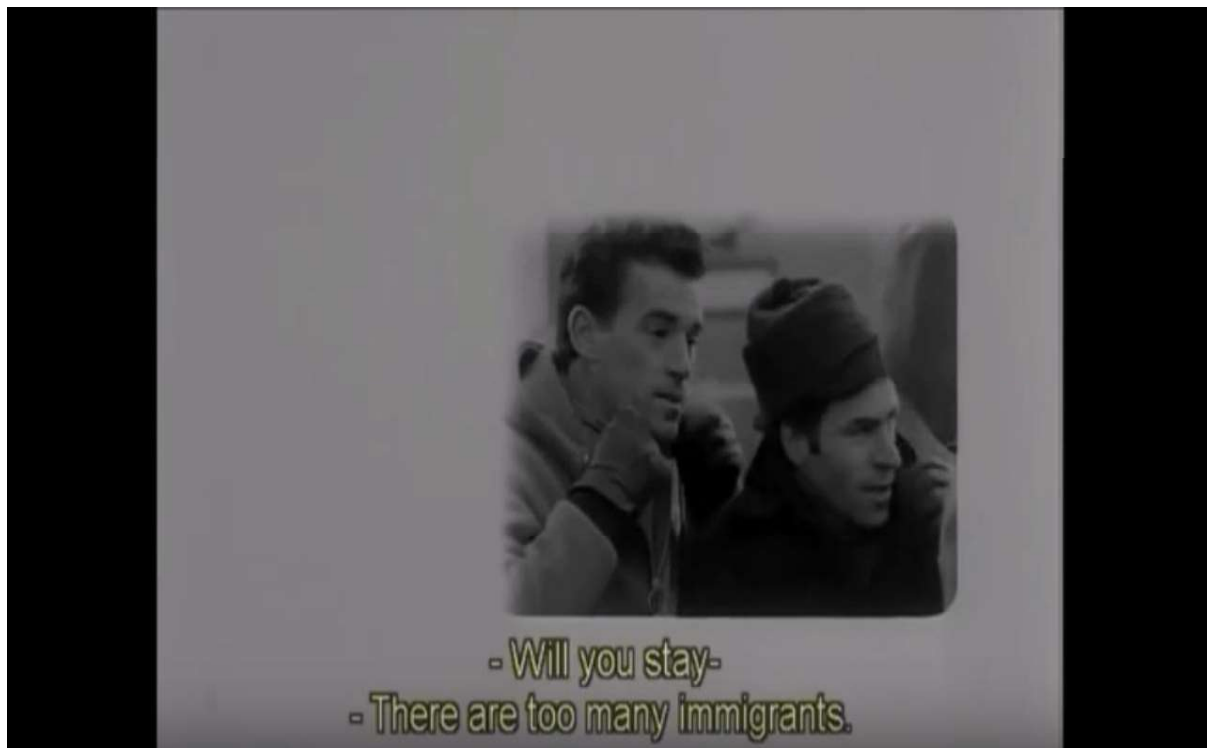
This clear political positioning does not involve any forms of violence. This non-violent position is made clear when the hotel manager, while talking on phone, states that “Québec independence can be achieved without violence... A total independence... Québec Republic” (min. 21). In this sense Brault seems to have a common goal with Groulx (*Le chat dans le sac*) but offers a very different way to reach it.

Language is also important in the movie, and mainly the importance of English to find a job. For instance, doing an interview for a low wage job as an elevator attendant, Claude is asked by the manager of the building if he can speak English (min. 51). In another scene while he is asked a question in English, Claude is unable to answer it as he does not understand English (min. 69). There is also an encounter with a drunk anglophone in a café who states: “I like French-Canadians, but you'll never get it” (min. 42). These different elements emphasize the linguistic issues of the time as well as the soft support of some Anglophones to the Independence. Here again Brault chooses not to depict tensions.

As discussed by Chevrier (1991, 51) “The film also shows the difficulties of finding work in the year of the Montréal metro and the World Expo”. After leaving his hometown, Claude lives in a single room with his brother (min. 18). They do different low wage jobs and

experience several periods of unemployment (mins. 43 and 54). During an interview Claude and his brother mention that they have done different low wage jobs such as working in a slaughterhouse or collecting garbage. They blame immigrants for the lack of jobs and believe that immigrants should have stayed in their countries, so Québécois could find appropriate jobs (min. 28) (figure 3-2). This scene also captures some of the anti-immigration discourses of the time among French-Canadians.

Figure 3-2: Claude during an interview with TV claims that the immigrants are the cause of lack of job in Montréal, in the movie *Entre la mer et l'eau douce* (dir. Michel Brault, 1967) (min. 29).



Claude is in love with Genevieve who also struggles with economic problems. She works as a waitress during the day and as a dance instructor at nights. She does not enjoy these jobs but does them to "get by" (min 33). Just like *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964), this movie captures some of the socio-economic struggles of the young generation of the 1960s; struggles that explain partially the frustrations felt by this generation.

Characters travel by cars in the movie and we only briefly see a bus passing in the street (min. 68). The public transportation revolution promised by the opening of the Metro in 1967 is not quite happening yet. In terms of directionality, there is a clear centripetal movement in this movie: characters move to Montréal. For instance, Claude comes to Montréal for the first time with wood cargo (min. 5), while the second time he arrives in Montréal to stay in the city for good (min. 79). This movement from the rural parts of Québec to the main city is also illustrated when different characters mention the small towns across Québec where they are originally from.

In the movie, landmarks (urban development) are only depicted when Claude sings. Only Claude's performances take place in the Place des Arts (Chevrier 1991), which is a very strong symbol of Montreal Quebec cultural modernity (min. 56). However, there is a fair representation of Saint-Denis street in the movie.

Based on these different elements, it can be argued that this movie provides a socially tinted vision of Montréal, that supports the idea of independence of that time, emphasizing the political and economic problems and great social changes the young generation was facing. It also speaks about the linguistic tensions that were associated to the independence movement. It is clearly a movie supporting the independence movement. This movie also depicts the transition from a rural society to an urban one, from a secular society to a multicultural one, with an emphasis on economic hardship and scarcity as well as with the hopes for a better society that was engrained within the independent movement. Akin to *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964), the movie is concerned with the economic struggles of Montréal's citizenry during the 1960s as well as with the need for profound and meaningful change. It suggests that another option more "tranquille" may be possible to change Québec society.

3.3 Yesterday (1981)

Yesterday (aka Gabrielle and This Time Forever) (dir. Larry Kent, 1981) tells the story of Matthew, a young American who comes to Montréal to study medicine at McGill University, who is also a talented hockey player. Matthew falls in love with a French-Canadian artist girl (Gabrielle) from Montréal. He arrives with a scholarship, but in the middle of the school year he loses his scholarship and he is forced to go back to the US. As a result, Matthew leaves his girlfriend in Montréal, not knowing that she is pregnant. Back in the US, he is drafted to serve in the Vietnam war. For years, Gabrielle didn't get any news from him until her son becomes old enough to visit his American grandparents. Only then she finds out that the father of her son is not dead but has been hospitalized all this time because he was maimed and can no longer walk. The couple meets again in the hospital and find that their love is still alive.

In the year of its release (1980) the movie was quite successful in Canada. It received four designations for the Genie Award for Best Performance, Best Performance by a Foreign Actress, Best Achievement in Art Direction/Production Design and Best Achievement in Film Editing from the Canadian Academy of Cinema (Ramond 2009). The movie was screened under other names such as *This Time forever* (Bailey 1986) and *Gabrielle* (Ramond 2009).

Director Larry Kent is a South African, who moved to Vancouver in 1959. Working as a printer he started his education in theatre at UBC (Spaner 2013), then began to produce documentaries (Bailey 1986). Akin to Groulx and Brault, his style is influenced by the French New Wave as well as by New American independent works and European Art cinema (Totaro 2014). His first feature film *The Bitter Ash* (dir. Larry Kent 1963) was a remarkable success according to him, because people wanted a change from Hollywood (Bailey 1986). However, the change he proposed was so radical that *The Bitter Ash* (1963) was banned in B.C. after being screened on the UBC campus in 1963, and later in most of Canada because of what were

considered unacceptable scenes (Spaner 2013), that involved nudity and sexual relationships (“The Bitter Ash | The Cinematheque” n.d.). Canadian citizens were familiar with Hollywood movies, but this movie was capturing Canadian essence, location and setting, hence Canadians experienced for the first time a movie that “dealt with a kind of reality that corresponded to their own” (Bailey 1986, 59).

In the late 1960s, Kent moved to Montréal where he continued to work as an English film-maker in Québec (Bailey 1986) and he made several feature films such as *High* (1967) and *Fleur Bleue* (1971) (Lanken 1973). He is known as the godfather of English feature cinema in Canada (Totaro 2014) because he was “the first English Canadian filmmaker to produce an independent film in Canada” (Jordan and Totaro 2015, par. 1). His film *The Bitter Ash* (1963) was the first Canadian feature film and it became one of two official films that triggered the feature cinema production in Canada along with Claude Jutra’s *A tout prendre* (1963) (Bailey 1986).

While most of his first movies were generally about relationships and were family oriented, a number of his movies were also characterized by his “lefty” political positions (Spaner n.d., par. 13). Kent describes himself as “a lefty but my films are social documents. They’re about people in society. How people behave. *Bitter Ash* I think is one of the few films in Canada that really deals with working-class people—working in a boring job but needing to keep the wolf from the table” (Spaner 2013, par. 13). *Yesterday* (1981) was also very political.

Yesterday is infused with some political statements, including in terms of national identity and French language. Early in the movie, Gabrielle and a few friends are writing separatist Québec slogans on a wall such as “*Speak French, Québec Libre and 100 Years of English Oppression*” (min. 5). In another scene, Matthew and Gabrielle are at an art exhibit where a friend of Gabrielle starts questioning Matthew about the Vietnam war, arguing that

wars are profitable for Americans (min. 14). The Quiet Revolution of Québec was part of revolutionary movements across the world, that served as a model for other political movements such as the opposition to the Vietnam war in the US (Anastakis 2014). Demonstrations and riots were captured in the movie as well. For instance, a riot is depicted in which some separatists are writing slogans on the walls before fleeing because of the police arrival (min. 7). Secondly, Claude tries to set a bomb, but as the police arrives, he runs away and gets injured while fleeing (min. 36). He eventually escapes with the help of Matthew.

The movie is set during the Vietnam war at a time when Canada decided not to be involved (Anastakis 2014) and was accepting young Americans who were resisting the war and were trying to dodge the draft (Chodos 1999). The importance of the Vietnam war in *Yesterday* illustrates the argument that the political situation of Québec in the 1980s and post-referendum era had influenced the cinema to incorporate less national identity themes in movies, but more subjects indirectly seeking relations with the rest of North America (MacKenzie 2004). *Yesterday* is more about the relationships between Québec and the world during the 1960s than it is about Québec or even Montréal per se.

The movie is infused with cultural and xenophobic tensions. For instance, Matthew's friends make inappropriate xenophobic jokes about French-Canadian girls (min. 21). In another scene, Gabrielle wants to introduce Matthew to her brother, but after learning that he is American, Claude leaves the bar angrily (min. 24). He even asks his sister to stop dating Matthew. He believes that French-Canadians need to stick together and that will only happen if they meet people from their community. She answers, "but he is American", which I believe means he is not Anglo-Canadian, to which he replies: "then look what they're doing in Vietnam" (min. 25). Later in the film, Matthew could not make it to his own wedding, because he was sent to Vietnam war that day. Gabrielle's father gets upset and starts breaking

everything in the room, while yelling at Gabrielle "Didn't I told you stay with your own-kind" (min. 76). This tension reflects the generational tensions described throughout the movie, for instance when Claude (Gabrielle's brother) talks about a strike that is happening in Montréal by drivers (min. 30) and asks his father to go on strike as a worker, that makes his father mad: "you can't eat your principals" (min. 31).

This is an English-speaking movie with a few scenes in French, for instance, when Gabrielle goes to meet Matthew's parents in the United States (min. 85). This lack of French and the fact that the French spoken in this movie is an international French have been criticized: "the authors of the film alienated Quebeckers from their language: we speak in this film an international French - incidentally incorrect - absolutely unbearable" (Ramond 2009, par. 6). This perspective offered by this movie on the Montréal of the 1960s is definitely an Anglo perspective.

Even though characters in this movie use cars (mins. 15; 39 and 48), they also use public transportation (mins. 7; 8 and 42). Among the different movies studied, this is the only one that lends so much importance to public transportation (figure 3-3). In terms of direction, the movements happen between the United States and Montréal (in both directions) (mins. 1 and 42), emphasizing the link between these two places. All other displacements happen in the inner city and almost exclusively in the downtown area.

This film offers an Anglo-Canadian perspective on 1960s Montréal, more than a decade after this period. The political forces that were at stake during that period, including the independence movement in Québec and the tensions between French-Canadians and Americans, are at the core of the movie. Nevertheless, in this movie the independence movement is not limited to Québec. It is now framed in a more global geographical context

that involves other movements of protestation such as the war of the Unites States against the Vietnam.

Figure 3-3: Gabrielle uses public transportation in the movie, *Yesterday (aka Gabrielle)* (dir. Larry Kent, 1981) (min. 8).



3.4 Emporte-Moi (1999)

Emporte-moi (Set Me Free), (dir. Léa Pool, 1999) is set in Montréal during 1963. The film tells the story of Hannah, a teenage girl living with her mentally sick mother, and her father who is a novelist that has never published a book. Her mother works to pay the bills and her father tries to publish his first book while working part-time. Facing the crises of teen-hood, Hannah tries to escape her real life via movies. Movies have such a strong influence on her that

she decides to become a prostitute to mimic her favorite character. Eventually she gets through this period of her life and with her teacher's help she is able to forge a new path in life.

Emporte-Moi is a drama, a romance and a semi-autobiography (Feinstein 2000). It describes with tact and empathy the puberty crisis experienced by a young girl (Gilbert and Santoro 2006). The script was written by 3 women: Lea Pool, Nancy Huston and Monique H. Messier. It won the best prize for script at the Chicago International Film Festival (Grunes 2007). The movie was quite successful. It won a total of 15 awards including “ Best Film in the Giffoni festival; Youth Prize in the Valladolid Festival; Ecumenical jury's Special prize in the Berlin festival; Jutra for actress to Karine Vanasse; For supporting actress Pascale Bussières, etc.” (Pallister and Hottell 2005, 64). The script was also controversial to some extent since Léa Pool was sued by Isabelle Raynaud, female director and writer, for plagiarism and “without mentioning plagiarism, the judge determined that in *Emporte-Moi* scenario there was some repeating of certain creative elements found in Raynaud's scenario” (Pallister and Hottell 2005). Nevertheless, the movie was a success in Germany, Switzerland, Italy and the United States (Gilbert and Santoro 2006).

This was the sixth feature film of film director Léa Pool. Her first movie was a short film entitled *Strass Café* (1980) (Melnyk 2004a). In 1975, she left her country, Switzerland, to continue her education in Montréal. According to her, the movie “was very close to [her] own story” (Hays 2007, 228) and it was “definitely [her] most personal film” since it was about her mother, father and life (Monk 2001, 204). In this film, as well as in other of her films, Léa Pool treats subjects such as identity (Gilbert and Santoro 2006), sexuality and difference (Marshall 2001a; Melnyk 2004a). She is considered as a feminist director. Her cinema “is a cinema between spaces and places, fantasy and reality...” (Marshall 2001a, 231).

Religion is present throughout the movie and goes beyond just Catholicism. There are some scenes showing people praying at the dinner table or before drinking (mins. 3 and 28). Hannah's parents have arguments about religious differences (min. 10) and at school, Hannah refuses to be categorized as Christian: "... my father is Jewish, my mother is Catholic. Judaism passes via the mother, so I'm not Jewish. For Catholics, it's through the father, so I'm not catholic either. But personally, I don't care" (min. 18). Beside this lack of religious belonging, Hannah remains exposed to anti-Semitism as illustrated in the following scene:

- Classmate: "My dad says Jews are just self-pitying. Their propaganda's exaggerated. They have something shameful to hide."
- Hannah: "Why should I care?"
- Classmate: "You must have an opinion."
- Hannah: "What about the concentration camps, the crematoria?... Your father was safe and sound during the war..." (min. 27).

Pool expands the traditional Catholic issues within Québec society to denounce its potential inclination toward anti-Semitism.

From the Political point of view, this film has a couple of interesting scenes. Under the national identity criterion, there is a scene in which Hannah's teacher asks her what her father's nationality is, she answers "none", but "He was Polish, before the war" (min. 18). Just like Hannah does not have any religion (mins 3 and 18), her father does not have any nationality. Her father lost his nationality during the war and certainly did not take either the Québécois or Canadian identity or nationality since then. Although this lack of national identity can be explained by the political engagement of her father; who is "communist" according to his mother in law (min.30), it also speaks about the difficulty for many immigrants to embrace new national identities.

The financial situation of Hannah's family is not great. They live in a depressing apartment located in a poor neighborhood and they struggle to pay the bills (min. 27) (figure 3-4). Hannah's mother works long hours in a sewing company to be able to pay the bills (min. 3-4). Hannah's mother works long hours in a sewing company to be able to pay the bills (min. 38). Hannah always follows her father's progress in writing by checking in on him at his office (min. 34), or by asking him if he will be publishing anything soon so they can be rich (min. 31). This desperate financial situation makes her quite vulnerable. Hannah and Paul have to steal food from a supermarket (min. 48), and in another scene, she goes to a bakery to get bread, and upon seeing her desperation, the baker takes advantage of her situation to assault her sexually and to pay her with bread and money (min. 55). To escape from this difficult life, Hannah starts to watch movies.

Figure 3-4: Working-class, poor-quality buildings in which Hannah and her family live, in the movie *Emporte-moi (Set Me Free)* (dir. Pierre Houle, 2004) (min. 27).



Hannah's school plays an important role in the movie and in her life as well. Influenced by Anna Karina's character in the film *Vivre sa vie* (dir. Jean-Luc Godard, 1962), Hannah

really falls in love with her teacher since she resembles Anna Karina's character (min. 25). Hannah's teacher helps her to find out about herself and about life through philosophical discussions (min. 34). After two nights of running away and pretending to be a prostitute, which again was influenced by Anna Karina's character, Hannah, who is feeling horrible, finds her way to her teacher's doorstep where she ends up sleeping instead of going back home. In the morning the teacher finds her at the doorstep and takes care of her (min. 84). Hannah asks her to stay with her, but the teacher does not think that is a wise idea and asks her to go back to her family (min. 85). At the end of the movie, after seeing Hannah's love for movies, she lends her camera to Hannah which opens new possibilities for Hannah to express and find herself (min. 88).

Here again, most of displacements are made by car and happen within the inner city. What is more interesting is that the movie starts with a trip that Hannah takes from Québec city's countryside, where Hannah's grandmother lives, to Montréal to go back to her parents (min. 6), and it ends with the same trip back from Montréal to Hannah's grandmother in the countryside (min. 88). This roundtrip from the countryside to the city can be interpreted as the passage of Hannah from childhood to adulthood throughout her stay in Montréal.

In this movie Montréal appears to be the place where the child enters adulthood throughout a series of different experiences, that are tainted by Hannah's family background as well as by their precarious financial situation. Montréal here is then a place of transition that captures some of the complexity and difficulties, risks and adventures, possibilities and limits of becoming an adult in the 1960s.

3.5 *Monica la mitraille (2004)*

Monica la mitraille (aka Machine Gun Molly) (dir. Pierre Houle, 2004) tells the story of a young woman living in Montréal in the 1960s, in a poor family. To earn some money and

to help her family she becomes a prostitute, before meeting and marrying a Scottish bank robber who initiates her to stealing. They have two kids together, but her husband eventually leaves her, and she continues robbing banks with her following lovers. Throughout the movie Monica defies the police until she gets caught in a car chase in Montréal North where she finally dies, shot by the police.

This drama is based on a true story (D. O'Connor 2011). It won one Genie Award in 2005 for best Screenplay and was nominated for 10 more awards including Best Performance by an Actress in a Leading Role and Best Achievement in Direction (*Monica La Mitrailie* n.d.). That same year it was also nominated for four Jutra Awards (*Monica La Mitrailie* n.d.).

Monica la mitrailie was Pierre Houle's first feature film. Houle started his carrier as an assistant for several directors such as Francis Mankiewicz, Richard Pierce, Jean Beaudin and Léa Pool (*L'inis* n.d.). He directed TV series such as *Scoop II* (1993), *Scoop III* (1994), *Tag* (2004), *René Levesque - Le destin d'un chef* (2008) and *Au secours de Béatrice* (2015) that established him as one of Canada's top television director (*L'inis* n.d.).

Monica la mitrailie can be first characterized by its lack of religious content. As summarized in an article from Montréal Film Journal: This movie “calls to mind early Scorsese, like a cross between “Mean Streets” and “Boxcar Bertha”, minus the religious overtones – which is odd considering the extent of the Church's influence in Québec at the time” (“Monica La Mitrailie” 2004). This comment is confirmed by the complete absence of any religious references throughout the movie.

This movie plays more with the idea that “francophone ethnic-class poverty [in the 1960s] drove some people to desperate measures, like its contribution to the fostering of the FLQ” as well as to bank robbery and prostitution (Sugars 2015, 417).

The movie navigates between French and English, between the francophone world of Monica's family to the Anglo world of her husband. The poor francophone is reached by the wealthy Anglo crook. In one scene a francophone thug tells the Scottish robber that east of the Saint-Laurent belongs to him (i.e. the French) and west to the English (min. 11). Additionally, characters occasionally mix English with French while they are talking in the movie (min. 23).

Poverty is the driving force that led Monica to prostitution, a plight which she escapes by marrying a gangster. Poverty is also the reason why her family house burns down (min. 29) (figure 3-5), and why her friend has to have an abortion as she cannot afford a baby (min. 44). All these scenes speak to the poverty of this family and their perception that the only way that they can change this desperate life is to act as criminals or through marriage (with a criminal). Hence, she marries a Scottish gangster (Michael). Abandoned by him, she falls in love again and marries another criminal, Gaston. Her life changes completely afterward and she becomes wealthy (min. 60). However, Gaston gets caught and jailed by the police for an armed robbery. After this incident, Monica, who is desperate and lacks any skills, becomes a criminal herself. She tries to justify her actions to her daughter and tells her that she only burgles to feed her kids (min. 90).

In terms of Urban Mobility, the use of personal cars is prominent in the movie. Most of these trips happen within the inner city while the characters were committing robberies. There are also some more interesting trips from Montréal (where she works as a prostitute) to Hochelaga when she lives with her family. Then from Hochelaga to the suburbs where she lives with Gaston, her second husband (min. 60). Montréal and prostitution are an intermediate step for Monica to escape her condition and the working class red brick building. But she is caught up by her destiny. In the last minutes of the movie, while she is chased by the police,

Monica drives to the neighborhood of Montréal Nord, then Jean Talon where she dies (mins. 115 and 117).

Figure 3-5: Monica's family house burns down as it is a poor building made of inflammable and cheap materials in Hochelaga, in the movie *Monica la mitraille* (dir. Pierre Houle, 2004) (min. 29).



Finally, it is important to mention that demonstrations are absent from this movie. This is not a movie about collective fights, but rather about individual shifts to survive poverty. *Monica la mitraille* is not about religious and collective independent movements. It is about the impossibility for working class population such as Quebecers in the 1960s to escape their condition. This is a political movie that explores some of the reasons behind crime and prostitution. These reasons are economic, historic, cultural and linguistic. While previous movies describing the Montréal of this era were focusing on Religion and collective action, *Monica la mitraille* offers a different reading of the desperate situation in which part of

Québécois society were caught in in the 1960s. A situation that explains to some extent the political movement and the Quiet Revolution.

3.6 C.R.A.Z.Y (2005)

C.R.A.Z.Y. (dir. Jean-Marc Vallée, 2005) tells the story of Zac, a boy who was born on Christmas Day 1960 in a Montréal suburb, and while becoming a teenager discovers his homosexuality. Being unaccepted as a homosexual boy, Zac suffers both in his family and in society. He later leaves home for an unplanned trip to the Holy Land in Israel to find himself and to escape from his oppressive environment in Montréal. He comes back from his trip while his oldest brother is dying of a drug overdose at the hospital. After the death of his brother, and as time passes, Zac and his father become close again and his father eventually accepts him as he is.

C.R.A.Z.Y. was acclaimed in Québec where it was characterized as the best movie of 2005 (Iordanova 2010). “It was nominated for a stunning 45 awards over a span of two years following its release, 38 of which it won. These include 10 Genie Awards (the precursor to the Canadian Screen Awards), 12 Jutra Awards (as they were then known), the award for Best Canadian Feature at the Toronto International Film Festival, and audience awards at AFI Fest and the Atlantic Film Festival” (Knecht 2016, par. 3). In 2005, it was among the top 3 best box office movies in Québec. This popular success was unexpected for a drama about homosexuality in Québec in the 1960s (Knecht 2016). It was also selected as Canada’s official submission for the 2005 Academy Award for Best Foreign Language Film.

Its director Jean-Marc Vallée started his career with three short movies, *Stereotypes* (1992), *Les Fleurs magiques* (1995) and *Les Mots magiques* (1998) before becoming one of the Canada’s most awarded filmmakers (McIntosh and Loiselle 2014). According to Vallée, *C.R.A.Z.Y.* has “been influenced by Scorsese for the redemption side, but also by *American Beauty* of Sam Mendes for the ordinary folly side of a suburban family” (Flageul 2005, 2).

Vallée has “special talent for dramatic work and sweet sentimentality... and became famous for his films featuring torn and somewhat lost characters who try to find each other and commit to healing” (McIntosh and Loisel 2014, par. 1).

Religion is omnipresent in this movie. *C.R.A.Z.Y.* is full of religious symbols such as the cross that appears through the entire movie (Reinhartz 2013). The statues and images of Jesus that appear all over the home of Zac’s family. Zac’s mother has a necklace with a cross pendant that she always touches when she needs comfort. After a family argument, she touches her cross to calm down (min. 24). Later we see the same necklace on Zac’s neck (min. 24). The symbol takes on even more significance during a summer camp where Zac loses his necklace in the swimming pool, after being bullied by other boys. In the aftermath he feels sad and terrified (min. 26).

Another religious element is prayer. Zac’s family pray when they see a problem or a discomfort. Zac starts to pray in front of a statue of Jesus on the cross to be changed into a normal person, after hearing his parents' conversation, talking about how he is different from other boys (min. 16) (figure (3-6). Each year for Christmas the entire family goes to the Christmas mass (mins. 2 and 10).

Figure 3-6: Zac prays to the symbol of the Christ on the wall, one of the several scenes illustrating religious symbols in the movie *C.R.A.Z.Y.* (dir. Jean-Marc Vallée, 2005) (min. 16).



These beliefs go beyond religion. Zac's mother believes in an old neighbor's prediction that Zac has exceptional power in healing people. Almost all the family members and relatives would go to see him to fix their physical injuries or illnesses (min. 22).

From a political perspective, while this movie takes place during the 1960s, there is no mention of Québec's political situation (Blanchard 2009). The movie almost never talks directly about politics, except for some news that we hear in the background, but they are too vague to be interpreted as political. The only scene where the national identity is evoked is during Zac's birthday when his parents offer him a mini hockey game pack, his father mentions that when you live in Québec you need to know about this game (min. 4). But, Zac is neither interested in hockey nor in the Québec independence.

Urban mobility in this movie happens mainly in cars which illustrates the suburban life of the family (mins. 7,14). The importance of the suburb is emphasized by Jean-Marc Vallée who stated that, "Staging for *C.R.A.Z.Y.* will be in the image of banlieue, sometimes sober, sometimes burst..." (Flageul 2005, 7). The movie was shot in Beaulieu, a suburb of Montréal North (Blanchard 2009).

Based on these different elements, the film appears mostly engaged with a societal issue: the discovery and acceptance of homosexuality for a boy growing in the Montréal of the 1960s, in a society that is still highly influenced by religious perspectives. The movie attempts to depict the long and difficult process of being accepted as homosexual in what remained a religion state. Although this movie could be considered as political in its engagement with sexual issues, it completely disengages itself from the broader political changes of the Québec of the 1960s. What is also interesting is that while the suburb started to appear in the movie *Monica la mitraille*, that was shot a year before, it becomes the center of action in *C.R.A.Z.Y.*. Québec suburbanization of the 1960s only starts to appear in Québec films of the 2000s.

3.7 Corbo (2014)

The last film studied for this thesis is *Corbo* (dir. Mathieu Denis, 2014), a feature film based on a true story. In the spring of 1966, Jean, a young student, joins the team of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) journal, *La Cognée*. He starts as a distributor of the journal before being introduced to the revolutionary leaders of the group. Jean decides to become more involved in their revolutionary actions. He ends up volunteering to set a bomb in a textile factory. Tragically, he dies setting up the attack because of a malfunction of the bomb in July 1966.

This drama was featured in the Toronto International Film Festival during the fall 2014, and later was listed among the best 10 movies of Canada of 2015 (Brownstein 2015). It was screened at the Toronto and Berlin festivals and in some thirty other festivals around the world. It won three Canadian Screen Awards nominations (including Best Picture) and obtained ten Jutra Awards nominations (including Best Film, Best Direction and Best Screenplay) (*Corbo* n.d.). According to the film producer Félize Frappier, the motive behind showing a historical event decades after it has occurred is partly a result of director's will "to revisit our history" (Duchesne 2013, par. 9). In the process of writing the script, director Mathieu Denis faced many problems as he was unable to find historical documents about the decade. In an interview, he argues that the history of the beginning of the Quiet Revolution and even the 1970 October crisis were documented, but there was not enough material about the events between, as it was forgotten or wanted to be forgotten (Hervé 2015).

In an interview with *La Presse* after screening *Corbo* in public, Denis states:

"I do not hide it: I am a separatist. The Québec people have no future except in the affirmation of their own existence. In the refusal to do so, one is doomed to a slow, but inevitable disappearance. I did not want to make a film

that tells people what to think. I wanted it to represent, with some accuracy, the complexity of these issues, political commitment, recourse to violence, independence, identity, which are much more complex than they were in 1966” (Cloutier 2015, par. 13).

In 2016 he started a project as a co-director again with Simon Lavoie entitled *Ceux qui font les révolutions à moitié n'ont fait que se creuser un tombeau*, which also is about the radical oppression of the Québec youth and their revolutionary idea of freedom (Guy 2017). Yet, Mathieu Denis does not call himself a militant or a radical director but a separatist (Brownstein 2015).

The political dimension of the movie appears at multiple levels. I identified 42 scenes in this movie directly referring to political issues. The importance of French language as a part of Québécois identity is emphasized throughout the movie. At the very start of the movie it is stated that “80% of inhabitants are Francophone, but "English is the language of the workplace and finance. Management jobs in the private and federal sectors are restricted to Anglophones” (min. 1). In another scene, Jean's brother, Claude, opposes his father by saying "in downtown Montréal, they asked mom to speak white” (i.e. English) (min. 8). In a later scene, Claude makes phone calls to inform people about the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN). After calling several people, the last phone call is with an Anglophone lady that refuses to speak in French. Claude hangs up on her angrily, arguing that if a person refuses to speak French it is not even worth trying to convince her about their movement (min. 26).

Certain scenes contain clear xenophobic comments. For instance, the classmates make fun of Jean's Italian family name (min. 3). The difficulty for this family to be accepted as part of Québec society is expressed when Jean's grandfather argues that even if the members of the family got decent jobs, money and everything, they are still not being accepted as part of French

Canadian society, even though the father married a Canuck (Slang term for French Canadian person). Similarly, even though they have lived in Québec for many years, people call them “Wog” (min. 10), a slang term that refers to immigrants, mostly Italian or Greek immigrants that is highly pejorative (Coleman 2014). This clear distinction between the real French-Canadians and the others is made finally during a conversation between Jean's father and his friend, the friend says that “we don't count in vote if we aren't French-Canadian. That is either you are one, or they would not count on you” (min. 68).

The revolution is also a major theme of the movie. For instance, during a discussion between family members, Jean's father and brother discuss their views on politicians Jean Lesage and René Levesque and the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale (RIN) (min. 7). Jean's father is a lawyer and involved in the political activities of the Liberal party, who are opposed to the separation (min. 34), but never hear explicitly about Jean's father being a federalist. In one of his monologues, Jean says that "Our revolution is made of fight and we are prepared for it. We will fight" (min. 28). Jean and his brother taste for revolution is nourished by cultural means such as the movie *Battle of Algeria* (dir. Gillo Pontecorvo 1966) (min. 16), that is set “in the 1950s, in the period in which fear and violence escalate as the people of Algiers fight for independence from the French government” (Pontecorvo 1967).

Riots, militant actions and slogans are omnipresent in the movie: they appear in 22 scenes starting from the very first scene of the movie that claims that some Quebecers "are increasingly convinced the more radical measures are in order" (min. 1). After meeting two activist students (Julie and Francois), he becomes an official member of MLP (min. 45). The MLP (Mouvement de Liberation Populaire) is following the same idea as ML-ers (Marxist-Leninists) radical groups (min. 23).

Jean also reads parts of the book *The Wretched of the Earth* by Frantz Fanon¹, which is a radical book encouraging the patriots to engage in violent actions. During one of the first violent actions, an attempt to explode the Lagrande factory – a woman –is accidentally killed (min. 58).

After this tragic event, the members have second thoughts about their activities, and one member even leaves the group. Although Jean has doubts on the group's activities after this accident, he convinces himself to stay involved. Jean, who is from a wealthy family, wants to prove to the group that even though he did not suffer as much as them in life, he is committed to the common goal. Hence, he accepts to set a bomb in a textile factory, even while other members of the group seemed reluctant to do so. He finally got killed accidently while setting up the bomb outside of the factory (min. 97).

There are some social tensions throughout the movie due to different social status. Julie tells Jean that her father does not have a job, because he was fired after starting a labor union three years ago (min. 38). On the other hand, Jean, who is from a wealthy family, goes to a private school and does not understand the living conditions of low income people like Julie's parents.

Educational institutions play an important role in this movie. For instance, the student activists distribute the FLQ journal *La Cognée* in the school (min. 5). In a scene, Jean talks about his family history in the classroom, and how his father and grandfather were put in jails only because they were Italians. The teacher wants to stop him, but Jean keeps on going and

¹ Frantz Fanon (1925–1961) was a psychiatrist that started to write on revolutionary mobility and colonialism. He later joined the Algerian independence movement against France and fought in the war. These actions and his essays served as a source of inspiration for people who fought for independence since then (Cherki 2006).

he is asked to leave the classroom (min. 12). Jean argues with his father about school and asks him provocatively: "why going to school if it's to learn to be a slave" (min. 15).

Religion does not play a central role in this movie, but it is still present. Jean studies in a religious private school (min. 2), and he goes to a church (min. 28). We can hear the church bell ringing in another scene while Jean and his friend are waiting in a street (min. 55).

Mobility is mainly achieved by walking, though we do see the use of vehicles in the movie, especially cars. Jean's father drives from a birthday party to their home (min. 38). Jean's comrade flees with his van after Jean's death (min. 100) and the gang uses a bus to move to the countryside for preparing militant actions (min. 69). A motorcycle is also used to get to the factory to set the bomb (min. 56).

In terms of directionality, most of these trips happened within the inner city, although there is one group trip from Montréal to the countryside as mentioned previously, to get prepared for more drastic revolutionary actions (min. 69).

Jean's family lives in a big house of the wealthy suburb of Mont Royal (min. 5), while the other gang members meet in a poor neighborhood to discuss their revolutionary activities (min 40). Jean goes to the Madonna Della Difesa church in Little Italy neighborhood after a party (min. 28). This film includes scenes depicting revolutionary actions such as demonstrations in the street in front of the Lagrenade shoes factory (min. 58), setting of the bomb at Parc La Fontaine (min. 19) and writing revolutionary graffiti on a wall (min. 35) (See Figure 3-7).

To summarize, this movie provides a highly radical perspective on the revolutionary movements of the Quiet Revolution that later led to the October crisis of 1970. The film directly and intensively talks about how militant actions and violence were mobilized toward the

independence of Québec. In fact, the revolution is anything but “*quiet*” in this movie, since, the overall message is that changes will only happen with radical actions and at a human cost.

Figure 3-7: Jean draws a graffiti on the wall "FLQ Solidarité", *Corbo* (dir. Mathieu Denis, 2014) (min. 35).



3.8 Summary

Not surprisingly, the main theme that was found in the seven selected movies is political issues. Political issues are addressed from different perspectives. The call for radical and violent actions to change Québec society, (*Le chat dans le sac, Yesterday and Corbo*), the description of difficult living condition that explains partially the deep needs for changes (*Le chat dans le sac, Entre la mer et l'eau douce, Emporte-moi, Monica la mitraille and Corbo*) and the more social struggles that were characterizing the decade in Québec (*Emporte-moi,*

Monica la mitraille and *C.R.A.Z.Y.*). Religious issues were also covered in most of these movies, but in a subtler way, while urban mobility and urban development appear less systematically. All of these different elements will be discussed in more details in the following section.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present a comparative analysis of the different films studied in order to assess how the cinematographic representations of 1960s Montréal have changed over time. This comparative analysis is structured around the four main criteria selected in this project: religious issues, political issues, urban mobility and urban development. Before moving to the study of each criterion, I offer an overview of the results presented in chapter 4 (See Tables 4-1 and 4-2).

Table 4-1: Synthesis of the films studied


































Year	Title (Director)	Main Criterion	Secondary Criterion
1964	<i>Le chat dans le sac</i> (dir. Gilles Groulx)	Political	Religion
1967	<i>Entre la mer et l'eau douce</i> (dir. Michel Brault)	Political	Religion, Urban Mobility
1981	<i>Yesterday</i> (dir. Larry Kent)	Political	Urban Mobility
1999	<i>Emporte-moi</i> (dir. Léa Pool)	Political	Urban Mobility, Religion
2004	<i>Monica la mitraille</i> (dir. Pierre Houle)	Political	Urban Mobility
2005	<i>C.R.A.Z.Y.</i> (dir. Jean-Marc Vallée)	Religion	Urban Mobility
2015	<i>Corbo</i> (dir. Mathieu Denis)	Political	Religion, Urban Mobility, Urban Development

4.2 Criteria Presence Comparison Table

Based on comparison of criterion observed in each film, political aspects seem to be the

most prevalent element in importance in six of the seven films studied (see table 4-2). In *Le chat dans le sac* and *Corbo*, politics is extremely important, while in *Entre la mer et l'eau douce*, *Yesterday*, *Emporte-moi*, and *Monica la mitraille*, the political dimension is less prominent. The only film that is not openly political in terms of the Quiet Revolution is *C.R.A.Z.Y.*, although its focus on homosexuality is obviously highly political. Urban mobility is presented in all these films, but it never played an important role, while urban development is marginally approached in all of these movies. Finally, the presence of religious issues varies from one film to another.

Table 4-2: Comparison of the significance of each element in the movies studied.

	Religion	Politics	Urban Mobility	Urban Development
1. Le chat...				
2. Entre...				
3. Yesterday				
4. Emporte...				
5. Monica...				
6. CRAZY				
7. Corbo				
Level of Importance:		<i>very High:</i> 	<i>High:</i> 	
	<i>Fair:</i> 	<i>Low:</i> 	<i>Null/Very low:</i> 	

4.3 The Political Aspects

Although most of the movies portrayed clear political struggles and actions within 1960s Montréal, these political dimensions varied between movies as synthesized in table 4-3. In this thesis I approached political aspects in a broad sense that includes conventional political statements as well as social and economic issues. In the following paragraphs, I will elaborate upon these differences in the representation of each sub-criterion.

Table 4-3: The political aspects of the seven films studied

<i>Measurement: Assessment of subcategories of a) National Identity, b) Political Activities, c) Living Conditions and d) Demonstration</i>				
<i>Political</i>				
	<i>National Identity</i>	<i>Political Activities</i>	<i>Living Conditions</i>	<i>Demonstration</i>
1. Le chat...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of French Language for French-Canadians' identity - Criticizing the French-Canadians' lack of power in finance sectors of Québec 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Calling for a revolution - Québec separation - Corruption & censure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Struggle in finding jobs - Criticizing the education system 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Invitation for riots - Encouraging riots
2. Entre...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of French in Job market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Québec independence - Non-violent revolution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor living condition - Blaming the immigrants for financial crisis - Unemployment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A
3. Yesterday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Importance of French language in Québec - Dissatisfaction of the mix of French-canadians with the others 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Québec Separation - The end to Anglo-Canadian power on Québec 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Opposing to participate in revolution because of fearing to loose financial stability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Riots & strikes - Wall Graffiti in the streets
4. Emporte...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A very few usages of French during dialogues to address the main character's nationality - Immigrants' identity crisis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poor condition of family - Identity struggle for the daughter of the family 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A

5. Monica...	- N/A	- N/A	- Education system is depicted as being helpful - Financial struggles - Lack of jobs	- N/A
6. CRAZY	- Talking about French language	- N/A	- Poor living condition - corruption and Crime	- N/A
7. Corbo	- Language role in identity crises - Claiming that French- Canadian have less power in managing the financial sectors	- Québec Separation	- Showing the gap between poor and rich - Critical of the educational system	- Demonstration in front of Lagrenade factory office - People carrying placards in the streets - Riots and call for violent actions

The disproportional representation of political aspects seems to resonate with the political situation of the period during which each movie was released rather than the single specific situation of the 1960s. As identified in the literature review, most of the movies shot during the 1960s were focusing on Québécois identity (Austin-Smith and Melnyk 2010), including on language issues (Dundjerovich 2003). For instance, *Le chat dans le sac* and *Entre la mer et l'eau douce*, include scenes describing political activities to support the establishment of a national identity. These two movies were really engaged in the political, independence movement of their time. One from a more radical perspective (*Le chat dans le sac*), and the other one with a more peaceful philosophy (*Entre la mer et l'eau douce*).

In the 1980s and 1990s, and in the wake of the two referendums defeats for separatists, directors became less interested in revisiting the national political aspects of the 1960s and became more focused on international politics (MacKenzie 2004). As a result, the movie *Yesterday*, despite mentioning the political status of Québec, used a love story between a United States citizen and a Québécoise woman, to talk about living conditions in Montréal and to talk about broader political issues such as the Vietnam war. This trend seems to have continued during the 2000s, since *C.R.A.Z.Y.*, which was released in 2005, simply ignores

completely the independence movement that was emerging in the 1960s. In the movie *Emporte-moi*, released a few years after the second referendum, there is no mention of the political situation of the time and of Québec national identity either. The film is concerned with social divisions between poor and rich and with the common consequences of financial struggle. In other words, based on these examples, it seems that there was a dilution of the very specific political issues of the Québec of the 1960s into more general and social issues over time, or at least until a more recent revival.

Indeed, since the 2010s, Québec cinema witnessed a return to FLQ movies, as illustrated by two movies: *La maison du pêcheur (Fisherman's House)* (dir. Alain Chartrand 2013) and *Corbo* (Véronneau 2015, 163). Although the former was not studied here since it does not unfold in Montréal but in Gaspé, it depicts the story of the radical group of FLQ's Chenier Cell, which in 1970 prompted the October Crisis. The latter tells the story of a 16 year-old teenager from a wealthy family that was involved in FLQ radical actions and eventually died while setting a bomb in a factory (Véronneau 2015, 163). Although these two examples are not sufficient to argue that there is a clear trend towards a revival of the interest for the political dimensions and actions of the 1960s in Québec, the fact that they approach political issues in a similar way as the movies from the 1960s (e.g. *Le chat dans le sac*) may indicate a resurgence of interest in Québec society for the separatist movement for at least a certain segment of Québec film industry.

Demonstrations were a symbol of the Independence movement and its capacity to mobilize people to fight for national identity (Gérin 2014a). The importance of parades such as the 1968 *Saint-Jean-Baptiste*, are “particularly significant... because they serve as the sites of both the performance and the subversion of an established national narrative ..., providing the stage for the spectacular articulation of a new secular national identity in the 1960s”

(Zubrzycki 2016a, 26). This spectacular articulation did not appear clearly in the films studied.

To some extent there is a discrepancy between the minimal presence of demonstrations in the movies studied and the crucial role that some of them have played during the Quiet Revolution (Illien 1999). Although this limited depiction of demonstrations can be explained by the increasing complexity of getting permission to shoot in public place (Mamer 2013; Bekkers and Moody 2014), these technicalities have been somehow mitigated by the use of alternative forms of representations such as newspaper articles (*Le chat dans le sac*) and discussions about riots (*Yesterday*). In other words, the depiction of the use of demonstrations has been done through the dialogues and discourses rather than through its visual depiction. Spatial imaginary can be produced by a range of cinematographic techniques such as the use of sound (Carroll 2016), or of different types of spatial symbols and clues (Flowerdew and Martin 2013), including maps (Joliveau and Mazagol 2016).

4.4 The Religious Aspects

Religious beliefs and practices appeared in most of the movies studied, but only as a minor topic, and more in a descriptive form of religious practices, such as participating in prayer services, than as a strong political statement (see Table 4-4). The exception here is *C.R.A.Z.Y* (dir. Jean-Marc Vallée, 2005). This movie talks about homosexuality during the Quiet Revolution, during which it was still taboo despite the decreasing of religious influence (Schwartzwald 2015). The acceptance of homosexuality in Québec society was broadened in the 1980s with its partial legalization (Marshall 2001a). The fact that the scenario of *C.R.A.Z.Y* was written in the late 1990s can partially explain its focus on homosexuality (Hays 2005), since it was during that period that a universal queer identity was starting to emerge (Marshall 2001a). This importance given to religion in this movie is a way to put in parallel the end of a

religious society and the emergence of a new society characterized here by the acceptance of homosexuality.

Table 4-4: The Religious aspects of the seven films studied

<i>Measurement: Assessment of subcategories of a) Religious Education and b) Religious Practices and Symbols</i>		
<i>Religion</i>		
	<i>Religious Education</i>	<i>Religious Practices and Symbols</i>
1. Le chat...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious institutes' monopoly on text books - The influence of religious rational in schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious difference is a significant problem for the couple
2. Entre...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Different religious practices in Québec are depicted
3. Yesterday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Church rings bell as a symbol of religious practice
4. Emporte...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religion is part of student identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Religious difference is a significant problem for the couple - Praying is depicted as a symbol of being religious - The young generation are less concerned about religion
5. Monica...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Christmas tree is present
6. C.R.A.Z.Y	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - N/A 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Presence of symbols of Christianity such as the cross and the statue of Jesus - Representing a different sexual orientation and condemning it - Praying is prominent as a symbol of being religious - Believing in the religion supernatural characteristics such as healing the sick
7. Corbo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Priests in charge in schools 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Church rings bell showing the presence of the religion - Praying in the church

Before the 1960s, religion provided the foundations for the family, the education and the social structure (Gauvreau 2005, 250), but in the 1960s the Liberal government decided to modify the education system by focusing more on linguistic and pedagogical aspects rather than on religious ones (Behiels 1985). For example, as pointed out in *Le chat dans le sac*, prior to the Quiet Revolution, education in Québec was largely dominated by the Catholic Church

(Euvrard 1988). This transition in the educational system reflects the transitions in the society from a secular state to a modern state (Zubrzycki 2016a; Grillo et al. 2009) as already illustrated with *C.R.A.Z.Y.*.

Although religious references are present in all the selected movies, religion is treated marginally in most of them, which does not reflect its true socio-political importance. That said, although this comment might be true for most aspects of religious beliefs, it might not be true for all them. Even if these symbols are marginal in *Le chat dans le sac*, according to Euvrard (1988) this shows the dominance that Catholic clergy held over Montréal society and how it rapidly lost power during the Quiet Revolution. It is also interesting to note that, the representation of religious practices in the movies studied is often done with a sarcastic tone. It is almost like if religion was already a non-issue that should be treated lightly. Although religious influence was already phasing out in Québec during the 1960s, its impact still remains in contemporary Québec society as illustrated by the recent political debates around the presence of religious symbols in Québec parliament and in Québec society in general. There is indeed a complex and ambiguous relationship between part of the Québec independent movement and the catholic legacy.

4.5 Urban Mobility

The main element that emerge from the urban mobility category is its consistent marginal importance throughout the seven studied movies. Indeed, urban mobility is never an important topic, but is still somehow part of the action. The only element identified through the seven movies is that people almost always travel by cars and most of the car trips happen within the inner city (see table 4-5). Cars in the 1960s became a symbol of liberty and were accessible to the middle class in western countries which is reflected in these movies.

What was more surprising was that the Metro of Montréal was not mentioned in any of the films studied. In the 1960s the construction of the metro of Montréal was among the projects that were called “grands projets” (Zubrzycki 2016a, 76) and it became an archetypical symbol of Montréal modernity. Although this absence of the metro may be explained by the fact that the metro was only opened in 1966, it was actually planned way before the 1960s, and in 1961 the construction of the first phase was already approved based on its initial plan drawn in 1953 (Middleton 2003).

Table 4-5: The urban mobility aspects of the seven films studied

<i>Measurement: Assessment of subcategories of a) Means of transportation and b) Directionality</i>		
<i>Urban Mobility</i>		
	<i>Means of transportation</i>	<i>Directionality</i>
1. Le chat...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cars are used extensively - Very little public transportation usage 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - From Montréal toward Saint-Charles by crossing a bridge.
2. Entre...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cars are used extensively - Using ships for displacements from the countryside to Montréal and Vice versa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - There are several trips from other towns in Québec to Montréal and vice versa
3. Yesterday	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Use of personal cars - Directly talking about bus and using it as a public transportation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - From the Us. To Montréal and vice versa
4. Emporte...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cars are used 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trips to suburban parts of Montréal (centrifugal)
5. Monica...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cars are used as well as bikes and buses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Trips to other towns of Québec and vice versa
6. CRAZY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only cars are used 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Only trips in inner city is depicted
7. Corbo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cars are used 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A trip to countryside of Montréal

Not only was the metro absent, but in only two of the selected movies characters used public transportation, despite the fact that there is a very long history of using public transportation in Montréal, including tramways since the end of the 19th century (Cooper 1969). This lack of interest in public transportation is difficult to explain, furthermore that it does not

match the image that has been conveyed over the years about the importance of the construction of the metro during the 1960s as part of the transformation of Montréal into a modern city.

In terms of directionality, it is interesting to notice that in almost every one of the movies, the character(s) leave Montréal to go somewhere else. Often these other places are towns in Québec, emphasizing the rural roots of most of the Montrealers as well as the recent movement toward the main city. As already emphasized by Naud (2013, 266) in his geographical study of Québec cinema, the contemporary cinematographic discourses of Québec cinema reveal an urban society that is stubbornly rural. The only film in which the suburban development of Montréal is acknowledged throughout trips to the suburb is *Monica la mitraille*. In fact, this suburbanization that was under way in the 1960s only started to interest filmmakers at the turn of the 21st century as further illustrated in the following category.

4.6 Urban Development

Urban development was studied through the lens of three subcategories that emerged from the literature and from the analysis of the movies: (a) housing, (b) suburb and (c) landmarks (see table 4-6). In terms of housing, most of the movies are set mostly in apartments in multi-story buildings where low-income families live such as in *Entre la mer et l'eau douce*, *Yesterday*, *Emporte-moi* and *Monica la mitraille*.

What is interesting is that, while the actions of the earlier movies remain in the downtown part of Montréal, part of the action of all of the three more recent films (i.e. *Monica la mitraille*, *C.R.A.Z.Y.*, and *Corbo*) takes place in large houses located in the suburb. This result illustrates the idea developed by Fortin (2015) that the suburb in Québec cinema has been treated as a marginal and caricatured space in Québec cinema of the 1960s and 1970s, while in the 2000s

there is a growing interest for making movies about the suburbs. This element illustrates the recent recognition of the suburb as a real living space that deserves to be filmed. As emphasized by Fortin (2015), it is no longer the downtown core that is at the heart of the Québécois imagination of the city, it is the metropolis in which the suburb now plays a major role. It also could be because of the need of contemporary cinema to look for utopia:

“Suburban films are spatial stories – instances of a suburban imaginary and enactments of suburban topoi – that strive to create dwelling places in the world responsive in meaningful ways to concerns of everyday life. These stories engage audiences in the most important of ethical questions: what might be the good life in suburbia? The spatial imaginary is a fundamental mode by which the good life is thought, structured, and produced” (G. Dickinson 2015, 44).

Table 4-6: The urban development aspects of the seven films studied

<i>Measurement: Assessment of subcategories of a) Housing, b) Suburb and c) Landmark</i>			
<i>Urban Development</i>			
	<i>Housing</i>	<i>Suburb</i>	<i>Landmark</i>
1. Le chat...	- Living in apartments	- N/A	- Ville- Marie Boutique and Mall
2. Entre...	- Living in a room in a hotel	- N/A	- Saint-Denis ave. - Place des Arts
3. Yesterday	- Living in apartments	- N/A	- N/A
4. Emporte...	- Poor quality apartment in an old building	- N/A	- N/A
5. Monica...	- Living in a house - Living in ghetto	- Moving to the suburb associated to a wealthier way of life	- Sainte-Catherine street, "Montréal & billiards" bar, "John" and "Mets chinois Dragon" - Montréal nord and Jean Talon - Montréal General Hospital - Mount Royal

6. CRAZY	- Living in a bungalow	- Living in a suburban area	- N/A
7. Corbo	- Living in a house	- Living in suburb	- Mont Royal suburb - Madonna Della Difesa church - Little Italy neighbourhood - Lagrenade factory - La Fontaine Parc

The centrifugal representation of the city (i.e. from the center to the suburb) is confirmed by the main recognizable places and landmarks used in the different movies. Indeed, there is a movement over time from shooting landmarks associated to the downtown core such as Ville-Marie and Place des Arts in *Le chat dans le sac* and *Entre la mer et l'eau douce* to shooting landmarks that are further away from the downtown core such as Montréal Nord and Jean Talon area (*Monica la mitraille*) and Little Italy (*Corbo*). It is important to mention that this could be explained partially by the complexity and cost of shooting in contemporary downtown areas.

The use of architectural landmarks also presents some interesting elements. Architectural landmarks that emerged from the Quiet Revolution should not be seen as mere physical elements. They served a higher goal and could be identified as the political and cultural manifestations of the Quiet Revolution (Zubrzycki 2016a). The hosting of the 1967 International and Universal Exposition (Expo 67) and other grand projects were constructed as part of the nationalist political project and its aim to “catch up with the world” (Zubrzycki 2016a). However, just like with the metro, the Expo 67 was almost completely absent from the seven films studied and was not strongly associated with the independence project. This confirms the dichotomy that exists between these visual and political landmarks and the one chosen by cinema. Cinema produces and uses different and somehow more subtle political landmarks than the architectural ones that are more systematically associated to the Quiet

Revolution; cinema creates its own space with its own landmarks.

CONCLUSIONS

In this project, I examined how the cinematographic representation of a city at a certain period of time can evolve longitudinally. The focus of this research was on Montréal in the 1960s, a period during which the city experienced extensive transformations at both the physical and the socio-political levels. To do so I developed a methodology based on four main criteria that characterize the Montréal of the 1960s: Religion, political movements, urban mobility and urban development. These categories have been broken down into subcategories and applied to a selection of seven movies released between 1964 and 2014 in which the action was taking place in Montréal during the 1960s.

This rather small number of movies first indicates a marginal interest in Québec cinema for revisiting the Quiet Revolution. Indeed, while starting this research I was hoping to find more than seven movies unfolding at least partially in Montréal during the 1960s. This lack of cinematographic production over the last 50 years on Montréal of the 1960s illustrates the idea that cinema did not magnify the Quiet Revolution as an overwhelming reference period in Québec modern history. This was even more surprising when taking into account the fact that this specific period is also associated to the birth of modern Québec cinema as discussed in the literature review chapter.

Beyond this first general comment, the analysis of the seven selected movies enabled the identification a few trends in the representation of Montréal of the 1960s. The first one is the overall importance of the political issues associated with the Quiet Revolution in all the movies studied (except in *C.R.A.Z.Y.*), that characterize the presence of the political movements of the Quiet Revolution at the core of the action. This political present illustrates the strong association that has remained over time between the 1960s and the birth of the Québec

independence movement. Religion was the second main theme that characterized these movies. Although it was much more marginal, it appeared throughout all the movies studied, with a more important presence in *C.R.A.Z.Y.*, reflecting the tension that was existing between the growing social acceptance of homosexuality in the 1960s as portrayed in this film and the decreasing of religious influence on social life and sexual orientations during that period.

Although the other two topics under study appeared more marginally in the selected movies, I was able to identify a temporal rupture in the way Montréal was portrayed over time. This rupture happened during the 2000s: in the pre-2000 era, the downtown core of Montréal was the unique place in which stories were unfolding while in the selected movies released after 2000 the action moved more consistently out the downtown core to reach the suburb in what can be identified a centrifugal movement. Since the 2000s films about Montréal during the 1960s do not reduce the city to its downtown core but approach it more like a metropolis in which the suburb plays a growing role.

This centrifugal movement was not associated to any changes in terms of modes of transportation: within the seven selected movies the car remains the main mode of transportation, while references to public transportation are almost non-existent. This lack of presence of public transportation is exemplified by the complete absence of any references to the Metro of Montréal. Cinema does not simply reflect places, but also contributes to their production. In the production of 1960s Montréal, Québec cinema has systematically erased the presence of the metro. This symbol of the transformation of Montréal into a metropolis, a global city, is not associated with the independentist movement that was part of the Quiet Revolution. In contrary, it seems that the metro may have been considered as a symbol of the economic modernity of a city becoming global, rather than a political symbol of a city in quest of a

national sovereignty. The metro is not a political symbol of the Québec independence movement.

Overall, this study was a first attempt to look at how the cinematographic representation of a city at a given period evolved through time. Although this first attempt enabled me to identify some interesting elements, it could certainly be improved. For instance, the methodology could be refined. While I focused on tangible criteria that could be observed while watching the movies, more social or cultural aspects were not examined extensively. These aspects such as social interactions would have been crucial to fully understand places in depth. It is also important to emphasize the fact that while this methodology could be relevant for realist movies, it appeared inappropriate to study the spatiality of more artistic, poetic and surreal movies.

The qualitative aspect of the methodology does not always facilitate the comparison between movies. Although I used a set of criteria and categories in order to provide a framework enabling the comparison of the different films under study, it was still challenging to identify comparable elements in the different movies in a systematic way. Another area that could be considered in future research is the reasons behind the choice of certain settings by directors (Askari 2014), hence it would be highly valuable to interview the directors of the selected movies to better understand the importance of places, politics, religion and socio-economic factors in their films.

In more general terms, this type of analysis would require an in-depth unpacking of the artistic dimension of the movie, the socio-political goals of the director, the political context of its release, its reception as well as its evolution over time. Considering these different criteria for each of the movies selected would enable a more in depth and meaningful analysis of how

the representation of an event or a period associated to a specific location evolves over time and how it contributes to the shaping of our collective memories.

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Wait Until Dark (dir. Terence Young 1967)

X-Men: Apocalypse (dir. Bryan Singer 2016)

Yesterday (aka Gabrielle and This Time Forever) (dir. Larry Kent, 1981)

APPENDIX A

Completed reading grid for the movie *Le chat dans le sac* (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964).

<i>Le chat dans le sac</i> (dir. Gilles Groulx, 1964) 1 h 14 min. <i>Synopsis: Through the coming of age of a 20-year-old man, this film symbolizes the political coming of age of the people of Québec.</i>						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Audio/ Visual	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Education	Schools	Both	22':24"	newspaper article	monopoly on textbooks
			Audio	23':45"	Claude's monologue	He claims there is NO non-religious schools.
			Audio	20':20"	Claude's monologue	"Hypocritical priests taught in our schools"
			Audio	20':24"	Claude's monologue	"They taught us faith, not thinking". A critique from Claude to education system
	Religious Practices	Religious difference	Audio	0':50"	Barbara's monologue	By indicating the religious, director tries to say it is a core difference between this couple
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	1':11"	Barbara's monologue	By indicating this, director tries to say it is a core difference between this couple while one on French-Canadian the other is Anglo-Canadian
			Both	3':08"	Camera zooms, Claude's monologue	He reads books for improving his French language such as <i>Jean Vigo</i> and <i>dictionary of the verbs...</i>
			Audio	6':27"	Claude's monologue	He believes that Angli-canadian disdain the French language and "they lean it just to visit Paris"
			Audio	8':44"	Barbara's monologue	She believes she is behind the other classmates because of her "horrible" accent, and if she doesn't lose it she has to play character parts.
			Audio	9':26"	Claude's monologue	He claims that one of most circulated newspaper with 300,000 circulations per day, is American supervised.
			Audio	21':00"	Barbara's monologue	She thinks she is succeeding in her theatre class, because her teacher says, she is losing her accent.

			Visual	30':00	Camera shows	Showing stores in Ville-Marie Boutique and Mall with both English and French names. (I saw the names of the stores and after googling found a newspaper "LA PRESSE" from 1968 that showed an ad about this mall by introducing the stores placed in it).
	French - Canadian		Audio	32':59"	Claude's monologue	Talking about deprived race and nation. I believe, although he is not naming any nation, but he believes Québécoise people are this nation.
			Audio	41':30"	Claude's monologue	6,000,000 French-Canadian live in Quebec
			Audio	1:06':05"	Claude's monologue	He claims that he is a nationalist.
Political Activities	Quebec Separation		Audio	3':02" & 3':06" & 3':40"	Claude's monologue	claims that the solution to his desperate is lonesome. I interpret this as an indication of the Quebec separation, as we will see in future plots that he is an advocate for major political changes. In 3':40" he seeks a "way out" his current situation.
			Both	55':30"	Radio	It is talking about guarding the separatists as they tried to attack some places.
	Censorship		Audio	16':06"	Dialogue between Claude and a newspaper manager	The manager claims that if you bring facts there is no censorship, but it should be real facts not dreams.
	Corruption		Audio	24':01"	Claude's monologue	He is telling a fact about Marist brothers who has stolen big money from government.
	Revolution		Audio	17':00	Claude's monologue	His idea of changing the world
			Audio	1:07':00	Claude's monologue	He claims that in 2 years a big change is going to happen.
	Demonstration	Rebellion		Audio	28':00	Newspaper man
			Audio	37':00"	Claude's monologue	He thinks: "things should be harsher for revolution" and for the revolt
			Audio	50':55"	Claude's monologue	" Am I a revolutionary? I don't know. A rebel? Yes.
Living Condition	Poor & Rich		Audio	21':18"	Claude's monologue	" I borrow 2 bucks from Jean-Paul, who owes Toulouse 5". Which indicates hard condition of living because of not having job.

		Education System	Audio	41':30"	Claude's monologue	Talking about the living condition of Francophones. - In the past 97 years we have been living this way. - Our standard of living is 10% below the average Canadian's and 27% below the Ontarian's. - 71% of Canadians are Anglo- Canadiens. - In the beginning this ratio was 50-50. - We are minority in Canada. - But 82% of Quebec. - But only 20% of our economy is owned by us. - 6,000,000 French-Canadian live in Quebec.
			Audio	20':24"	Claude's monologue	"I need to learn everything by myself"
			Both	3':08"	Camera zooms, Claude's monologue	He is reading political books like La revolt noir, La revolution Cubaine and Frantz Fanon and also books for improving his French language such as Jean Vigo and dictionary of the verbs.... Some other books like Parti Paris and Plaidoyer contre la Censure
			Visual	54':55" & 55':25"	Camera captures	Reading newspapers <i>Le devoir</i> and <i>The Gazette</i> respectively.
Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike	Audio	3':45"	Claude's monologue	He states that he rides his bike a lot for transportation.
		Car	Visual	7':56"	Camera captures	They are riding a car to search for a job for Claude
			Visual	8':40" & 13':00 & 21':30"	Camera captures	Street is full of automobiles
		Bus	Visual	29':41"	Camera captures	People waiting at the bus stop for busses number 63 & 66.
			Visual	47':30"	Camera captures	Showing buses in the street when they are walking toward their place.
		Directionality	Visual	48':10"	Camera captures	Montreal toward Saint-Charles by crossing a bridge.
Urban Development	Housing	Apt	Visual	7':50"	Camera captures	
	Suburbs					
	Landmarks	Commercial Building	Visual	30':00"	Camera shows	Showing stores in Ville-Marie Boutique and Mall with both English and French names. (I saw the names of the stores and after googling found a newspaper " LA PRESSE" from 1968 that showed an ad about this mall

APPENDIX B

Completed reading grid for the movie *Entre la mer et l'eau douce* (dir. Michel Brault, 1967).

<i>Entre la mer et l'eau douce</i> (aka <i>Between Sweet and Salt Water</i>) (dir. Michel Brault, 1967) 1 h 25 min. Synopsis: A young singer-songwriter abandons his life in his hometown and moves to the city to make it big. He achieves fame, but it comes at a price (IMDb).						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Visual/Audio	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Education	Schools				
	Religious Practices	-	Visual	14:00	Camera captures	Claude visits a church to lit up candles and to pray
			Both	14:50"	Camera captures	Claude reads bible verse
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	51:35"	Claude and job interviewer dialogue	The interviewer asks Claude if he could speak English or only he speaks French. He could not.
			Audio	1:09:39"	Claude's dialogue	When he was asked a question in English, he couldn't answer because he doesn't know English
		French - Canadian	Audio	21:04"	Hotel manager's talk on phone	"French-Canadians regain their national pride after independence.... Cop's kids will benefit from our actions, not just us, all Québécois!"
			Audio	56:50"	Monologue of the host of Claude's performance	In his first public performance, the host calls him "an Old-time Québécois"
			Audio	56:55"	Claude's song	His first public singing and this is his song: "I am French Québécois... Please don't bother me with English Imperial system!"
			Audio	59:25"	Claude's dialogue	He talks about his first love which was an Indian girl and he stopped seeing her after a while and left her.
	Political Activities	Quebec Separation	Audio	21:04"	Hotel manager's talk on phone	He claims that "Quebec independence can be achieved without violence... A total independence... Quebec Republic
			Visual	22:17"	Camera captures	Quebec's flags are all over residence's walls.
			Audio	42:30"	Anglophone dialogue with Claude	He says" I like French-Canadians, but you'll never get it" referring to the separation activities.
		Censorship				
		Corruption				

	Demonstration	Revolution				
		Rebellion				
	Living Condition	Poor & Rich	Audio	18:25"	Audio and camera	Claude joins his brother in a residence's room at 1824 St-Denis Ave. They share a bed in a single room.
			Audio	28:50"	During an interview	Claude and his brother says that they work low wage jobs such as in a slaughterhouse. Or collecting garbage. They blame immigrants for the lack of jobs and believe that immigrants should have stayed in the countries, so Québécois could work in appropriate jobs.
			Audio	33:30"	Genevieve dialogue with Claude	She says she does her job as Dance Instructor not because she likes it but to "get by". As her second job she is a waitress in a café.
			Audio	43:50"	Claude's monologue	He again changes his job. He now works in construction with minimum wage.
			Audio	54:31"	Claude's monologue	He is again unemployed.
Education System						
Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike				
		Car	Visual	00:18"	Camera captures	The movie starts by camera capturing parking lot with cars parked there.
			Visual	43:30"	Camera captures	Cars are in the street.
			Visual	1:22:10"	Camera captures	Genevieve's husband takes her home with his car.
		Bus	Visual	1:08:53"	Camera captures	A bus passes the street.
		Directionality	Both	5:30"	Camera captures	Claude leaves Pointe-aux-Anglais by wood cargo to live in Montreal
			Both	8:51"	Camera captures	Claude leaves his hometown St-Irevenue
			Visual	1:12:15"	Camera captures	He leaves Montreal to his city.
Visual	1:19'		Camera captures	He is back to Montreal again.		
Urban Development	Housing	Maison				
	Suburbs	Living district				
	Landmarks		Audio	18:25"	Audio and camera	Claude joins his brother in a residence's room at 1824 St-Denis Ave. They share a bed in a single room.
		-	Audio	56:50"	Camera captures	He performs in Place des Arts

APPENDIX C

Completed reading grid for the movie *Yesterday* (dir. Larry Kent, 1981).

<i>Yesterday</i> (dir. Larry Kent, 1981) 1 h 35 min. <i>Synopsis: In 1967 an American student falls in love with a French-Canadian girl. He later was expelled from university and was convinced with his grandfather to join American military in Viet Nam. Later a letter delivers his death news to the girl, which is pregnant with his child, but it turns out to not be true...</i>						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Visual/Audio	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Education	Schools				
	Religious Practices	Beliefs	Audio	18'	Gabrielle's dialogue with Matthew	She says she cannot be in a physical relationship as she believes in marriage and kids in the family.
			Visual	56':06"	Camera captures	in the street, you can hear the ring of the church.
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	50':05"	Gabrielle's dialogue with Matthew	He says happy new year love, she responds in French: "Bonne annee mon amour".
			Visual	through all the movie	Camera captures	all the signs are all in English.
			Audio	1':11':28"	Gabrielle's Mother	She asks her to answer the phone by saying a French phrase.
			Audio	1:25':45"	Gabrielle	She speaks with her kid in French in his grand parents' home in the US.
		French - Canadian	Visual	5':53"	Camera captures	Gabrielle and some of her friends are writing slogans on a wall: Speak French, Quebec Libre, 100 Years of English Oppression
			Audio	14':18"	Dialogue	Matthew goes to see an exhibition with Gabrielle. There, a friend of her starts questioning Matthew about Viet Nam war. He continues: "we French-Canadians are naïve that we forget that wars for you Americans are profitable"
			Audio	21':15"	Camera captures	Matthew's friends make inappropriate racist jokes on French-Canadian girls.
			Both	24':50"	Camera captures	Gabrielle wants to introduce Matthew to her brother, but after knowing he is American, Claude leaves the bar angrily.
			Audio	25':30"	Gabrielle's dialogue with Claude	He asks her to stop meeting Matthew. He believes they need to stick together and that will happen if they meet people from their community. She answers: "but he is American",

						which I believe means he is not Anglo-Canadian, which he replies with " then look what they're doing in Viet Nam".	
			Audio	1:16'	Gabrielle's father's monologue	Matthew could not make it to his own wedding, because he was sent to Viet Nam that day. The father gets upset and start breaking all the stuffs around the room, while yelling to Gabrielle " Didn't I told you stay with you own-kind"	
	Political Activities	Quebec Separation					
		Censorship					
		Corruption					
	Demonstration	Revolution	Audio	8':20"	Gabrielle's dialogue with Matthew	He asks: "what is the relationship between her school and the political graffiti that she does?" and she answers: It's not about school, it's all over Quebec... it is art's responsibility to contribute to awareness about Quebec's situation	
			Audio	30':55	Claude's argument	Matthew is invited to Gabrielle home to be introduced to her family. Claude enters, ignoring Matthew, starts to talk about a strike that is happening in Montreal by drivers.	
			Audio	31':10"	Claude's dialogue with his father	He asks his father to go on strike as a technique, but the father gets mad and answers" you can't eat your principals".	
		Rebellion	Audio	7':38"	Gabrielle's dialogue with Matthew	While riots who were writing slogans on walls were fleeing because of police interfere, Gabrielle asks Mathew if he knows "who they (police) are after?" And he answers: " yes the French that painted... "	
			Both	36'	Camera captures	Claude tries to set a bomb while police arrives, he gets injured trying to flee from the police.	
		Living Condition	Poor & Rich				
	Education System						
	Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike				
			Car	Visual	15':28"	Camera captures	Matthew picks her up for a date by his car.

			Visual	39':34"	Camera captures	Matthew drives his car to help Claude out of a bad situation.		
			Visual	48':55"	Camera captures	A taxi drives Matthew to his home after arriving in Montreal.		
		Bus	Audio	7':13"	Dialogue	She takes bus to home. Matthew wants to start talking to her, so he tells Gabrielle "if you are waiting for #16 bus, it doesn't stop here".		
			Visual	8':30"	Camera captures	Gabrielle takes bus to home.		
			Visual	42':55"	Camera captures	Matthew takes a bus to go to his city in the US.		
		Directionality	Visual	42':55"	Camera captures	Matthew takes bus to go out of Montreal		
			Visual	1:06'	Camera captures	Matthew's grandpa takes a flight to the US		
			Visual	1:14'	Camera captures	Gabrielle is waiting in the airport for Matthew		
		Urban Development	Housing	Apt	Visual	1:16'	Camera captures	
			Landmarks					
Suburb								

APPENDIX D

Completed reading grid for the movie *Emporte-moi* (dir. Léa Pool, 1999).

<p><i>Emporte-moi (Set Me Free), (dir. Léa Pool, 1999) 1 h 35 min.</i> <i>Synopsis: Canadian/Swiss/French production that tells the tale of Hannah, a tomboyish 13-year-old hitting puberty in 1963. An unhappy and uncomfortable family life leads Hannah to seek escapism in the world of cinema. Specifically, she repeatedly watches and appears enthralled by Anna Karina, the character from Jean-Luc Godard's "Vivre as vie" (1962) about a Parisian woman's descent into prostitution. Her confusion surrounding what is real leads to a crush on her female teacher and her actively pursuing what it's like to be a prostitute for an evening (IMDb).</i></p>						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Visual/Audio	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Education	Schools				
	Religious Practices	Beliefs	Both	3':03"	Camera captures	Hannah's grandparents and her uncle and herself are around a table. The uncle prays before they all start eating, while she does not involve in the pray.
			Audio	18':40"	In a classroom	Hannah's teacher asks about her religion, she puts Christianity while Hannah objects and says: "no, Jewish, but it depends, my father is Jewish, my mother is Catholic. Judaism passes via the mother, so I'm not Jewish. For Catholics, it's through the father, so I'm not catholic either. but personally, I don't care".
			Audio	10':25"	Hannah's father monologue	He is listening to a news while his children start mocking him. He gets mad and argues with the kids that they do not respect their Jewish background and by saying: "Christian grandmother, family of Mongols... (the Mongols refers to their uncle, who is autistic)
			Audio	26':38"	Hannah and a classmate dialogue	Her classmate approaches her in school and asks tells her: "my dad says Jews are just self-pitying. Their propaganda's exaggerated. They have something shameful to hide.". Hannah responds: "Why should I care? Classmate: "You must have an opinion". Hannah: "What about the concentration camps, the crematoria?... You father was safe and sound in the war.

			Audio	27:06"	Hannah and a classmate dialogue	Her classmate calls her "bastard" since her parents are not married.	
			Audio	28:03"	Hannah's father prays	He prays (gospel) in Jewish before drinking his liquor on the dining table.	
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	18:22"	In a classroom	Hannah's teacher asks about his father nationality. She answers "none", she later says "He was Polish, before the war".	
		French - Canadian	Audio	30:05"	Hannah's mother dialogue with her	Hannah's grandmother dislikes her father, and always calls him a Communist, while she does not know the meaning.	
	Political Activities	Quebec Separation					
		Censorship					
		Corruption					
	Demonstration	Revolution					
		Rebellion					
	Living Condition	Poor & Rich		Audio	27:40"	A neighbor's monologue	She addresses Hannah while saying: " Paul is a delivery boy now? Tell him to park that thing somewhere else, it's not a parking here. The rent cheque is bounced again, tell your father. Can't you borrow from your relatives?"
				Audio	31:12"	Hannah's mother dialogue with her	Hannah asks her if her father could publish something, so they could be rich.
				Audio	34:38"	Camera captures	Hannah is in his father office, looking for him while she figures out that her father quit his part-time job. In fact, she thought he works as an editor, but he was working in Archives section
				Visual	38:51"	Camera captures	Hannah's mother works late as a sewer in a small sewing factory
				Visual	48:50"	Camera captures	Hannah and Paul are stealing from a supermarket
				Visual	55:40"	Camera captures	Hannah goes to a bakery to get bread, while the baker sees her desperation, he assaults her and pays her with bread and money.

		Education System	Audio	34':05"	Hannah's teacher Dialogue with her	"It's good normally to be inspired by what you like but... you must find your own words, develop your own ideas about life, about your life".
			Audio	60':03"	Camera captures	Hannah passes out in the classroom. Her teacher tries to help her, but she believes she is not the right person and Hannah needs to seek help.
			Visual	84':12"	Camera captures	After 2 nights of running away, Hannah goes to her teacher's door and sleeps there. In the morning she finds her and takes care of her.
			Audio	88':10"	Camera captures	In the last day of the school before holidays, Hannah's teacher aware of her love for movies, lend her camera to her.
			Audio	85':17"	Hannah and her teacher dialogue	She asks her if she could stay with her.
Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike				
		Car	Visual	86':24"	Camera captures	Hannah's teacher drives her back home to her father.
		Bus	Visual	88':40"	Camera captures	They are driving to countryside with a bus, to her grandmother's house.
		Directionality	Visual	6':20"	Camera captures	Hannah is hitchhiking to go to Montreal from a town close to Quebec City
			Visual	88':40"	Camera captures	They are driving to countryside with a bus, to her grandmother's house.
Urban Development	Housing	Apt	Visual	27':40"	Camera captures	They live in a bad-conditioned apt in an old building.
	Landmarks	Industrial Building	Visual	19':47"	Camera captures	The camera shows this building in which Hannah's mother works. The address is 1449 Rue St-Alexandre, close to the Place-Des-arts Metro.
	Suburbs					

APPENDIX E

Completed reading grid for the movie *Monica la mitraille* (dir. Pierre Houle, 2004).

<p><i>Monica la mitraille</i> (dir. Pierre Houle, 2004) 2 h 5 min. Synopsis: In 1967 the oldest daughter of an impoverished Montreal family, Monique Sparvieri vows to find a way to get out of the ghetto in which she lives. Abandoned by Michael, the love of her life, Monique finds herself alone again when her second husband, Gaston, is sentenced to ten months in prison. While many other women her age are still dreaming of Prince Charming, Monique takes her own destiny in her hands. She and her new love, Gerald Simard, plan a series of bank robberies. Intoxicated by passion and success, Monique isn't afraid of anything and she wants to make sure that her children don't experience the same miserable upbringing as she did (IMDb).</p>							
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Visual/Audio	Time	Indication	Comment	
Religion	Education	Schools					
	Religious Practices	Beliefs	visual	42:18:00	camera	Christmas tree	
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	7:35	conversation	Quebecer girl talks to French sailor in the bar and makes reference to "French from France" in opposition to Québécois language then later say "calm down you French"	
			Audio	11:01	conversation	the thug tells the Scottish safe robber that east of Saint Laurent belongs to him (i.e. the French) and west to the English	
			Audio	23:55	conversation	They mix English and French, the Scottish is mad at Maurice because he killed 2 of his men. He then mentions to go back to Glasgow out of fear (the Scottish friend)	
			visual	37:11	newspaper	"le matin" newspaper announcing the robbery	
		visual	103:25		She gifts her kid hockey jersey of the Montreal Canadians		
		Audio	15:30	conversation	Scottish boyfriend of Monica talks about World war 2 with her father who is obviously lying he went to Normandie out of pride, but couldn't answer the Scottish questions about it and gets mad		
	Political Activities	Quebec Separation					
		Censorship					
		Corruption					
	Demonstration	Revolution					
		Rebellion					

			Audio	2:00		policemen harass poor worker and take his money and cigarette.
			Audio	9:02	discussion	Girl says she comes from the gutter as reference to her social origin (poor) and because she is a prostitute
			Audio	7:31	visual	Girls are forced into prostitution by their handler
			Audio	25:41	discussion	Monica mother cries because she has no money "J'ai pas une estie de cenne" in Québécois vernacular, but is proud her daughter married a man of a certain social prestige. Her mother also blames her husband who is unable to bring money back.
	Living Condition	Poor & Rich	Audio	28:58	discussion	Her Scottish husband mention he is going to help her mother financially because she isn't able to afford anything. The next scene shows the poor building apartment in flames (poor building made of inflammable and cheap material). Her mother dies in the accident and is a symbol of the conditions in which the poor are living and the consequences
			Audio	44:10:00	discussion	Monica's friend got an abortion because she is too poor to keep the baby, and Monica also mentions she has to steal to feed her kids.
			Audio	60:00:00	camera	she is in a car, she bought a suit to Gaston, 2 tickets for a show to 'cazamont' and they live in a suburb house, she went from very poor to rich by robbing bank with her man
			Audio	65:10:00	camera	she goes out in club and buy expensive martinis and bottles.
			Audio	91:00:00	discussion	she talks to her daughter justifying her robberies by saying she wants her kids to never go hungry.

Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike					
		Car	visual	35:45	camera	they go do the robbery with a truck and a car (Volkswagen truck). They also rob a truck use to transport money	
			visual	46:38:00	discussion	1121 Hochelaga she takes a taxi to this place	
			visual	50:00:00	visual	they travel by car with Gaston to a house outside of Montreal in the countryside	
			visual	58:15:00		park avenue Taxi car company Gaston is driving, that's the car he uses for robbery	
		Bus	visual	59:45:00		Monica drives a Rambler car	
		tramway	Visual	0:30	camera	visual of tramway going up the street	
Directionality	visual	13:45	camera	visual of working class red brick buildings and inside of apartments			
Urban Development	Housing	Apt	visual	4:09	camera	Sainte-Catherine street, "Montreal & billiards" bar, "John" and "Mets chinois Dragon"	
	Landmarks		visual	3.1701389	camera	They are on top of a building, we clearly see the Montreal general hospital from the roof and the Mount royal	
		-			115 to 117	camera	they escape the police in the neighborhood of Montreal Nord, then Jean Talon
			visual	54:00:00	camera	house they are living in at this time outside of Montreal, looks like suburb or countryside.	
Suburbs	Living district						

APPENDIX F

Completed reading grid for the movie *C.R.A.Z.Y.* (dir. Jean-Marc Vallée, 2005).

<i>C.R.A.Z.Y.</i> (dir. Jean-Marc Vallée, 2005) 2 h 7 min. Synopsis: A young French-Canadian, growing up in the 1960s and 1970s, struggles to reconcile his emerging homosexuality with his father's conservative values and his own Catholic beliefs.						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Visual/Audio	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Religious Practices	Religious Symbols	Visual	1':40"	Camera zooms	Father is waiting in a hospital to his new baby be born, on the wall in his back there is a cross
			Visual	2':20", 10':45"	Camera captures	In the night of Christmas, family gathers in a church for the mass.
			Visual	15':08"	Camera captures	After lying to his father, Zac looks worry and camera shows a close-up of a Jesus pic on the wall.
			Visual	16':26"	Camera captures	After hearing his parents' conversation about how he is different from other boys, Zac starts to pray to be changed and camera shows a statue of Jesus on cross
			Audio	22':10"	Zac thinks	He is told that he has an exceptional gift, and he thinks how to use that to treat people
			Visual	24':20"	Camera captures	Mother is worried and touches her necklace of a cross after a family argument
			Visual	24':23"	Camera captures	His mother's necklace on his neck
			Visual	25':45"	Camera captures	He faces a problem in a summer camp, his mother who is home, and himself, both start to pray to get rid of the problem
			Visual	26':25"	Camera captures	The other boys in the summer camp are bullying him and he loses his cross necklace in pool.
Political	National Identity	Nation's symbol	Visual	4':30"	Camera captures	For Zac's birthday, his parent bought him a mini National Hockey game
	Political Activities					
	Demonstration					
	Living Condition					
Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike				
		Car				

		Bus				
		Directionality	Both	7':50"	Camera captures	Father drives to a food truck out of downtown to buy snack for his son.
			Visual	14':08"	Camera captures	Father picks Zac at school and drives to a suburban home.
Urban Development	Housing		Visual	14':10"	Camera captures	Suburban house.
	Suburbs		Visual	14':08"	Camera captures	Father picks Zac at school and drives to a suburban home.
	Landmarks					

APPENDIX G

Completed reading grid for the movie *Corbo* (dir. Mathieu Denis, 2014).

<i>Corbo</i> (dir. Mathieu Denis, 2014) 1 h 59 min. <i>Synopsis: A teenage Quebecer in the 1960s evolves from pro-independence activist to radical terrorist, in this gripping chronicle of the origins of the FLQ in the decade preceding the 1970 October Crisis (IMDb).</i>						
Criteria	Sub-Criterion	Means of Sub-Criterion	Visual/Audio	Time	Indication	Comment
Religion	Education	Schools	Visual	28':52"	Camera Captures	Jean in middle of a birthday party, leaves to a church and finds solitude in Madonna Della Difesa church in Little Italy neighborhood.
	Religious Practices	-	Visual	28':52"	Camera Captures	Jean in middle of a birthday party, leaves to a church and finds solitude in Madonna Della Difesa church in Little Italy neighborhood.
			Visual	55':50"	Camera Captures	Jean and his friend is waiting in a street, meanwhile you here the church's bells
Political	National Identity	French Language	Audio	1':13"	Scripts at the beginning of the movie	"80% of inhabitants are Francophone", but "English is the language of the work place and finance. Management jobs in the private and federal sectors are restricted to Anglophones.
			Both	3':45"	Camera Captures	The classmates make fun of his Italian family name.
			Audio	8':20"	A dialogue between Jean's father and brother	Jean's brother opposing his father by saying " in DT Montreal, they asked mom to speak white". By white he means English
			Audio	8':25"	Grandfather's dialogue	"Italian is better". Showing their affiliation with Italian descent.
			Audio	8':55"	Father's dialogue	He claims that the saleswoman at DT does not know French to answer, but mother says she doesn't want, not doesn't know.
			Audio	26':50"	A phone conversation	Claude calls people to inform them about RIN. The last call is with an Anglophone lady, when she refuses to speak in French, Claude hang on the phone.

			Audio	1:26:04"	TV interview	The interviewee claims that never the ministers of Finance or Commerce were French-Canadian.
		French - Canadian	Audio	10:35"	Grandfather's dialogue	He claims, although the family got a decent job, money and everything, they are still not being accepted in French Canadian society, even though the father married a Canuck (Slang term for French Canadian person). They have lived here for many years, but still people call them Wog.
			Audio	1:08:16"	A dialogue between Jean's father and his friend	The friend claims that we don't count in vote if we aren't French-Canadian. That is either you are one, or they would not count on you.
	Political Activities	Quebec Separation	Audio	7:45"	A discussion between family members	Jean's father and brother discuss their views on Lesage and Levesque and RIN (Rassemblement pour l'Independence Nationale).
			Audio	34:15"	Jean's father says	He is a lawyer and he is involved with political activities of Liberals, opposing the separation
		Censorship				
		Corruption				
	Demonstration	Revolution	Visual	16:10"	In a cinema	Jean and his brother are watching the movie " <i>Battle of Algeria</i> "
			Audio	28:52"	Jean's Monologue	"Our revolution is made of fight and we are prepared for it. We will fight.
			Both	1:07:45"	TV interview	A representative from Union Nationale HG, claims that their lost is because Non-French Canadian like Jewish or Anglophone vote in Quebec
			Visual	1:45:22"	A newspaper title	"FLQ Rises from Its Ashes" Victim Identified".
		Rebellion	Audio	1:13"	Scripts at the beginning of the movie	Some Quebecers " are increasingly convinced the more radical measures are in order".
			Visual	5:15"	Camera Captures	6 students are running from the priest in charge, after he caught them distributing the AX, FLQ journal " <i>La Cognee</i> ", in the school.

Both	5':52"	Camera Captures	Jean is reading a piece in the book " <i>The Wretched of the Earth</i> " by Frantz Fanon, which is encouraging the patriots and rebellions: "... the enemy will pay for our blood and tears..."
Visual	5:56"	Camera Captures	# young people break in a military base and take some weapons.
Audio	18':50"	Jean and the distributor girl	The girl introduces him the MLP's (Mouvement de Liberation Populaire) workshop.
Visual	19':37"	Camera Captures	The first attempt to set up a bomb, under the statue of Dollard Des Ormeaux, in La Fontaine Parc
Audio	23':20"	Jean and his brother's dialogue	Claude explains to Jean that MLP is a ML-ers (Marxist-Leninists, a radical)
Audio	23':35"	Workshop's speaker monologue	He explains that according to Fanon the only way to retains a colonized nation's identity is violence.
Audio	28':52"	Jean's Monologue	"Our revolution is made of fight and we are prepared for it. We will fight.
Visual	35'	Camera Captures	Julie, Jean and Francois go to a factory and draw a graffiti on its wall "FLQ Solidarite"
Audio	43':10"	Jean says	He believes riots bring the real change to Quebec
Visual	45':00	Camera Captures	He distributes the AX pamphlets
Audio	55':00	Jean and his Gfather's dialogue	The gfather suggests him to fight for what he wants, he regrets his silence in old days.
Visual	58':10"	Camera Captures	Strikers with their placards are marching in the street in front of Lagrenade shoes factory.
Visual	58':40"	Camera Captures	They set up a bomb in the Lagrande shoes factory.
Audio	1:04':10"	Camera Captures	Another piece on violence by Fanon, read by Jean
Audio	1;06'	a discussion between the team	The leader claims, the violence isn't a choice, it's our only option.
Audio	1:08':42"	A dialogue between Jan and Claude	Jean claims the politics does not lead to any change, and people now understand it. Voting accomplishes nothing.

			Audio	1:09:45"	Leader's monologue	The leader claims for so long the politic did not work, we need more direct actions.	
			Both	1:10:20"	Leader's monologue & camera captures	They are making a bomb. Then leader says that Lee-Enfield Canadian Army assault rifle lent them some guns and distributes those to young people.	
			Visual	1:37:50"	Camera Captures	Jean sets up the bomb in outside a factory, it is unsuccessful, and he dies.	
			Audio	1:47'	Gang members discussion	they want to stop after Jean's death, the leader threatens them with gun.	
			Audio	1:52:10"	A letter	in a letter to Jean's family after his death, the writer(s) writes: he believed in freedom. For it was not the pontiffs of separatism who killed him...but the parasites of the working class. We are the unwanted tenants of a country that does not belong to us...	
	Living Condition	Poor & Rich		Audio	38'	Julie's dialogue with Jean	Her father doesn't have a job, and nobody hires him, because he started a reunion 3 years ago and after that nobody hires him.
				Education System	Visual	5:15"	Camera Captures
		Both	5:52"		Camera Captures	Reading the book " <i>The Wretched of the Earth</i> " by <i>Frantz Fano</i> .	
		Audio	12:40"		Jean at the classroom	He starts a discussion on his father and grandfather lives during WWII, explaining how they were held in jails just because they were Italian. The teacher warns him and asks him to change the subject, as this subject is not appropriate to be discussed in public. Jean does not stop, teacher gets mad, fail him for the course and asks him to leave the classroom in an angry manner.	

			Audio	15':35"	Jean dialogue with his father	Jean's father asks him to do whatever schools ask him to do, but he opposes and answer: "why we go to school if it's to learn to be a slave".
Urban Mobility	Transportation	Bike	Visual	56':25"	Camera Captures	They use motorcycle for commuting.
		Car	Visual	38':25"	Camera Captures	Father drives from a birthday party to their home
			Visual	1:40':25"	Camera Captures	Jean comrade flees with his van after his death.
		Bus				
		Directionality	Visual	1:09':19"	Camera Captures	The riot team driving to a camp outside the city.
Urban Development	Housing	Maison	Visual	5':54"	Camera Captures	A big house that indicated the wealth of the family.
	Suburbs	Living district	Visual	5':54"	Camera Captures	They live in Mont Royal suburb, which shows the family wealth.
		Living district	Visual	40':20"	Camera Captures	They go to a poor neighborhood to discuss their revolutionary activities.
	Landmarks		Visual	19':37"	Camera Captures	The first attempt to set up a bomb, under the statue of Dollard Des Ormeaux, in La Fontaine Parc
		-	Visual	28':58"	Camera Captures	Jean finds solitude in Madonna Della Difesa church in Little Italy neighborhood.