

Globalization, Ethnicity, and Politics of Identity: Québec's Resistance to Cultural Homogenization

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Can local politics effectively oppose the cultural influences of globalization? Due to the vast power discrepancies between local governments and supranational institutions, it is often held that the actions of local politics cannot determine how the dynamics of globalization will influence society. Consequently, it is perceived that the forces of globalization hold direct consequences on a nation's cultural identity. It will be argued that the emphasis on the effects of globalization on culture may not be warranted. On the contrary, the case of Québec demonstrates that local politics can effectively resist the cultural influences of globalization.

There is a tension concerning language use between the processes of globalization and local politics. This is attributed to the dominance of the English language within the international economic system and the importance of English in conducting international affairs. In this sense, it is proposed that language laws in Québec effectively opposed the increasing level of Anglicization in the targeted segments of society. Furthermore, it is suggested that more emphasis should be placed on analyzing politicians' adoption of anti-globalizationist discourse to accede to power, rather than focusing on the direct influence of globalization on culture. If constituents demonstrate an opposition to globalization, then politicians have an incentive to engage in politics of identity. Finally, the emergence of the new economy has compelled politicians in Québec to adapt their language policy orientation. It will be shown that a focus on neoliberalism in the world market since the late 1980s has shifted the political discourse of Québec's language policies from protectionism to economic development.

First, it is important to define globalization within the framework of this paper. Scholarly literature on the topic is inundated with diverse applications and analyses of globalization. At its most basic level, globalization is simply "a set of processes having many facets."¹ However, this definition does not emphasize the particular processes of interest within the concept globalization; it leaves the framework of globalization too open-ended to draw con-

clusions. Therefore, for the purpose of this paper, globalization is grounded in the processes of rapid technological and economic change, which result in increased communication and integration amongst societies. In turn, these processes have a protracted effect on cultural identity, which may result in political backlash or restructuring.

Politics of identity emerge in the context of globalization when a group feels that their identity is threatened by the dominance of the international status quo. In this sense, the effects of globalization on culture are perceived as the consequence of rapid advances in technology, which lead to a great reduction in the cost of communication and production and the accentuated spread of cultural products. However, competitive countries exploit the appropriate means to determine "global brands," thus establishing dominant cultural influences on a global scale. As noted by Mark Brawley in *The Politics of Globalization*, "a common observation is that cultural homogenization seems to be taking place."²

English and the Post-WWII Economic Order

Politics of identity derived from the processes of globalization are often couched in linguistic divisions. In a great number of cases this is attributable to the dominance of the English language in international relations after World War Two. Robert W. Cox in his article "Global Restructuring: Making Sense of the Changing International Political Economy," provides an understanding of the historical process that established English as the international mode of communication.

As highlighted by Cox, the beginning of America's contemporary global economic dominance is linked to the establishment of the Bretton Woods system. The Bretton Woods regime was the initial model for creating economic linkages between cosigning states and also for facilitating the spread of American hegemony. As noted by Cox, "...the Bretton Woods system attempted to strike a balance between a liberal world market and domestic responsibilities of states."³ States seeking to participate in the Amer-

can-led economic system would be required to re-shape their domestic institutions to be compatible to those of the United States. It is important to note that the Bretton Woods system is a marker for the contemporary prominence of the English language in international affairs.

The creation of an international economic system resulted in legitimizing the role of international institutions as essential administrators in the functions of the monetary regime. States that had signed the Bretton Woods accord had lost a significant amount of their power as autonomous sovereign entities; their economic welfare became dependent on the proper functioning of the international economic system. As the international system evolved, additional institutions were created and the power of the system over its participants increased accordingly. Cox explains that “states became accountable to agencies of an international economic order—the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)—in regard to trade liberalization, exchange-rate stability and convertibility.”⁴

The post-war order established by the United States was effective in managing and promoting the economic growth of its participants during the 50s and early 60s. This is largely attributable to the war and arms production that occurred in the global economy during this period. However, as noted by Cox, a crisis emerged in 1968-1975, which revealed the reality of the top-down management of the global order by the United States:

During this period, the balanced compromise of Bretton Woods shifted towards subordination of domestic economies to the perceived exigencies of a global economy. States willy-nilly became more effectively accountable to a nebulous personified as the global economy; and they were constrained to mystify this external accountability in the eyes and ears of their own publics through the new vocabulary of globalization, interdependence, and competitiveness.⁵

Ethnicity, Globalization, and Local Politics

Examining the establishment of the international economic order highlights the importance of supranational institutions in relation to the domestic spheres of states. International economic institutions hold a vertical power relationship with governments-- they are not accountable

to any electoral body. Therefore, the development of the international economic system has induced increasing levels of influence upon the population of states through economic regulation. Selma K. Sonntag, in *The Local Politics of Global English*, examines the influence of English on the populations of the United States, France, India, South Africa, and Nepal. Sonntag believes that the relationship between language and global politics is an essential dynamic of globalization. As argued by Sonntag:

The linguistic dimension of globalization is the ideal focus for an attempt to understand the relation between politics and culture... For language, as is widely acknowledged, is both a cultural marker and a means of communication. Embedded in language use is information about status and identity, as well as cold economic calculations based on efficiency and opportunity. The politics of global English are the politics of globalization, both economic and cultural.⁶

There are many ways that globalizing processes can influence a group’s perceived identity. One such example is how integrated economic systems have an effect on the transmission of cultural products. However, as demonstrated by Brawley:

[A]fter reviewing these possible linkages, we need to turn to a second way in which the politics of identity get intertwined with issues about globalization: as a tactical or strategic maneuver by political entrepreneurs.⁷

In this case, if there is a significant group that opposes globalization within a society, then politicians have an incentive to engage in identity politics. In turn, identity politics can be identified as a determining factor of whether globalization processes further penetrate a society, or are contained by political backlash.

In “Wider Horizons with Larger Details,” Cesare Poppi examines the relation between ethnicity and globalization. Poppi purports that “globalization must be understood as the condition whereby localizing strategies become systematically connected to global concerns.”⁸ In this sense, what is assuming a greater role in political rhetoric is the tendency to emphasize “locality” and “difference.” However, these notions are also congruent with the structur-

ing of global relations of institutional communication and legitimization.⁹ The interesting contrast highlighted by Poppi is that within societies, groups seek to either redefine their identity in accordance with globalization or they attempt to make identity claims in opposition to globalization.

The concept of ethnicity includes identification by language, race, kin and religion.¹⁰ Each aspect of ethnic identification relates to how individuals identify themselves relative to their social context. In this respect, Poppi reveals the fact that numerous political theorists have focused on language as one of the pillars of ethnic struggle relative to the processes of globalization. This is a phenomenon that is readily observable in Europe and North America. Poppi argues that:

[L]anguage is the most 'abstract' expression of cultural identity. It is a form that can express many content, and one that can retain its exchange value as a marker of cultural distinctiveness even when its import in terms of use-value is the same as that expressed by the majority language.¹¹

In this sense, it is because the processes of globalization are inducing a homogenization of most cultural aspects that language remains such a central issue of differentiation. As purported by Poppi:

[A] theory of ethnicity must account for this beyond the simple recognition of a subjective 'choice': it has, in other words, to trace the emergence of 'difference' (and difference as the 'becoming focused' of certain 'markers') as part of the historical obliteration of diversity.¹²

For Poppi, the contemporary situation of globalization resides in the transformation of the idea of global diversity into cultural differences. Poppi maintains that "globalization provides the context for the systematic articulation of differences. As it moves on, the differential traits of a given cultural formation are made commensurable, and their difference can be made to appear as a determination of the ethnic subject."¹³ Therefore, politics of identity represent a central tool in the mobilization of cultural groups in order to commensurate their differences with the global political and economic systems. Language is an aspect of ethnicity that is more resilient to the processes of cultural

homogenization induced by globalization. Furthermore, it is also one of the best-suited instruments for politicians to establish how the processes of globalization are threatening a group's identity.

Norman Fairclough in *Language and Globalization* approaches the issue of globalization with a particular emphasis on discourse and cultural political economy. Within this framework, Fairclough makes three opening remarks about how language is perceived in the processes of globalizations:

First, the modes of integration observed in the processes of globalization depend upon forms of communication, which are specifically tailored to trans-national and inter-regional relations, including trans-national media such as CNN, and websites of international organizations like the European Union and the United Nations.¹⁴ Furthermore, the different forms of integration include exchanges of cultural discourses. As will be discussed further, the neoliberal economic discourse is an example of an ideology that has spread as a consequence of globalization, and holds policy prescriptions: an open market economy with minimal interference by government.

Second, Fairclough highlights the distinction between the processes and tendencies of globalization and discourses of globalization by stating that:

[W]e cannot get away from the fact that although 'globalization' is a set of changes which are actually happening in the world, it is also a word which has quite recently become quite prominent in the ways such changes are represented.¹⁵

In this sense, it is important to consider the difference between what language is used to describe globalization, as well as the cultural relevance that language holds to particular groups.

Finally, Fairclough emphasizes that it is also essential to account for the relationship between the processes of globalization and the context in which discourses of globalization arise. Discourses of globalization cannot be seen as independent occurrences of the international trends of globalization. Moreover, as noted by Fairclough, discourses about globalization "can under certain conditions also contribute to creating and shaping actual processes of globalization."¹⁶

The framework presented by Fairclough illuminates the centrality of identity to how ethnic groups will engage in globalization. Furthermore, it reinforces the idea that language holds real value within politics and can be the cause of a divided society. Québec is an exemplary case of how politics of identity emerge through language use. Moreover, the case of Québec demonstrates the progression of a linguistic divide from a simple debate to the codification of language laws. In turn, as highlighted by Brawley:

The French-English conflict plays out primarily in Québec, but has important ramifications for political identity within the country as a whole... When we turn to the phenomenon of globalization, we immediately think of English... Language use, therefore, becomes a battleground for those wishing to resist globalization via the politics of identity.¹⁷

Quebec's Resistance to Globalization

Michel de Coster in “Les enjeux des conflits linguistiques” provides an important synthesis of how the French language has been a central political and cultural issue in Belgium, Switzerland, and Canada. An important theme in de Coster’s analysis is that at the outset of a language debate, the issue is necessarily underlined by economic grievances. However, the recurrent use of discourses tying economic systems to linguistic choice inevitably opens a space for political backlash. Therefore, a rationalist understanding would point to the politician’s incentive to make politics of identity central to the national debate, since it is an uncontested mobilizing force.

The first *Révolution tranquille* is generally seen as the contemporary marker for the politicization of the language divide in Québec. De Coster specifies that Jean Lesage, head of the Liberal Party that acceded to power in 1960, was the initiator of the *Révolution tranquille*. Lesage’s political agenda was framed around the internal divisions in Québec espousing a desire to push back the Anglicization of the province. Moreover, it was a decisive attempt to orient public policies within Québec, as well as Canada, to equalize employment discrepancies between Francophone and Anglophone communities. It was perceived that the economic and financial prowess of Anglophones in Canada was limiting the job-recruitment possibilities for French-speaking Canadians, including access to higher-paid managerial positions.¹⁸ Effectively, from 1960 onwards policy prescriptions to protect the French language

within Québec supplanted the political discourse of economic grievances felt by French-Canadians with a focus on ethnic identity.

Language within Québec assumed unequivocal symbolic value, and became the center of political conflicts between the French and English communities. Particularly within the city of Montréal, political discourse was continually seeking to affirm linguistic primacy. The rhetoric tensions engendered by politics of identity produced various quarrels over the naming of streets, squares, and buildings. A particular debate engaged in by nationalists, related to the future naming of an important hotel in Montreal—the Queen Elizabeth for Anglophones and the Château Maisonneuve for Francophones—represents some of the issues that became exacerbated by local medias.¹⁹ Effectively, the discourses concerning the “language divide” within Montreal manifested themselves in the debate over regulation of the language used in public and commercial signs.

Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet discuss the various issues concerning politics of identity in Canada and Québec in *Langue et politique au Canada et au Québec*. They highlight that during the 1960s the Canadian federal government had to increasingly address societal pressures arising from Québec. The francophone discourse was becoming more influential in the context of the socio-economic disparity attributed to English-language dominance of the economy. Inevitably, how the federal government responded to these pressures supplanted the political salience of the language discourse within Québec. In 1969, French was introduced as the second official language and quelled the fear of ethnic homogenization.²⁰

Ottawa’s solution to the widening language divide was to promote national unity through institutional bilingualism. Pierre Elliott Trudeau was the prime minister at the time when Canada adopted the Official Languages Act. Martel and Pâquet note that the scope of Trudeau’s decision aimed at making language an individual choice that would be considered separate from cultural heritage.²¹ Therefore, regardless of where they are located in Canada, the multiple levels of the federal government would be required to provide services in both French and English.

According to Martel and Pâquet, the Francophone reaction to the adoption of French as a second official language varied. The unilingual French-speaking population in Québec equated the new language law with a legal tool destined to protect English within the province. However,

people managing minority-group relations within federal institutions were quite favourable of the new law, since it provided much needed accessibility. There was a general reluctance, however, to accept the law as permanent, since it had not been enshrined in the constitution. There was a fear that an anti-bilingual party could easily attain a majority of seats within parliament and simply abolish the new law or render it powerless.

The goal of the first *Révolution tranquille* was primarily to communicate the increasing seclusion felt by French-Canadians with respect to the growing economic imbalance between French and English communities. However, it was not until 1977 that a resurgence of the *Révolution tranquille* would emerge in the form of the infamous charter of the French language: Bill 101. As highlighted by de Coster, the essential motivation behind these laws was to ensure that the political ground that had been gained since the 1960s would not be lost. In the preamble to the passing of the bill it was argued that the incorrect use of the French language in conjunction with the French-English divide, in both economic and social realms, was responsible for the inferior position of the French language within Canada.²²

An important focus was placed on the immigrant population of Canada that had arrived since the end of the Second World War. Since English was the primary language within the workplace, immigrants speaking neither official language would be most likely be directed towards learning English over French. However, the crux of the argumentation behind Bill 101 put the focus embedding the French language within Québec. First, the French language was seen as poorly taught and poorly spoken. Second, due to its scholastic weaknesses, it was considered incapable of competing in the economic system.²³ Therefore, the establishment of a linguistically oriented policy to define the nature of the French language within Québec was pursued. Bill 101 effectively laid the groundwork for the justification of adopting institutional arrangements that essentially focused on a question of Québec national identity within Canada.

Bill 101 can be interpreted as a response to the Official Languages Act, which made both French and English the official languages of Canada. It rejected the notion of a provincial model that was based on stabilizing inter-linguistic relations for one that sought to renew the primacy of French as the common language spoken within Québec. Bill 101, in its original form, held various propositions to

penetrate existing social infrastructures. It made French the official language of the legal system, public administration, and education in Québec. De Coster highlights the most radical of these changes concerning the language of education, the use of language in a working environment, and the use of language in public spaces.

As noted by de Coster, in regards to schooling, the strategic framework that had been laid out in the 1960s by the *Révolution tranquille* foreshadowed the legislative form that a charter of the French language would assume.²⁴ Bill 101 decreed the language of education within schools in Québec to be French. It exempted students who had already begun their education in English, as well as students who have parents that had previously attended an English school within Québec.

Beyond the education system, the workplace was equally transformed in line with Bill 101's linguistic socialization. Prior to Bill 101, the use of French within an enterprise was on a voluntary basis. The application of Bill 101 took on a more coercive stance, since a radical change was sought in terms of how French was used within the realm of affairs in Québec. In order to reflect the priority given to the French language, any enterprise that had fifty or more employees was forced to have a French language program for all non-French speaking employees.²⁵ Moreover, all documents that were produced for in-office or public use had to be produced in French and a committee was formed in order to oversee the proper application of the new laws within enterprises.

The third transformative facet of Bill 101 as outlined by de Coster, is the strict framework provided for naming conventions of public places. The Commission de Toponymie of Québec was established in order to regulate the application of the new language conventions. The conventions apply to street names, squares, historical sites, and other spaces in order to convey the centrality of the French language in Québec's national identity. As mentioned by de Coster, although the revolution in the 1960s belonged primarily to the struggle for socio-economic emancipation, the new revolutionary wave undertaken in 1977 gave greater weight to its concerns for French identity.²⁶ This became accessible in light of the importance attributed to language and culture in earlier periods.

Although it is hard to assess the qualitative impacts that Bill 101 has brought to the rest of Canada, within Québec there are some measurable changes that reflect the stated

goals of the French language charter. In 1996 census data reported that 62% of Canadian citizens living in Quebec stated that they were bilingual, compared to only 33% in 1971.²⁷ Furthermore, the socio-economic reorientation undertaken since the Révolution tranquille has drastically changed the number of francophone employees within the workplace. As highlighted by de Coster, in the greater region of Montreal, which holds 75% of Anglophones that live in Quebec, the mother tongue of 88.2% of employees is French and French has become the most spoken language within the workplace.

Additionally, as is seen in Table 1, the language adopted by immigrants took a significant shift as a result of the increasing entrenchment of the French language within institutions, which were molding employment and schooling within urban centers. Comparing the periods before and after 1960, one observes that the impact of the Révolution tranquille was monumental. The adoption of Bill 101 effectively resisted the influence of the processes of globalization by giving priority to the French language in critical aspects of society.

Table 1: Language adopted by immigrants in Quebec relative to period

Year	French (%)	English (%)
Pre-1960	21	79
1960-1970	36	64
1971-1975	47	53
1976-1980	61	39
1981-1986	54	46

Source: Bureau de la statistique, Démographie québécoise, Québec, Éditeur officiel, 1987, table 9-2, p. 322.

Quebec and the Changing International Economy

Since the 1980s there has been a qualitative shift in the international economy, which has placed greater importance on the flow of financial exchanges between states. Scholars associate this trend with the emergence of the international neoliberal economic order, which has directed governments to reduce their control over the domestic market in order to provide corporations greater accessibility to the international market. In this sense, there has been an attempt “to alter the legislative landscape in countries around the globe in order to accommodate glo-

balization, and to promote financialization of economic activities for short-term gains at the expense of long-term growth and development.”²⁸ In Québec, this has resulted in a shift of the political discourse concerning globalization to focus on exporting cultural products rather than protecting language rights.

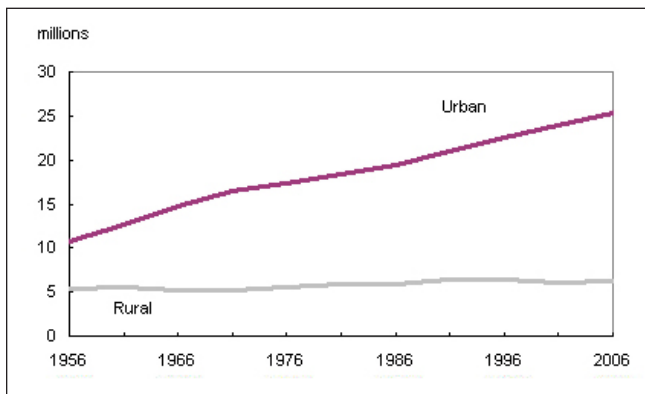
In “From protector to producer: the role of the State in the discursive shift from minority rights to economic development,” Emanuel de Silva and Monica Heller elaborate on the notion that Québec has had to adapt its approach to safeguarding Francophone communities in light of the changing international economic system. In this view, the consequence of political discourse and language laws during the 1960s and 70s led to the emergence of an economic crisis in the rural populations of Québec. The increasing use of French within the working environment of urban centers has resulted in the urbanization of the labor force from the homogenous segments of rural Québec.²⁹ Competing interests within Québec between minority rights and international economic competitiveness, in the neoliberal sense, have resulted in the establishment of a national program to bolster community economic development. As argued by de Silva and Heller:

“The neoliberal state’s focus on individual employability was curtailed by shared interests in the maintenance of francophone collective identity, harnessing an economic development discourse to an older one of community reproduction, in which the community in question was understood to be precisely the rural, homogenous communities in economic crisis. The question for the state has therefore become one of how to help those communities enter the globalized new economy.”³⁰

There is a semblance of continuance in the policy orientation being adopted by politicians, however, the reality of Québec’s stagnant rural population have shifted the discourse away from rights and towards access to the international market. Census data provided by Statistics Canada demonstrates that the new globalized economy has induced urbanization across Canada (see Figure 1).

This trend, demonstrating steady increasing urbanization, is particularly important for Québec, since nationalist politicians in the province have built their campaigns on the basis of championing minority rights within Canada since the 1960s. The approach to counter the economic

Figure 1: The new globalized economy has induced urbanization across Canada



Source: "Canada at a Glance 2009." Statistics Canada.

crisis in rural Québec has been to focus on language not only for its symbolic value, but also as a skill to develop a targeted and exportable industry. As illustrated by de Silva and Heller, "...the Canadian government in its Action Plan for Official Languages (2003) invested \$20 million (CDN) to create a language industry association to coordinate the industry of translators, interpreters, etc., and to promote Canadian language products and services around the world."³¹

Since the global economy has ascribed greater importance to the ability of firms to generate capital (as opposed to states) the focus of the political discourse within Québec has undergone a qualitative shift towards the exportation of language skills and cultural products. In this sense, although the focus of the discourse has changed from the protection of language rights to economic development, language has remained the central device for politicians to accrue political capital through politics of identity.

Conclusion

The central goal of this paper has been to ascertain whether or not local politics can effectively oppose the cultural influences of globalization. This question arises in light of the frequently observed power differential between international economic institutions and sovereign states. It is unquestionable that the processes of globalization have induced a vertical power relationship between unelected supranational entities and governments. These entities have power over the populations of countries because of their management of the international economy. Thus, the relationship between states and international institutions

has required governments to act according to the fluctuations of the international economic system. Consequently, the processes of globalization are conducive to cultural homogenization. Using the case of Québec, however, this paper has argued that it is possible for local politics to generate a discourse that effectively resists the cultural domination resulting from globalization.

First, the notion of globalization in relation to the emergence of politics of identity has been presented. The argument focused on the fact that the processes of globalization can challenge the identity of certain groups by excluding them from participating in the international market. The political salience of ethnic identity provides an opportunity for politicians to frame discourses along anti-globalization lines.

Second, this paper explains the historical process that entrenched English as the dominant language of international affairs. The establishment of the Bretton Woods regime after World War Two by the United States is identified as the contemporary marker for the emergence of the global economy. Moreover, the evolution of the international economic system has been conducive to an increasing power differential between supranational institutions and their participants.

Third, the case of Québec's resistance to the increasing Anglicization of its population has been described in detail. The socio-economic discrepancies between Francophone and Anglophone communities are related to the emergence of politics of identity. It has also been observed that there was a shift in this discourse towards a more identity-based rhetoric with the adoption of Bill 101. However, Bill 101 did achieve the original goal of the Révolution tranquille: an important increase in the use of French within enterprises.

Finally, although the case of Québec has shown that it is possible to resist the influences of globalization on culture, the new economy of the international system has put a focus on the adoption of neoliberal economic policies. Therefore, this paper argues that Québec has had to change its approach towards the global economy by shifting its political discourse and policy prescriptions from minority rights to the exportation of language skills and cultural goods. This implies that the reality of the new international economy, in comparison to that of the 1960s, is making the nationalist discourse in Québec increasingly difficult to maintain. Although the language divide

remains present and politically salient within Canada, the qualitative shift observed within Québec suggests that it may not be sustainable in the long run.

¹ Mark R. Brawley. .. *The Politics of Globalization: gaining perspective, assessing consequences*. Peterborough, Ont.: Broadview Press, 2003, 11.

² *Ibid.*, 27.

³ Robert W. Cox. "Global Restructuring: making sense of the changing international political economy." In *Political Economy and the Changing Global Order* by Richard Stubbs and Geoffrey R. D. Underhill. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994, 45.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Selma K. Sonntag. *The Local Politics of Global English: case studies in linguistic globalization*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2003, 1.

⁷ Brawley, *The Politics of Globalization*, 159.

⁸ Cesare Poppi. "Wider Horizons With Larger Details: subjectivity, ethnicity and globalization." In *The Limits of Globalization: cases and arguments* by Alan Scott. London: Routledge, 1997, 285.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Stephen Saideman, "International Relations of Ethnic Conflict" (lecture, McGill University, Montreal, Qc., September 3, 2010).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 291

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ *Ibid.*, 298.

¹⁴ Fairclough, Norman. *Language and globalization*. London: Routledge, 2006, 3.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Brawley, *The Politics of Globalization*, 165.

¹⁸ Michel de Coster. "La reconnaissance d'une nation québécoise." In *Les enjeux des conflits linguistiques: le français à l'épreuve des modèles belge, Suisse et canadien*. Paris: Harmattan, 2007, 138.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 139.

²⁰ Marcel Martel and Martin Pâquet. *Langue et politique au Canada et au Québec: une synthèse historique*. Montréal: Boréal, 2010, 179.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 172.

²² de Coster, *Les enjeux des conflits linguistiques*, 141

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 142

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 143.

²⁷ Alain G. Gagnon. "Les relations entre le Québec et les francophones hors Québec." In *Le français au Québec. 400 ans d'histoire et de vie*. Québec: Fides, 2003, 345.

²⁸ Fasenfest, David. "Neoliberalism, Globalization, and the Capitalist World Order." *Critical Sociology* 36, no. 12 (2010): 630.

²⁹ De Silva, Emanuel, and Monica Heller. "From Protector to Producer: the role of the state in the discursive shift from minority rights to economic development." *Lang Policy* 8 (2009): 97.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ De Silva and Heller, "From Protector to Producer: the role of the state in the discursive shift from minority rights to economic development," 110.

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