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Societal Change in Quebec and Canada: The Roles of Quebec City and Montreal

Zusammenfassung

Ähnlich wie im Falle Wiens, wenn auch aus anderen Gründen, haben die Städte Québec und Montréal Teile ihres Umlands verloren. In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde Québec zur Provinzhauptstadt, nachdem es zuvor die Hauptstadt von Nouvelle France und British North America gewesen war. In der zweiten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts verlor Montréal viel von seiner Bedeutung – es blieb die Wirtschaftsmetropole der Provinz Québec, während sich Toronto zum ökonomischen Zentrum für ganz Kanada entwickelte. Das Schicksal der beiden Städte Québec und Montréal spiegelt eine Reihe wichtiger sozialer Veränderungen in der Provinz und in Kanada. So ist die quiet revolution in den 1960er Jahren in dem Spannungsfeld zwischen dem turbulenten Montréal und dem ruhigen Québec entstanden. Die zivilgesellschaftlich inspirierte Veränderungsdynamik aus Montréal wurde durch die Regierung in Québec umgelenkt und institutionalisiert. Der Text untersucht die verschiedenen Spannungsbögen zwischen den beiden Städten und ihre Auswirkungen auf die Provinz Québec und auf Kanada insgesamt. Die Betonung der Kultur und Identität der Provinz vertieft die Unterschiede zwischen ihr und dem Rest von Kanada. Jedoch trägt sie auch dazu bei, die Unterschiede zwischen Kanada und den Vereinigten Staaten zu verdeutlichen. Nicht zuletzt aus diesem Grund haben Regierung und Parlament in Ottawa kürzlich den Status von Québec als den einer Nation anerkannt.

Résumé

Un peu comme Vienne, mais pour des raisons différentes, les villes de Québec et Montréal ont vu leurs hinterlands se rétrécir alors que le Canada passait du statut de colonie à celui de pays indépendant. Au cours de la seconde moitié du 19^{ème} siècle, la ville de Québec devint une capitale provinciale après avoir été la capitale de la Nouvelle-France et de l'Amérique du Nord britannique. Pendant la seconde moitié du 20^{ème} siècle, Montréal perdit son statut de métropole économique du Canada pour devenir métropole du Québec. Le destin historique de ces deux villes est indissociable d'un certain nombre de transformations sociétales vécues par le Québec et le Canada. Par exemple, on peut penser que le premier terme de l'expression «révolution tranquille» renvoie à Montréal

alors que le second éoquo Québec, la société civile montréalaise appelant alors de tous ces vœux un changement de société, qui se produisit, mais au rythme d'une modernisation graduelle de l'État localisé à Québec.

Le texte illustre les tenants et aboutissants de cette dynamique territoriale qui est au cœur du processus de construction de l'identité québécoise et qui, se faisant, contribue à différencier le Québec du Canada et, de façon tout à fait paradoxale, à différencier ce dernier des États-Unis. Ceci n'est-il pas devenu manifeste, du moins symboliquement, lorsque tout récemment le Parlement canadien a reconnu le Québec comme nation?

Quebec City celebrates in 2008 its four hundredth anniversary¹. In European terms, this is not very old but in North American terms, this makes Quebec City one of the oldest cities on the continent. Montreal, founded in 1642, is not much younger chronologically, although it projects an image of modernity which contrasts with the image of heritage and tradition projected by Quebec City, an image that its present leaders would very much like to rejuvenate as we have heard in the Fall of 2007, during the last municipal election campaign. The central question dealt with in this paper pertains to the roles played by Quebec City and Montreal in society-wide processes of change in Quebec and Canada.

Notions about the cultural role of cities (Redfield / Singer 1954) may be helpful in this regard. Cities can be seen as collective actors in the territorial construction of the larger social entities to which they belong, from the regional scale to the world scale. As will be detailed below (fourth section), cities may be located on a continuum with regard to the role they play in society-wide processes of change. At one end, cities may formalize the living culture of their immediate surroundings. This is their "orthogenetic role" which builds on strong continuities between the city and its *umland*. At the other end, cities may be the crucible where immigrants with different cultural backgrounds interact, often producing discontinuous change. This is their "heterogenetic role". The paper seeks to explore the roles of Quebec City and Montreal in the social and territorial construction of Quebec and Canada. This requires an investigation of the ways in which the specific character of each city was formed over time, thereby shaping their particular contribution to the nation-building process.

The geographical notion of "spatial interaction" is relied upon to conduct this investigation. This notion is sketched in the next section. Then, the paper shows how the complex relationship between two frameworks of spatial organisation, namely

1 The help of Yvon Jodoin with data analysis and the financial support of the *Social Science Research Council of Canada* and the *Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture* are acknowledged.

provinces and metropolises, is at the heart of the social construction of Canada. In the following sections, this relationship is detailed with regard to Quebec as a province and Quebec City and Montreal as its two main urban centers. Finally, the paper suggests that the constructive tension linking the two cities is at the earth of the territorial construction of society in Quebec.

Fields of Spatial Interaction

Studies in human geography have been dominated, during the second half of the last century, by the twin notions of "areal differentiation" and "spatial interaction" (Bunge 1966). Areal differentiation is a condition for spatial interaction, but not a sufficient one. Two other conditions have to operate, besides complementarity resulting from differentiation, for spatial interaction to take place: absence of intervening opportunity and transferability (Ullman 1980). Functional relationships over space take the form of flows of goods, people and data. The structure of these flow patterns provides fundamental information on the characteristics of processes of territorial integration and disintegration. Here, scale is of the utmost importance: growth at one scale may translate into redistribution at a higher scale; increasing interaction at one scale may entail greater areal differentiation at the scale above.

Up until about fifteen years ago, the geographical study of spatial interaction was dominated by the metaphor of gravitation borrowed from Newtonian physics. This approach yielded a number of insights into a variety of theoretical and practical issues ranging from abstract notions of social space to methods of transportation planning (Fotheringham / O'Kelly 1989). However, a view that considers persons as aggregates of molecules leaves out human agency which, to be sure, constitutes the defining substance of social systems. Prior to about 1980, many geographers tended to overlook the important connections between their notion of spatial interaction and the sociologists' notion of social action. Authors such as Giddens (1984) have partly filled the gap. Structuration theory opens up a rich context of interpretation in which to think about spatial interaction, which also gains from being related to the perspective of symbolic interactionism (Becker / McCall 1990).

Myriad of single interactions continuously take place. These polymorphous, but sometimes denumerable events form a space-time continuum which, if properly analyzed, can yield insights into the temporality and spatiality of social processes, taking us much beyond chronological time and Cartesian space. Days, weeks and years categorise time arbitrarily. Meridians and parallels do the same for space. Starting with the most disaggregate information available on interactional events, and gradually aggregating this information in space-time, according to categories allowed to emerge from the data themselves, should help uncovering the temporality and spatiality of processes, since interaction does not take place randomly in space-time. And it is non-random spatial patterns – direction biased and distance biased patterns – that can be called fields of interaction.

Spatial interactions construct and deconstruct places. Some authors may think that flows are destroying places: "The historical emergence of the space of flows supersedes the meaning of the space of places" (Castells 1989, 348). But flows are forms of interaction, and places, or for that matter regions, have to be seen as "strong bundles" of interactions in space-time. Places acquire their identity through the accumulation of interactions taking place at a given geographical scale, and may lose their identity through interactions at larger, or smaller, scales. For example, a village builds its identity through the local interactions between its inhabitants over the years. If a freeway passes by the village and incites the villagers to interact with the cities located at some distance, the identity of the village may suffer but a new identity, associated with a larger region, may emerge.

For a number of decades, Canada was being constituted as an East-West field of interaction, first under the guidance of British rule and, later on, in the context of MacDonal's National Policy. It is arguable whether Canada ever became a "place". It remained, rather, throughout its history, a collection of places, the "island societies" of Richard Cole Harris (1987). However, the transportation landscape of the past, especially pan-Canadian railways, as well as a whole range of federal institutions, testifies to the attempt to turn Canada into a nation-state. Now, a variety of factors are putting this attempt under renewed and severe strain, including: Québec's desire for political autonomy; the crisis of public finances that tends to force state decentralization; and continental integration: "greater economic inter-dependence within the Western Hemisphere will test the viability of the East-West links" (Gunder-son 1996, 2).

Provinces Differentiate, Metropolises Integrate

Provinces and metropolises are two forms of organisation that shape the dynamics of Canada as a spatial entity (Villeneuve 1990). All through Canadian history, metropolises have first and foremost been poles in an urban system favouring territorial integration, while provinces have primarily been frameworks favouring the differentiation of Canadian space. The very notion of "province" has a vernacular ring. It evokes traditions and customs. Harold Innis (1956) saw provinces as remnants of feudal times, especially in their role as collectors of royalties on natural resources. In the United States, the country is divided into "states", a term evoking modernity, while in Canada, the land is divided into "provinces", a term in continuity with the colonial experience. When Quebeckers wanted to affirm their collective identity in the 1960s they started to refer to the "State of Quebec" rather than the "Province of Quebec".

Cole Harris (1987), in a piece on Canadian regionalism, shows that provincial frontiers, when they were drawn, corresponded only slightly to the *umlands* of the main Canadian cities. In Western Canada, provincial boundaries were arbitrary lines drawn even before substantial settlement. In the East, boundaries corresponded roughly to previous colonial territories (e.g. Upper Canada, Lower Canada, New

Brunswick, Nova Scotia) but, with the exception of a small section of the frontier of Southern Quebec, boundaries were not drawn to correspond to "cultural regions". Subsequent settlement, however, took place within the provincial framework and, with time, provincial identities were formed. The strength of these identities varies considerably, at least it did in 1977 when Matthews and Campbell Davis (1986) asked a random sample of 3 165 Canadians whether they regarded themselves as Canadian first, provincial residents first, or both equally (*Table 1*). High percentages were found west of the Ottawa River for those who answered "Canada first". As could be expected, provincial identity was at a maximum in Quebec but, if we include those who shared equal Canadian and provincial identities, it was also quite pronounced in Newfoundland and in Prince Edward Island, probably due to insularity, while it was somewhat less affirmed in other provinces although isolationist sentiments often surface in Alberta and British Columbia. All in all, provinces crystallize Canada's level of fragmentation, a level which varies considerably from east to west. Nevertheless, the territorial boundaries of provinces are clear and they somewhat simplify the complexities of multilevel identities.

Metropolises, on the other hand, evoke the possibility of constituting an integrated Canadian polity. Canadian metropolises were built around the relationship between technology and empire, including: railways, the Intercontinental in the East and the Canadian Pacific in the West; manufacturing in the central axis from Quebec City to Windsor; markets being unified from coast to coast; later on Air-Canada, Radio-Canada, the Trans-Canada Highway. Builders of the Canadian Federation needed this technological arsenal. Continent-wide Canada was not conceivable in the pre-industrial era. It is from the metropolises, first from Montreal and Toronto, that this process of spatial integration was conducted. Finance capital, concentrated on Saint-Jacques street in Montreal and Bay street in Toronto, created the necessary institutions. The railway got Vancouver started and, as soon as 1900, it was the third city in Canada, while for the first half of the 20th century, Winnipeg was the Prairie metropolis and the fourth city in Canada, now passed by Calgary and Edmonton. In the Maritimes, due to provincial and local fragmentation, Halifax has not really emerged as the uncontested regional metropolis, cities such as Saint John's in Newfoundland and Moncton and Saint-John in New Brunswick also polarizing noteworthy *umlands*.

Ottawa-Gatineau symbolizes quite well the complex relation between provinces which differentiate and metropolises which integrate. These two modes of spatial organisation collide on its territory. The city is crossed by the Ottawa River, a corridor of penetration which played a major role in the formative years of the Canadian territory at the time of the fur trade, a river which also forms the frontier between Quebec and Ontario. At the beginning, in 1857, before Confederacy, the federal capital was placed in Ontario by Queen Victoria, but near the province of Québec. This decision was a consequence of the distribution of power between Upper and Lower Canada, although at the time, the country was under the Union regime.

Prime Ministers installed, however, their summer residence on the Québécois side, in the Gatineau Hills. More recently, a part of the federal administration was relocated in Hull (now Gatineau), under the pressure of what was called "French Power" in Ottawa. There is now an administrative entity, the National Capital Commission, which manages the federal presence in the territory straddling both provinces, but there is no autonomous federal district, as in the United States or in Australia, Quebec as well as Ontario being strongly opposed to it, thus perpetrating the principle according to which provinces differentiate Canadian space.

Table 1. Dominant Identity in Percent by Province of Residence, Canada, 1977

Province	Canadian First	Both Equally	Provincial First
NFLD	32	57	11
PEI	53	42	5
NB	61	29	10
NS	63	28	9
QC	48	27	25
ON	91	5	4
MAN	85	9	6
SAS	83	9	8
ALB	70	16	14
BC	82	10	8
CDN	72	16	12

Source: Matthews / Campbell Davis, 1986, p. 103

Montréal and the Conquest of the West

A century ago, associating Montreal to the conquest of the West would have immediately brought images of prairies covered with wheat that was brought East by railways and lakers and stored in grain elevators in the city's harbour, a system whose operations were run from Montreal and London. Today, conquering the West means, for francophones, conquering the Western part of the island of Montreal. The challenge is perhaps less grandiose but the stakes certainly worth the trouble. Thus, in the heart of the business district traditionally English-speaking, a succession of large buildings from the 1980s, erected in the shadow of Mount-Royal, bear

names of francophone firms: Banque nationale, L'Industrielle - Vie, La Laurentienne, Les Coopérants. This last one illustrates the architectural style and spirit of post-modernism as it reproduces the forms of the small neighbouring church while crushing it under its mass. Thus is molded into concrete the rather remarkable development, since the 1960s of the francophone business class. In the early 1960s, Quebec's economy was still dominated by corporations or families from the anglophone community. The emerging economic forces of francophones relied heavily on the state of Quebec. They filled, in part, the void left by the departure for Toronto of several corporate headquarters. Since then, the new financial power of francophones transforms the face of downtown Montreal. This new conquest of the West does not affect only the city's business district. The residential areas of the "West Island" are also touched. Notre-Dame de Grâce, Ville Mont-Royal, and even Westmount receive francophone households, often double career couples who combine their incomes to have access to prestigious neighbourhoods, thereby demonstrating their social advancement. Some are replacing the anglophone executives who left Montreal for Toronto following the relocation of a number of corporate headquarters. Hence, this new conquest of the West is a reflection of the shrinking of Montreal's hinterland. This is going on even as Montreal is acquiring an international reputation in several areas, including aeronautics and jazz. Consequently, we have witnessed a strengthening of the status of Quebec as a cultural region and of the international status of Montreal, while at the same time observing a weakening of its status in Canada.

Quebec City the Orthogenetic and Montreal the Heterogenetic

Provincial differentiation and metropolitan integration involving Quebec City and Montreal have interacted in a peculiar way, during Canadian history, thereby shaping Quebec's societal dynamics. There are at least four ingredients forming this territorial process.

Firstly, the inexorable westward movement of the center of gravity of population and activities on the North American continent has contributed to the modification of the Canadian urban hierarchy over the centuries. Around 1765, the three main cities were Halifax (3 000 inhabitants), Quebec City (8 000) and Montreal (6 000). Montreal passed Quebec City around 1830 (each had about 30 000 then) and Toronto passed Montreal around 1975 (each had about 2,8 million then). Also, Quebec City lost to Ottawa the status of Capital of British North America at Confederation. It then became a provincial capital and the main urban center of Eastern Quebec. Montreal lost the status of metropolis of Canada to Toronto during the 1970s. But, as Polèse and Shearmur (2004) note, the movement westward of the center of gravity of the Canadian population and economy does not suffice to explain the shift in the urban hierarchy since a similar westward movement takes place in the United States without New York losing its supremacy. The fact that Southern Ontario, inserted as it is into the United States space economy, has experienced a strong sequence of

development since the first half of the 19th century is part and parcel of the westward movement. Ontarian economic development was triggered by wheat as a staple which, as shown by McCallum (1980), generated through backward linkages an industrialisation based on farm equipment, also used in the opening up of the Prairies, which required iron and steel, which eventually supported the car industry, which, in turn backed up sustained population growth and rapid urbanisation. This interpretation is congruent with the fact that throughout the 20th century, Toronto has grown at a faster rate than Montreal, except for the 1921-1941 period (Stone 1967, 278; Simmons / McCann 2006, 53).

Secondly, the culturally-based spatial differentiation between Quebec and the rest of Canada, which intensified with the quiet revolution of the 1960s, produced a disadvantage for Montreal, in its competition with Toronto for higher order service functions, principally finance and headquarters of firms (Polèse / Shearmur 2004). The outmigration of native-English speakers and the increase in the percentage of English Quebecers who are bilingual produced a fast decreasing share of Quebec's population that speaks English only. The increasing use of the French language in the Montreal advanced service economy made it more difficult for higher order service firms to compete on the Canadian market and, conversely, made it easier for them to serve the Quebec market, especially in the cultural industries. This corresponded with a shrinking of Montreal's *umland*.

Thirdly, the Province of Quebec in the 1950s and 1960s was rapidly becoming a "wired urban region" after having been, for three and a half centuries, a homogeneous and fairly stable cultural area with a strong oral tradition. Phrased in the words of McLuhan, it would seem that French Canadians, or more recently "Québécois", have almost by-passed Gutenberg's Galaxy on their way from the "catholic tribe" to the "global village". The new identity emerging in Quebec in the 1960s may well result from strong urbanisation forces operating in a singularly homogeneous cultural matrix. A common culture, as well as group identity and group consciousness, are the result of shared memories and a greater volume of within-group interactions as opposed to interactions conducted with others, outside the group. In this respect, because of language, French Canadians have always interacted much more among themselves than with others, and urbanisation by bringing people closer together favoured such interaction, even before the advent of electronic media. By 1921, already more than half of the Quebec population was urban, even though the economy was still clearly dominated by primary and secondary activities. Television arrived in Quebec in the early 1950s. It rapidly became a vehicle for the diffusion throughout Quebec of the cultural products generated by the new forms of interaction between Montreal and Quebec City. For example, *La famille Plouffe*, a television series produced in Montreal, was an adaptation of Roger Lemelin's novel *Les Plouffe*, in which the action took place in Saint-Sauveur, the Quebec City neighbourhood where Lemelin was born. With Gabrielle Roy (*Bonheur d'occasion*), he is among the very first urban novelists in Quebec. The protagonists in *Les Plouffe*, published in

1948 (the same year as the *Refus Global*, a manifesto published by a group of Montreal's artists) are urban but their rural roots are still nourishing their values and attitudes. These two works illustrate well the rebellious tendencies present in Montreal and the rural streak still present in Quebec City.

Table 2. Regional Penetration of Mass Media, Quebec, 1970				
	Gutenberg Galaxy		Global Village	
Regions	Dailies**	Weeklies**	Radio***	Television***
Gaspésie	276	310	17	28
Lac Saint-Jean	559	315	15	29
Québec	631	319	18	28
Mauricie	648	373	16	27
Estrie	546	347	15	26
Montréal	470	572	17	26
Outaouais	257	363	16	27
Abitibi	243	322	16	27
Côte-Nord	404	276	13	30
COV*	0,79	0,73	0,29	0,15

* Coefficient of variation = standard deviation of penetration rate/average penetration rate, with n = 9 regions. The higher the coefficient, the stronger is the variation among regions.

** Penetration rate for 1 000 households: based on 1970 surveys made by the Audit Bureau of Circulation of Chicago which provided the count of dailies and weeklies distributed in each region. The penetration rate divides this count by the number of households (ratio multiplied by 1 000) in the region.

*** Average number of hours per week per person > 18 years old : based on 1970 surveys administered by the Bureau of Broadcasting Measurement of Canada using a random sample of about 25 000 households located across the nine regions. Members of households kept a diary of their radio and television listening during a period of two weeks.

Source: SORECOM Inc., 1972, *Enquête sur la diffusion de l'information au Québec* (Québec, Parlement du Québec, Commission parlementaire spéciale sur les problèmes de la liberté de presse), 49-56.

In the pre- and early industrial periods, cultural homogeneity in Quebec, and the easy verbal and non-verbal exchanges that go with it, did not promote much social change because the group was not markedly exposed to significant outside ideas and innovations. The new media completely changed this situation. Innovations and external influences now could break in much more easily, and once they did, they swept through the whole group extremely rapidly precisely because of marked cultural homogeneity. One of the most noticeable correlates of the urban implosion then going on in Quebec is the contraction of the agricultural domain since the 1940s (Clibbon 1972). Less fertile parts of the Laurentian and Appalachian plateaus were reforested. The safety valve mechanism of the pioneer front did not exist any longer in its original form, and the planning of dense urban environments required rather different skills than the ones needed in the opening up of new agricultural land. Also, the circulation of information was becoming less "place dependent", as can be seen in *Table 2* where interregional behaviour is much more homogeneous with respect to the electronic media than it is with respect to the written press. Indeed, coefficients of variation, which measure the interregional homogeneity of media penetration rates, show that electronic media have much lower coefficients than the written press. This suggests that the urban-rural opposition was becoming less and less relevant and that the pre-industrial cultural homogeneity based on face-to-face contacts might have been heightened and brought to a much higher scale by the mass media, which now, of course, include the Internet.

Fourthly, increased spatial interaction between Montreal and Quebec City was observed during the 1950s and 1960s. Was this related to the province developing more autonomously, within its linguistic border, and were these intensified interactions within the province helping to shape the quiet revolution? An article by Redfield and Singer (1954) on the cultural role of cities offers an approach to try and understand these dynamics. The goal of the two Chicago anthropologists was not to show, as is often done now, that cultural industries play a key role in the economy of cities, but rather to reflect on the role of cities in the development of "culture" in an anthropological sense. Much in line with urban ecological concepts, culture for them is grounded in communication and symbolism. They see two very different cultural roles held by cities.

Cities may be, on the one hand, venues for contacts between groups of people of very different language, ethnicity or religion. The resulting ebullient intercultural activity produces discontinuous social change, with much friction and controversy, hence the name "heterogenetic" to qualify this role. On the other hand, cities may also be places where the oral traditions of the cultural regions where they are located are synthesized and systematized. Here, social change is taking place in continuity with the immediate region, hence the name "orthogenetic" to designate this role. Usually, both roles are present in any city but in varying proportions.

In Quebec, Montreal's role is clearly perceived as heterogenetic, the metropolis being the gateway city through which outside influences are introduced in the

province as a cultural region. Quebec City, by contrast, is clearly perceived as orthogenetic, a city of heritage, where is formalised and codified the living culture of surrounding rural Quebec. A social revolution began in heterogenetic Montreal during the 1940s and 1950s, with such events as the publication of the art manifesto *"Refus global"* in 1948 and the riots provoked by the suspension of hockey player Maurice Richard in 1955. This form of turbulent social change became more quiet (read "institutionalised") in contact with the orthogenetic milieu of Quebec City when Jean Lesage's liberal party took power in 1960 and began a profound but gradual modernisation of state institutions (Villeneuve 1981, 1988).

This is an interactionist hypothesis. Until the mid-20th century, the exchanges were limited between Eastern Quebec focused on Quebec City and Western Quebec polarised by Montreal which is then, as we have seen, Canada's metropolis. Levels of interaction are higher then within Eastern Quebec and within Western Quebec than they are between them. In Eastern Quebec, Quebec City is becoming totally French as anglophones are departing westward, following the end of the sail boat era and the loss of colonial capital status. The city's demographic growth is then nourished by its rural surroundings. Meanwhile, in Western Quebec, both international immigration and rural-urban migration from the surrounding countryside fed the rapid population growth of Montreal and the distinctive residential segregation pattern where immigrants occupied a South-North corridor along Saint-Laurent Street with francophones to the East and anglophones to the West. Residential segregation was at the time compounded by pronounced income disparities along ethnic lines. As late as 1961, the average income of persons of British origin was 55% higher than that of persons of French origin (Polèse / Shearmur, 2004, p. 334) with only persons of Italian origin and members of First Nations earning less than them, and with persons of other European origins ranging between 11% and 53% higher than them (Raynauld et al. 1966, 3.13)

The Quiet Revolution: from Montreal to Quebec City ... and Back

In the 1950s, interactions of all kinds between Montreal and Quebec City started to increase dramatically. The strongest air link in Canada may be between Montreal and Toronto, but the strongest surface link is between Quebec City and Montreal. The Trans-Canada highway was then put into service. With time, it will not only become a strong functional link between the two cities but also a symbolic bond which, for example, serves as a backdrop for movies such as the popular road-movie "Quebec-Montreal" where various intrigues evolve during the journey between the two cities. The province of Quebec is large enough for a wide variety of movies, radio and television shows to be produced in French. These become formidable vehicles of self-perception and awareness in "real time", without the filter of traditional elites. This explosion of internal interactions in Quebec occurs even though (perhaps because) Montreal is replaced by Toronto as Canada's metropolis, Quebec City having already been reduced to the rank of provincial capital at Confederation.

From a geographical point of view, it would seem that the tremendous social and economic progress of Quebec since the 1960s is somehow correlated, through some form of compensation, with the reduced Canadian role of Montreal.

More recently, the Quebec City region stands out in the political arena by supporting the Conservative Party at the federal level in 2006 and the Democratic Action of Quebec (ADQ) (also perceived as rightist) in 2003, and even more strongly in 2007. A spatial analysis of the vote shows that it is the suburbs of the metropolitan area and surrounding rural areas which have elected candidates from these parties (Villeneuve et al. 2007). This electoral behaviour has a history running at least over the last half century. It is possible to relate this behaviour to the territorial dynamics of the evolving political culture of Quebec. Since the 1940's, it is as if political expression has been oscillating in geographical space between Western Quebec polarised by Montreal and Eastern Quebec largely centered on Quebec City, as if for certain periods, values originating in Eastern less urbanised Quebec were gaining ground in Western metropolitan Quebec and, then, for other periods, the reverse spatial process were taking place, with values originating in metropolitan Montreal diffusing toward Eastern Quebec.

Territorial measurements of this pendular movement have been tried, using as an indicator the changing geographical distribution of the electoral support given to the four main political parties concerned, for the elections when these parties were roughly in their ascending phase. More specifically, the average distance of voters from the Montreal central business district (CBD) (corner of Peel and Sainte-Catherine) was computed for the elections when a given party was progressing and/or winning (*Table 3*). This is a weighted average obtained by measuring the distance between Montreal's CBD and the centroids of ridings weighted by the number of voters in each of these. Based on the hypothesis stating that, in general, rural areas tend to be more conservative and urban areas less conservative (Cutler / Jenkins 2000), we should expect, firstly, that supporters of the two most conservative parties, UN (Union nationale) and ADQ, should show larger distances from Montreal's CBD than supporters of the two parties, PLQ (Parti libéral du Québec) and PQ (Parti québécois), deemed less conservative; secondly, we should also expect that more conservative parties, during ascending phases, may enlarge their original base, and diffuse towards Montreal, which would translate into shorter average distances to the Montreal CBD, with the reverse movement for less conservative parties.

Table 3. Territorial Movements of Ascending Political Parties, Province of Quebec, 1944 - 2007			
Political Party	Election year	Distance* from Mtl	% of the vote
Union nationale (UN)	1944	216	38,0
	1948	189	51,2
	1952	200	50,5
	1956	187	51,8
Liberal Party of Quebec (PLQ)	1960	174	53,9
	1962	158	56,4
	1966	165	47,3
	1970	135	45,4
	1973	148	54,7
Parti Québécois (PQ)	1970	134	23,1
	1973	141	30,2
	1976	159	41,4
	1981	165	49,3
Action Démocratique du Québec (ADQ)	1998	143	11,8
	2003	168	18,2
	2007	146	30,8

* Average distance (km) from downtown Montreal of centroids of ridings weighted by the number of voters. Source: computed by Yvon Jodoin at CRAD with data from Direction des élections, Gouvernement du Québec.

Table 3 partly supports this hypothesis. Union nationale shows the largest distances, while ADQ has slightly larger distances than the PQ, but not the PLQ. Actually, the PLQ shows two distinct patterns: for the three elections of 1960, 1962 and 1966, distances are much higher than for the elections of 1970 and 1973. To be sure, the average distances presented in this table are influenced by the general movement of metropolisation of the population, especially before 1980. This would affect the first part of the hypothesis, but much less the second part which is tested by comparing distances from one election to the next for the same party. Here the test is the most conclusive in the case of the PQ. During the sequence of elections when this party was ascending, from 1970 to 1981, it regularly extended its support away from Montreal. The test is also quite conclusive in the case of the UN, which won the

elections from 1944 to 1956 and was able to extend its support towards Montreal, albeit with a slight backward movement in 1952, an election which also corresponds to a slightly lower percentage of the vote for the UN. As for the PLQ, the party support was expanding towards Montreal during the quiet revolution (the two elections of 1960 and 1962). In 1966, when it lost by a small margin to the UN, it expanded its vote outside of Montreal and, subsequently, during the Bourassa era from 1970 to 1976, it first regrouped towards Montreal in 1970, and then gained ground outside the metropolitan area in 1973 when it won almost all of the seats in the national assembly. Further analysis is needed in order to explain satisfactorily this pattern which does not quite fit our hypothesis. An analysis by Lemieux (1988) of the regional pattern in the liberal vote during the 1980s, which notes strong liberal support along the southern border of Quebec, may help shed some light on the process.

Finally, there remains the recent case of ADQ. It is usually thought that ADQ is a pure product of rural Quebec, especially of the regions around Quebec City. Indeed these regions strongly supported ADQ in 2003 and even more so in 2007. But computing average distances reminds us that when this party was founded in the 1990s, it was rooted to a certain extent in the far suburbs of Montreal, one of the key leaders coming from Ville Laval. This accounts for the short distance associated to the 1998 election, when ADQ first gathered significant support. Then, from 2003 to 2007, the support given ADQ moves as expected, towards Montreal. The original hypothesis has to be qualified to take into account the fact that in the 1940s and 1950s, the UN was clearly originating in rural Quebec while, in the 1990s and 2000s, ADQ originates both in rural areas and in distant suburbs, including those of Montreal.

This exercise in electoral geography illustrates aspects of the territorial dynamics of societal change in Quebec. Social, cultural, and political changes in the Province feed on the sustained interactions between behaviours, attitudes and values originating in non-metropolitan Quebec, polarised by "orthogenetic" Quebec City, and those being brought into the Province through a gateway metropolis, "heterogenetic" Montreal. At times, the metropolitan influences may dominate, such as during the quiet revolution of the 1960s. At other times, the non-metropolitan influences may gain ground, as may have been the case during the last two decades. These territorial dynamics contribute markedly to the formation of a specific culture and society in Quebec. Without the metropolitan intake, the Province of Quebec might be rather parochial. Without the non-metropolitan input, it might be like the other metropolitan-centered regions of Canada, constantly in danger of being americanized.

Conclusion

In this paper, the notion of spatial interaction has been mobilized in order to shed some light on aspects of societal change in Quebec and Canada. This key geo-

graphical notion need not be reduced to gravity formulations. Indeed, if it is conjoined with the notion of social action, it may help identifying spatial processes that are at the hearth of societal change. Firstly, the idea of Canada as an east-west field of interaction is explored, focussing on the differentiating role of provinces and the integrating role of metropolises within this field. Secondly, the historical destinies of Quebec City and Montreal are interpreted in light of these roles. It is suggested that the differentiating role of provinces account in part for the shrinking *umlands* of Quebec City, which becomes a provincial capital at Confederation, and of Montreal, which loses its status of metropolis of Canada, to become the metropolis of Quebec in the 1970s, in the wake of the quiet revolution. Thirdly, the divergent orthogenetic and heterogenetic roles of cities, grounded as they are in proximate spatial interaction for the first one, and long distance interaction for the second one, are called upon in order to interpret recent social change in the province.

This interpretation suggests that the affirmation of Quebec's culture and identity, influenced as it is by the intensifying constructive tension between Montreal and Quebec City, may deepen the differentiation between Quebec and the rest of Canada while, paradoxically, it may also contribute to differentiate Canada from the United States, a contribution implicitly acknowledged by the Canadian government when it recognised, by a vote of Parliament in November 2006, Quebec as a nation. The motion read as follows: "That this House recognize that the Québécois form a nation within a united Canada." One has to notice that this formulation, while quite different, reminds us of the answer humorist Yvon Deschamps has given to the question: "What does Quebec want?" According to Deschamps, Quebecers simply want "An independent Quebec within a strong Canada".

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