

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

by

KRISTA RAYMER

MRP

presented to Ryerson University

in part fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts
in the Program of
Fashion

Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 2014

© Krista Raymer 2014

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION FOR ELECTRONIC SUBMISSION OF A MRP

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this MRP. This is a true copy of the MRP, including any required final revisions.

I authorize Ryerson University to lend this MRP to other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research

I further authorize Ryerson University to reproduce this MRP by photocopying or by other means, in total or in part, at the request of other institutions or individuals for the purpose of scholarly research.

I understand that my MRP may be made electronically available to the public.

ABSTRACT

By contrast with Canada, the provincial government of Québec has struggled to identify and articulate a "national" identity. The separatist Parti Québécois proposed the *Charter of Values* in 2013 in order to strengthen provincial claims to nationalism. Legislation within the charter potentially alters the appearances of the populace by defining acceptable forms of dress in a range of public spaces. It raises troubling questions concerning the role dress plays in the bodily display of values and creation of national identity. Through a biopolitical approach, it is evident the *Charter of Values* is designed to eliminate the presence of hair and facial covering practices in public space. The policy prioritizes the *pure laine* identity, while marking those bodies dressed in a way that reference non francophone traditions and cultures as threatening to the security and cultural values of Québec. The critique of the proposed legislation exposes the role public policy plays in creating, maintaining, and perpetuating dressed identities in public space. The *Charter of Values* has and will continue to stigmatize those citizens who communicate non- *pure laine* identities through dress.

Key Terms:

Dress, Public Space, Public Policy, Charter of Values , Québec, Biopolitics, Multiculturalism

Dedication

To my Popa, I can only hope to be as passionately curious as you once were...

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Introduction	1
2. Literature Review	6
3. A Brief History of Québec	17
4. Methodology	23
5. The Charter	34
6. Analysis	41
7. Now What	51
8. Closing	61

1. INTRODUCTION

“I would rather die than be treated by a woman wearing a full-face veil in an ER”- *Clair Simard, Pro Charter Protester Montreal 2013*

Since the events of September 11th, 2001, the North American media has consistently misrepresented various forms of hair and facial coverings from scarves, to hijabs and burkas. The events of that date have had a lasting impact, forcing Muslim and Islamic cultures into the forefront of Western “concern”, and creating an environment of Islamophobia. Western media has had the “tendenc[y] to plaster neat cultural icons like the Muslim woman over messy historical and political dynamics” (Abu-Lughod 783). Women donning various forms of facial coverings have become the “poster-girls” for the “dangerous” East.

Aspects of these women’s clothing have become a medium for fashioning a political identity, both literally and figuratively. The government of Quebec has positioned clothing as a realm for demonstrating a dominant identity constructed and reinforced through public policy. Political and social tensions are embedded in the materials and fabrication of goods consumed as hair and facial coverings. As the media has bombarded viewers with images of women donning facial coverings to legitimize the “War on Terror”, the use of hair and facial coverings within Canadian spaces has become a controversial public policy article.

This reality applies to numerous Western countries; in each case it has been ‘produced by specific rules of justification, interweaving legal and political domains’ (Bowen 325). The practice of covering or veiling women within Québec has taken centre stage as Bill 60, *Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests* became public in late August of 2013. “People are confusing two things- rights and choice... Your

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

religion is your right. But displaying one's religion is a choice" said Michelle Renaud (rally supporter) (Derfel 2013). Paul Zongo said (pro Charter activist) "When I go into a government office and I see a woman wearing a head scarf, I think Arab right away." (Derfel 2013). These types of sentiments have splashed the pages of both Canadian and international media agencies as the debate surrounding the proposed charter has become extremely polarized.

"Oui, oui, à la charte!" supporters of Bill 60 chanted while waving blue fleur-de-lis cutouts during a Montreal march (Image 1.1). Hundreds of people, mostly white and middle aged civilians, rallied on September 23rd, 2013, in favor of the Parti Québécois' newly publicized *Charter of Values* (2013). Aaron Derfel's article *Supporters of Québec Charter of Values demonstrate in Montreal* for O.Canada.com provides excellent sound bites capturing the debate, and contemporary culture as Québec citizens became familiar with the proposed policy (Image 1.2). Organizers claimed that more than 2,000 people participated in the march; in contrast to the thousands of anti-Charter protesters who marched along the same route just 9 days earlier (Derfel 2013). The pro-Charter rally was mostly peaceful, except for a few shouting matches between supporters and opponents (Derfel 2013). "Go home!" one man yelled at a woman wearing a hijab (Derfel 2013), implying her home could never be Québec. While other marchers carried placard with slogans such as 'Respect us, and our customs!' and 'Accommodations are unreasonable' (Derfel 2013). It becomes obvious much of the support for Bill 60 is energized by fear, intolerance, and a false belief that there is such a thing as a right not to feel uncomfortable (Bleiberg 2014). This discomfort comes out of the desire for a visual and cultural landscape that does not include difference. However, this is a one sided

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

approach, as the discomfort of those affected by the charter in a way, which would alter their dress, is not considered.

Since the announcement of the proposed policy, a significant proportion of the province's population has voiced their support or non-support for the legislation. The populace seems to be split down the middle as support for either side has fluctuated between 40 to 60 percent, depending on the poll. A public opinion poll conducted by Léger Marketing for *The Gazette Montreal* and the Canadian Institute for Identities and Migration found 48 percent of Québécois supported the Charter in January of 2014 ("Condemnation of Bill 60"). This number is only slightly up from the previous 46 percent when the same poll was completed in October 2013.

Troubling testimony has also come from National Assembly hearings on the proposed Bill 60. Testators have argued not solely for a secular state, but have attempted to show religious and dress practices of those considered non-*pure laine* are detrimental to Québec society and nationalism. Line Chaloux's testimony exemplifies this opinion, "These groups [the zombies], to show their adherence to certain ideologies, go out in the population. And, we are confronted with something we didn't choose. We didn't choose to find ourselves in front of a troop of zombies. These are things that should be banned" (Bleiberg 2014). Chaloux, the director of an immigrant-integration organization, and her testimony attempts to make a case for discriminatory legislation based on personal preference: "I didn't choose this and I don't like it; therefore, it should be illegal" (Bleiberg 2014). This same sentiment is shared with Andrea Richard's testimony, "I went to Bureau en Gros four years ago, and there was a woman with a veil at the cash, and I changed cashiers because I felt ill at ease. I did not want to know her religion" (Bleiberg 2013). The support for the charter shows that supporters

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

of Bill 60 assume they have the right to protect their culture and values, yet fail to differentiate between discomfort and harm. Does the presence of hair and facial coverings threaten to harm Québec values, or simply create discomfort, for those on both sides?

From the outset of the proposed *Charter of Values*, many issues with the policy have arisen. First, what constitutes a conspicuous religious symbol? Is it a hijab, kippah, kirpan? Does it have to reference a specific religion? Does it have to be visible? What about a crucifix worn as a necklace under a shirt? What if clothing has a symbol printed on it, such as a t-shirt with a cross? Are all scarves used to cover the hair or face considered religious symbols? Who establishes the religious character of a piece of clothing?

There are many challenges when discussing this topic outside of Québec. It is often assumed this is another example of Québec's provincial government being unreasonable, and attempting to push towards sovereignty. It is problematic to write the proposal of Bill 60 off as such. Since the introduction of the policy, increased incidents of racism and Islamophobia have characterized the provincial landscape. Reactions to racism in Québec are not unique to Québec. The rest of Canada maintains systems and institutions that oppress and marginalize certain groups. The *Charter of Values* (2013) offers a valuable example as it remains legislature, and not yet policy. Because Bill 60 is not yet formal policy, the opportunity to change it still exists. This is precisely why it is important to acknowledge its potential impact.

One may ask; how likely is the *Charter of Values* (2013) to pass and become formal public policy? The specific proposed legislation that would result in the formalization of the Québec *Charter of Values* was technically off the table, due to the election on April 7th 2014. It is clear the Charter has been a major issue during the election, as well as what is to follow (Riley 2014). It is hard to speculate exactly what would happen if the Charter were to pass;

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

however, I believe if the Charter were to pass it is somewhat secondary. This is not to say that if the bill passes in the future it is not irrelevant, because damage has already been done. A proposed policy designed in a systematically racist way has already gained mass media attention and affected the lives of the citizens of Québec. What we can do is analyze the potential impact of the policy and the damage it has already caused?.

I will explore how the bill has placed women, specifically Muslim women, in the forefront of the Québécois' minds as a threat to Québec values, nationalism and security. I will trace shifts in Québec's history to acknowledge how Québec nationalism has become tied to a *pure laine* identity, separating the population in the 'nous' 'us' and 'them'. This is crucial in reflecting how the government has defined those who do not integrate, absorb, and dress according to Québec values. The call for the elimination of women's hair and facial covers within public space in Québec is accompanied by harm-based and value-based arguments. I will explore how these arguments have strengthened Québec's call for a national identity. Bill 60 or *Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests* (2013), more commonly referred to as *The Charter of Values*, provides legal condemnation of Muslim women's dress in public space.

I contend the *Charter of Values* (2013) proposes to eliminate the presence of women marked by hair and facial coverings from Québec. The provincial government reasons this elimination through discussions of security, and the threat hair and facial coverings are thought to present. This work will articulate how public policy potentially changes the landscape of dressed bodily identities within Québec, and its demeaning impact. I begin with a literature review to contextualize issues of identity, dress, hair, and facial covering practices

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

within academic literature. I then provide a brief history of the province of Québec. This offers a framework to better understand the provinces' struggle with claims to national identity. One will then find a methodology section, articulating the theoretical lens used to analyze the *Charter of Values* (2013). A brief section outlining Bill 60, and how it grew into its contemporary form, links the legislature to Québec's history. The final two sections provide my analysis of the charter and its potential impact, as well as a review of public response to the *Charter of Values* (2013).

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Dress and Communication

The advancement of transportation technologies has resulted in "...[v]ast movements of people away from their country of origin" (Maynard 18) and increased widespread experiences of diaspora (Maynard 15). Globalization has become a fact of contemporary life, as global citizens live in a vast network of transnational relations and interlinked patterns of consumption (Maynard 15). These cohabitations in various geographical spaces has resulted in the sharing and presentation of differing forms of physical dress and clothing practices. At times these cohabitations have resulted in disquieting relationships. Citizens of the state have used these visual appearances to collect information and make conclusions about a variety of aspects of identity; from gender to race, economic status, religious beliefs, and ethnicity.

For one to begin to understand the symbolic value of a piece of clothing, it becomes important to consider what the function of dress is. Early examples of research within the realm of fashion have been plagued by simplifying the dress as a form of protection, or way

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

of adornment communicating wealth. Moving beyond the simple question of ‘why do we wear clothes’, to more complex understandings of clothing and its role as the weaving together of “socially situated garments, bodies, social practices, and identities” (Chen and Zamperini 265) is important. More recent scholarship from a variety of academic backgrounds including sociology, politics, psychology, and fashion has explored these themes. Specific works by Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher, Elizabeth Rouse, Umberto Eco, Fred Davis, Colin Campbell, Malcolm Barnard, and Joanne Entwistle, to name a few, explore dress and its role as a communicative practice.

Mary Ellen Roach and Joanne Bubolz Eicher describe dress as “... an aesthetic act, and all aesthetic acts are acts of speaking, through which an individual may speak as an individual, what is said having meaning only because of relationships with other people” (109). These authors understand dress in terms of bodily adornment. Adornment of the body can be the expression of a social role, or social worth, indicator of economic status, a political symbol, indicator of a ‘magico-religious’ condition, facilitate social ritual, reinforce belief, custom and values, or are perceived as sexual symbols. Adornment becomes a communicative symbol or tool crucial to the functions of humans’ lives (Roach and Eicher 120). Simply it is very much a “dress as language” approach.

Elizabeth Rouse’s *Why do People Wear Clothes?* explores how the concept of modesty has become tied to clothing. Rouse states, “It is quite commonly believed that we wear clothes because certain parts of our bodies are shameful and need to be covered” (122). The work acknowledges that it is not just a matter of covering universally prohibited areas of the body, but the practice of dress and modesty is relative. Complex learned cultural attitudes

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

and norms mediate the amount of clothing required for certain spaces, communicating concepts of modesty.

Umberto Eco, Fred Davis, John Stewart, and Alison Lurie attribute similar qualities of speech to clothing through a theory of semiotics. *Social Life as a Sign System* by Eco argues, “I am speaking through my clothes” because of their ability to encompass bodily performance and reference aspects of culture (Eco 144). According to theories of semiotics, clothing becomes tied to symbols, indexes, and icons once it is introduced to the social (Eco 145). *Do Clothes Speak? What makes them Fashion* by Davis identifies clothing and fashion as more than a visual language. Clothing “...draw[s] on the conventional visual and tactile symbols of a culture, does so allusively, ambiguously...” (149). Clothing styles elicit different responses depending on social context, indicating their ability to carry complex cultural messages. Nonetheless, John Stewart (2012) takes a more transactional view. For Stewart, communication requires individuals to respond to the perceived self-definitions of others. An individual adorns the body prior to verbal exchanges, making a statement about how they define themselves. One’s identity is not monolithic, but changes in relation to exchanges with other individuals. Clothing thus becomes a sign system by which individuals project information about their identity (Lurie 1981).

It is important to consider how culture changes over time and space. Similar to cultural changes, clothing and dress practices also change across geography and time period. Within culture, the body becomes a ‘connotation laden automobile’ (Baudrillard 277). Ergo, adorning the body becomes a way to align identities with culture and social norms. Individuals are able to communicate themselves as situationally present through the disciplined management of personal appearance (Goffman 84), paying strict attention to

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

contemporary nuances within culture. “Just as many modern languages by necessity adopt foreign words to facilitate communication, the language of clothing also contains foreign garments” (Reece 37). As Lurie notes in book *The Language of clothes* (1981) these act as signs to deliberately indicate ties to foreign culture.

Clothing and dress play a crucial role in preparing the body for the social. Adorning the body in culturally scripted ways creates access to varying social and cultural settings. “While bodies may go undressed in certain spaces, particularly in the private sphere of the home, the public arena almost always requires that a body is dressed appropriately...” (Entwistle 273). Those identities who do not conform, bodies which “... flout the conventions of their culture and go without the appropriate clothes are subversive of the most basic social codes and risk exclusion, scorn or ridicule” (Entwistle 274). Dress is used by individuals to transform the flesh of the body into something ‘recognizable and meaningful to a culture’ (Entwistle 275). Clothing allows for the communication of identity through aesthetic choices and alignment with cultural norms (Reece 36). “Thus garments carry not intrinsic meanings themselves, but are available for interpretation, and reinterpretation, based on particular uses, social circumstances and social evaluation, all of which are dependent on context” (Maynard 19). Dress transforms the body into a culturally accepted form of physical identity.

Politicization of Dress

Clothing and the appearance of the body are deeply rooted in politics at all levels (Maynard 53). For something to become political, it must be associated with the organization of a group of people. The body and its role as a communicative device become political once they enter a group of organizing agents. Previous feminist scholars have split these relationships into two spheres; the public (work) life and private (domestic) life. Joan Landes’

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Further Thoughts on the Public/Private Distinction (2003) explores academic lineage. The public life was assumed to be entrenched in the political, as it required interaction with others. However Carole Turbin (2003), challenges the public/private dichotomy by exploring the role clothing plays in a continuum of public and private spaces (46). “Because dress is not a simple cultural expression of society or individuals but a form of visual and tactile communication linked to the body, self and communication, it is paradoxical and double-edged, both in public and private, individual and social” (Turbin 45).

Authors such as Turbin, Mamoun Fandy, and Mary Lou O’Neil argue that clothing and dress provide a window into national and political livelihood. Clothing is able to communicate nuances in culture linked to national, and political identity. Dress reveals aspects of ideologies linking individuals with societies. “Dress and textiles play a special role in emerging nations whose identity is shifting and contested” (Turbin 48). Through dress, the wearer is able to align their body with various political identities. “Clothing can be used to protest, assimilate, and or/pass in an attempt to negotiate various situations” (O’Neil 66). Dress can also serve as a “means of authenticating social categories, legitimating and contesting authority, as [a] means of producing and reproducing values” (Fandy 89).

Historically, political and national leaders have developed dress and fashion policies in order to “...forge, redirect, or shore up a tattered or undeveloped national identity” (Turbin 48). The consideration of dress in such political narratives allows for the exploration of outward personal appearance as commentary on the state (Fandy 91). In 1998 Mamoun Fandy published a piece that identifies four cases where dress became a central theme to narratives of state domination and resistance. The first example places Egypt in the forefront of the audience’s attention. The majority of the piece analyzes Egypt’s requirements for Western

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

dress, and its role in entangling personal identity and social requirements (Fandy 1998). By banning clothing referencing ‘traditional’ cultures or religions, the state prioritizes the stereotypical western dress. Egypt has taken steps through public policy to constrict aspects of clothing in various public spaces. Both through laws, and legislature, the state has designed public policy to define the appearance of its citizenship in public space. This citizenship is secular and Western-looking, an appearance which is achieved through the freeing of the body from adornment or symbols referencing cultural, ethnic and religious identities outside of those of Egypt. Dress becomes integral in communicating values non-verbally in public space, as direct language is not always exchanged. If the citizen dresses in a similar manner, and prepares their bodies for public space in a way that complies with cultural norms, they acknowledge and recreate community security through the acknowledgment of shared values. The basic motivation for the promulgation of such regulation is guided by the idea that there is a relationship between clothing and mentality, and if outward appearance can be changed, this will also bring changes to the inside. It is believed that if the populace appears Western and modern, citizens will absorb this ideology, and the country as a whole will reflect and project such identity. This requires Egyptian citizens to mitigate their desire to communicate personal identity through dress, and their roles as a law-abiding citizens.

The second case features leader Kamal Atatürk and the revolution of ‘modern’ Turkey (Fandy 1998, O’Neil 2008, 2010). Fandy contrasts these cases with leadership exemplified by Mahatma Gandhi and Mao-Tse Tung. Gandhi is understood to have popularized the dress of the villagers and Indian peasants by wearing a *khadi* (Fandy 91). Mao-Tse Tung banished traditional robes as well as Western style clothing, requiring the people of China to wear loose blue pajama-like dress, commonly associated with the peasants (Fandy 91). These cases

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

indicate the role government and leaders can play in the changing of people's outward appearances. These appearances, whether by force of law or social pressure, exemplify an attempt to change values (Fandy 91) and identity as it is presented. To state it simply, "...clothing and dress regulations are used to exercise control over those subject to them" (Entwistle 23). For this project, it is important to consider the role dressed bodies play in the creation, projection, and communication of nationalist identity.

Facial Coverings and Previous Literature

"The practice of covering or veiling women within Islam continues to be an intriguing subject to researchers in many disciplines..." (Reece 35). Many pieces of Western second wave feminist literature reviewing the practice of veiling has been centred around questions of women's agency and patriarchal control (Lazreg 1988). These same examples of literature are extremely biased and potentially damaging as they often feature anthropological studies conducted by Western authors, interpreting practice and beliefs from other cultures (Kabbani 1986 and Alloula 1986). More contemporary works, such as Camelia Entekhabi-Fard's "Behind the Veil" (2001), Lila Abu-Lughod's "Do Muslim Women Really need Saving?" (2002) and Homa Hoodfar's "The veil in their minds and on our heads...", explore the history that has led to this type of damaging literature, and lead to a more complex understanding of the dress practices.

Historically, literature about veiling and facial coverings reduces the dress practice to a symbol of patriarchal control. This is a monolithic approach, as it does not account for changes in covering meanings, or practices. This is such a tenacious holdover of the Western perception that the dress of other cultures is stable 'costume,' thus not subject to frequent (or even slow) changes in fashion. The persistence of colonial and racist responses to hair and

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

facial coverings causes Muslim communities and societies to struggle to orient their cultural and political identities (Hoodfar 3). In this political landscape it makes it more difficult to share frustrations within communities and societies surrounding the veil as this calls the merits of the culture into question (Hoodfar 3).

The events of 9/11 resulted in a culture of “War on Terrorism”. American media agencies have continued to replay narratives of control and misogyny in relation to facial coverings as the culture has become “obsess[ed] with the plight of Muslim women” according to Abu-Lughod (783). North American government institutions and the media have culturally constructed the veiled woman as a “neat cultural icon” (Abu-Lughod 785) used to symbolize the “dangers” of the East. “Although media reporting of Muslim women has improved with time, primarily as a result of experience and constructive criticism from readers, large swaths of the American public still assume that Muslim women are weak and uneducated” (Sacirbey 262). Some academics have suggested the problem begins with the use of the hijab or burqa as a monolithic symbol of the ‘good Muslim woman’ (Sacirbey 267, Fandy 91, Kopp 62). This monolithic symbol does not acknowledge changing culture or practices. Additionally, the ‘good Muslim woman’ is created in contrast to the Western woman. This positions the Muslim women as oppressed and un-modern.

The debate over women’s agency and the facial covering found within North American media exemplifies a culture of Islamophobia (Kaplan 2006). This culture has influenced the commentary on women’s veiling within North America. Scholars such as Jeffery Kaplan and Carl Coon explore how Islamophobia has manifested in America post 9/11. The authors question what impact this has had on the acceptance of symbols of Islam and the greater “East”. Articles such as, “Islamophobia in America?: September 11 and

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Islamophobic Hate Crimes” (Kaplan 2006) and “Islamophobia” (Coon 2006), are useful when considering the cultural atmosphere which influences commentary about facial coverings.

9/11 marked a major event within North American history, resulting in suspicious attitudes toward the East by the Western majority. The American “War against the Taliban” was partly legitimized through a discourse on Muslim’s women’s rights. As Laura Bush explicitly framed it, “because of our recent military gains in much of Afghanistan, women are no longer imprisoned in their homes... The fight against terrorism is also a fight for the rights and dignity of women” (Abu-Lughod 784). Through the media’s use of the veiled woman as a symbol for the “East”, veiling has become a stereotypical example of dress representing the political conflict between the East and the West.

Abu-Lughod makes two extremely valuable points when moving forward with research involving facial covering practices. Firstly, “[w]e need to work against the reductive interpretation of veiling as the quintessential sign of women’s unfreedom, even if we object to state imposition of this form...” (Abu-Lughod 786). Secondly, “... [w]e must take care not to reduce the diverse situations and attitudes of millions of Muslim women to a single item of clothing” (Abu-Lughod 786). The acknowledgment of many forms of covering, and their various meanings allows for research to move past understanding the practice. Instead, research focused on understanding and explaining the reactionary practices of those exposed to various forms of facial coverings may assist in exposing a culture of Islamophobia.

Clothing fulfills a role within social institutions as it communicates ideological non-verbal messages. “The tendency of Western scholarly work and the colonial powers to present a uni-dimensional Islam and a seamless society of Muslims has prevented them from exploring the socio-economic significance of the existing variations [of covering practices]

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

which [are readily available]” (Hoodfar 5). Instead, covering practices should be approached as a choice by women; a choice to don a communicative device that carries personal and societal messages.

Canadian Research

Canadian academics such as Homa Hoodfar and Yasmin Jiwani have touched on Muslim women’s representation within a Canadian context. Hoodfar’s article positions covering practices historically, and explores how the garments are continually represented in colonial images. Jiwani’s article “The Great White North Encounters September 11: Race, Gender, and the Nation in Canada’s National Daily, *The Globe and Mail*” highlights the construction of terror and consolidation of national identity. Both scholars explore the evolving role covering practices in Canada have come to symbolize. Canadian research and academia has long studied Québec and its role within Canada. Given the province’s precarious minority position within the state’s larger national majority, unique issues of nationalism and identity arise (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 133).

The social sciences have played a particularly important role in answering the question of what is specific to a group or society. Authors such as Marcel Fournier, Léon Gérin and Marius Barbeau, Horace Miner, and Everett C. Hughes have theorized this category in reference to Québec. The authors all attempt to define the experience of a Québec citizen as part of collective identity. Looking for commonalities and shared experiences, they provide cognitive categories, which assist the French-speaking collectivity to identify common aspects of identity (Fournier 334).

Additional research has explored how multiculturalism interrelates with nationalism and identity. Authors such as Catherine Frost and Amy Nugent explore Canada’s use of

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

policy pertaining to multiculturalism. Through an exploration of multiculturalism, Frost (2011) and Nugent (2006) identify the problematic nature of contemporary multiculturalism and its role in creating narratives of nationalism. Acknowledging multiculturalism as a framework for policy allows us to better understand how laws and regulations can be constructed to align with nationalist goals.

However, holes in Canadian research exist. Scholarship has not yet explored the role clothing and dress play in the construction of Canadian national identities. Specifically, public policy changes in territories such as Québec have the potential to dramatically change the landscape of physical and dress identities. Therefore, acknowledging Québec's *Charter of Values* becomes useful when considering how citizens shape their appearance in accordance with narratives of national identity.

Conclusion

The culture of fear and Islamophobia has resulted in changes to public policy. Although extensive scholarly work examines the practice of veiling, there is a gap in the research into government policy and dress laws. Canadian government agencies have begun to take steps and some are moving towards restrictive dress policies. These policies aim to control the use of hair and facial coverings in various spaces. Policy changes have resulted in heightened media attention. The lack of commentary and criticism of new public policies in Canada causes the changes to go unquestioned. Specifically, the province of Québec's new, potentially unconstitutional *Charter of Values* (2013) has taken the media spotlight. Mainstream commentary of the charter has neglected to analyze the impact of present bodily identities within physical public space.

3. A BRIEF HISTORY OF QUÉBEC

Canada's largest province in terms of land mass can be found in the Eastern-central area of the country. Boasting a population of more than 7.9 million people in 2010 (Institut De La Statistique), Québec is the only province to claim unilingualism. Canada is officially bilingual, however most provinces maintain an English majority. Québec on the other hand, favours French.

Québec has attempted to maintain a distinct national identity, arguably more than any other French-speaking society in North America. This nationality exists in contrast to Canadian based nationalism. A history of colonialism in North America has both forced and borne witness to a political process of assimilation. French colonies in North America are not excluded from this narrative. Nonetheless, French inhabitants in the territory of Québec have persisted in maintaining a defined culture. Despite British conquest, and various federal efforts, Québec has maintained a distinct religious, cultural, and linguistic heritage (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 136). This has mobilized the citizens of the province to make claims to nationhood, in addition to statehood for over two centuries.

Québec's tumultuous history has shaped the province into a complex political landscape. The Treaty of Paris in 1763 articulated the Province of Québec as Britain's new colony. Inhabited primarily by French Catholics, the territory's physical boundaries and culture shifted and evolved dramatically for the next two hundred years. The church played an integral role in this development. "The Catholic Church played a key role in creating a politically conservative, inward-looking and ethnic understanding of national identity, rooted in traditional Catholic and rural values" (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 137). During the late 1770s, the British colonial government officially recognized the clergy as a structure

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

responsible for administering institutions such as education and social welfare (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 137).

Numerous social groups emerged, advocating liberation from British rule. These groups pushed the government to allow Québec citizens the power to better define their own political institutions. The goal was to create systems that served the francophone majority and its needs. These systems included and positioned the church as a strong voice of Québécois culture. “In the wake of the failed rebellions, the church emerged as the pre-eminent author of Québec’s nationalist discourse, emphasizing its cultural rather than political dimensions” (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 137). The church succeeded in developing nationalist discourse through repetitive references to ancestry and territory. With the support of the British Crown, cultural matters were delegated to the church, in exchange for uncontested control over politics and the economy (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 138). The result was a definition of nationalism tied to ethnicity and religious beliefs and values.

As Québec joined the confederation of Canada on July 1, 1867, power structures and the reality of the province’s political landscape changed. Now a unique province within the larger federal structure of Canada, issues of Québec nationalism and identity continued to develop. In the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, Québec experienced a period of rapid change. Commonly referred to as the Quiet Revolution, dramatic shifts in cultural norms and movement towards secularism replaced the role of the church (Dickinson and Young 305). The role of the church was questioned as the citizenship moved towards more secular values. If Québec was not going to be dependent on the church, what was the citizenship going to share as a commonality? These changes and shifts brought up the ‘national question’; what was Québec and what role did Québec play within Canada? The answers became increasingly

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

synonymous with the territory of Québec and its use of French language.

Rapid urbanization and industrialization made the damaging effects of clerical influence apparent. French education and the economy had not been placed in the forefront of political policy for decades. The long lasting result was Anglophone dominance in the fields of education and business (Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 138) as they were better able to connect with industry outside the province. As Quebec shifted socially to a more secular culture, the stronghold of Catholicism and the church was reduced. One of the government's new goals was to enable Francophone participation and success in business both nationally and internationally. Through the democratization of education and shifts in the public system, the province was able to produce qualified professionals who could compete with Anglophones (Dickinson and Young 316). Education and language laws were consistently supported by the great majority of Québécois (Dickinson and Young 325) as changes to these were believed to strengthen the populace. The discourse echoed *rattrapage* (catching up) (Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 138), portraying the province of Québec as a secular vehicle for achieving modern nationalist goals.

As the demographics of Québec began to shift, the impact was felt in four major areas. The reduction of church based social stigma surrounding birth control and marriage resulted in a sharp decline in birth rates. This additionally affected the median age of the population and a decline of the traditional nuclear family (Dickinson and Young 307). Without a consistent birth rate, and the impact of an aging population, the province's population was seriously threatened. Immigration and increasing immigration rates offered a solution to this issue. However, increases in immigration rates dramatically altered the face of the population of Québec. Once a province heavily dominated by a New France population, an increase in

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

immigration demographics shifted the cultural landscape. Heavy immigration into Québec in the post WWII era brought a new group of non-French speaking peoples to the province.

“The origins of immigrants also changed dramatically. In the 1950s and 1960s, 95 percent of immigrants were from Europe or the United States; in 1986, 70 percent came from Asia, North Africa, and the Middle East or Latin America.” (Dickinson and Young 310). Although these factors affected the rest of Canada, the impact within Québec’s territory was great. As the majority of immigrants’ lineage did not reference France or New France, the province struggled to maintain strong control over language use and the presentation of homonationalism.

Québec forged its own individual path for success and it included the French language. *The Charter of French Language* passed by the Québec National Assembly in 1977 added to the magnitude of the language debate that had marked the previous decades. The defense of the French language became a centrepiece of Québec nationalism. While the primacy of the French language was being strengthened within Québec (Grey 105), francophone minorities in the rest of Canada were undergoing assimilation. The language charter “... intended to isolate the federal government as foreign and even hostile to the aspiration of the Québec people” (Dickinson and Young 306). Language was constructed as a strong symbol of independent identity for the province. The province became further tied to a narrative of national identity.

Debates over nationalism were not only central to the cultural narrative in Québec. The question of federally based nationalism highlighted the role of the state and its political future. Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau (governed from 1976-1979 and 1980-1984) marked the importance of acknowledging bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada. His

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

government sought to "... integrate Québec into a pan-Canadian nationalism centred on a liberal understanding of the nation-state as a political compact intended to protect individual rights and freedoms" (Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 138). Attempts at state-defined national identity remained difficult as the Québécois were disobliging. Québec's Premier René Lévesque sent the province into its 1980 referendum. Québecers were asked to allow the government to negotiate sovereignty association (Dickinson and Young 327). "This agreement would enable Québec to acquire the exclusive power to make its laws, levy its taxes and establish relations abroad- on other worlds, sovereignty- and at the same time, to maintain with Canada an economic association including a common currency" (Image 3.1) A majority of francophones supported the 'yes' option, however, non-francophones participated in an overwhelming way. The referendum was defeated with 59.6 percent of the votes opting for 'no' (Dickinson and Young 327).

Through various policies the federal state has attempted to recognize the precarious position of Québec within Canada. For example, the 1982 *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* defined Québec and its citizen's positionality within Canada. State and provincial officials wanted to force the inclination of 'interculturalism' in different directions. Québec's *interculturalism* differs from multiculturalism. "On the whole interculturalism purports to integrate persons immigrating to Québec around the central focus of the French language, while displaying the openness of Québecers to the contributions of foreign cultures to the definition of the collective identity" (Ramachandran 33). Trudeau believed the recognition of sub-national communities reduced the states' ability to govern effectively (1968). Notwithstanding, premier Lévesque believed the value of the province stemmed from its ability to promote cultural self-determination. These tensions would continue to plague

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Canada as Prime Minister Brian Mulroney governed from 1984-1993. Although efforts were made to amend the constitution and appease the Québécois, the Charlottetown Accord (1992) and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms remained unsigned. The question of Québec national identity persisted (Dickinson and Young 345), and Premier Jacques Parizeau summoned the Québécois to a 1995 referendum (Image 3.2). “When the pro-sovereignty side failed by a margin of one per cent, [Parizeau] famously blamed the defeat on ‘money and the ethnic vote’” (Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 139).

Until more recently, many scholars would consider the ‘national question’ no closer to a solution. Since the referendum, the Parti Québécois has proposed further legislature (2007) to protect Québec’s national history, language and culture (Dickinson and Young 362). “Despite the province’s success in obtaining control over immigration and settlement, concerns about the impact of immigrants on Québec’s cultural and political landscape have taken centre-stage in current nationalist discourses” (Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 140). The result has been a call for further policy to formalize and define the culture of Québec.

Religious displays have become a particularly sensitive topic within the province. Because of its long history with the church and efforts towards secularism, the provincial government has struggled to deal with the controversy around religious displays. The 2007 Liberal government responded to public repugnance over immigrants’ religious displays through a public consultation. Spearheaded by Bouchard and Taylor, the report’s goal was to assess immigrant integration and provide recommendations for future policy. Released in 2008, the commissioned report recommended ‘concerted adjustment’, in which disputes over religious accommodation are settled on a case-by-case basis, informally (Bouchard and Taylor 2008: 65). By adopting this language and solution, the report advocates the

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

accommodation of behaviors and practices that do not interfere with the proper functioning of institutions (Laxer, Carson and Korteweg 140). The impact of *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation* (2008) report continues to be evident in Québec's contemporary struggle with the *Charter of Values* (2013).

4. METHODOLOGY

Canada has been greatly affected by the modern realities of globalization, mass migration/immigration, and threats of terrorism posed by non-state actors. Recent global events, such as 9/11, have reinforced perceptions of insecurity and vulnerability (Sharify-Funk 536). These themes and the influence of mass media communication have placed a range of identities—national, cultural, ethnic and religious—in a realm subject to securitization (Sharify-Funk 536). As Meena Sharify-Funk notes, "...the extent to which societies welcome or reject 'otherness' is a key index of their existential, as well as material security" (2010). As feelings of 'otherness' create insecurity, it becomes essential for states to mediate those feelings. With increasing changes pertaining to security being made to national and provincial policies, issues of 'societal security' are pushed to the forefront. Although many may assume this 'security' refers to physical state borders, it can be extended to what borders signify, culture. Threats to national or provincial security can exist in the form of 'otherness' as this threatens government-defined culture.

As Canada has become an attractive immigration destination, the country boasts an average of about 249,300 immigrants per year (over the past decade) (Facts and Figures 2012). This results in an increased presence of foreign national identities. Through public

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

policy, Canada has taken steps to acknowledge the population's diverse multicultural backgrounds. The state uses a multicultural framework to institutionalize and promote diversity. Yet, the province of Québec has taken a different approach. Instead of a politic of multiculturalism, a framework of *interculturalism* is created through policy. *Interculturalism* proposes to integrate citizens (Ramachandran 33). The provincial government states its commitments in a self-published English brochure "Learning About Québec: Your Guide to Successful Integration" (2012) "In conjunction with public, private and community partners, the Québec government provides welcoming and support services for social, economic and cultural integration as well as French classes adapted to the needs of the people it welcomes" (10) (Image 4.1). The government is committed to a politic of integration as focus is paid to the acceptance of traditional Québec values. Some may simplify this distinction as Québec's protection of language, and culture (Ramachandran 34); however, it becomes much more complex upon analysis of individual Québec policies, such as Bill 60 *Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests* (2013).

For Québec, borders signify the various values that constitute the socially constructed culture. To secure these borders, the provincial government has developed public policy ensuring and formalizing their protection. Although other Canadian provinces have taken steps to ensure security, Québec's recent attempts with the charter have gained a lot of international attention. To follow Bill McSweeney's definition of security, it is a quality of a relationship grounded in human needs which encourages confidence in citizens as their legitimate values are protected in a manner comparable with others' capacity to do the same (1999; 100). Under this definition, security does not just reference physical threat, but also

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

threat to culture and values. Given Québec's precarious position within the larger state, the province cannot rely on the federal government to affirm their desired definition of nationhood, culture or values (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 133). Instead, the province becomes responsible for constructing public policy designed to secure the values and culture of Québec at a provincial level.

This becomes increasingly difficult as the province is faced with demographic changes due to immigration. "...[A]s pluralistic societies expand demographically, it becomes increasingly important for governments to enact policies that strike the proper balance between individual freedom and communal values" (Herrera and Lachapelle 87). Immigration and immigrants' roles within nationhood play a unique role within larger states. "National minorities threaten majority notions of state-based nationhood via demands for rights and recognition on the basis of their distinct identities and histories" (Brubaker 1996 qtd in Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 133). Although Québec possesses strong jurisdiction over policy surrounding immigration, immigrant-related tensions have taken centre stage. Québec has struggled historically to maintain its language and culture within the national structure of Canada. The province claims distinct minority identities disrupt the legitimacy of the majority. As minority groups make claims for accommodation to preexisting practices, the majority's structural control is weakened. The past decade has seen an increase in claims for accommodation, with many of these centred on the accommodation of different dress practices in public space. Many of these have involved what are constructed as religious and ethnic dress practices (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 134). In this instance, dress becomes a communicative vehicle expressing personal and cultural notions of identity. Identity politics continue to be complicated by immigration in Québec.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

The Charter of Values (2013) introduced by the Québec provincial government attempts to strike a balance between individual and communal values. The policy is designed to create a visual citizen, a visual Québécois. This citizen is secular and Western-looking, an appearance which is achieved through the freeing of the body from adornment or symbols referencing cultural, ethnic and religious identities outside of those tied to New France. The Québécois' body becomes a sign system projecting information about the values and culture of Québec. As Bill 60 (2013) states, "Public bodies, must in the pursuit of their mission, remain neutral in religious matters and reflect the secular nature of the State" (2). The policy exercises control over the citizens' bodies, as it defines what is 'safe' or 'appropriate' for public space.

The public sphere refers to the spaces outside the domestic sphere. "Public is diffuse, referring to spaces where individuals and groups present themselves, consciously or with little or no awareness to others" (Turbin 45). The self travels intermittingly in and out of the public and private spheres. It is important to distinguish between public space and the public sphere. Traditionally, public space refers to those places determined to be public (O'Neil 16) under Canadian law. The public sphere is more abstract, including privatized spaces that offer community relations. Bill 60 (2013), or the *Charter of Values* (2013) is unclear in defining exactly what is to be considered public. The policy blurs the lines between the public sphere and public space. For this analysis, public space will refer to the physical spaces citizens enter to engage in social contact. I have interpreted the *Charter of Values* (2013) to encompass spaces characterized by impersonal, hierarchical relations governed by regulations, including schools, medical and government buildings, and employment spaces that deal with the presence of customers. These spaces constitute social relations, and produce or limit who can

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

exercise autonomy within them. However it is important to note, citizens move freely between public and private space, blurring the lines of the spheres as different spaces.

One of the goals of the charter is to control the way bodies are dressed in public space. Bill 60 formalizes how it is acceptable to prepare the body for the social. Dress is simply not a matter of public or private. Dress is a complex expression of society, culture, and identity. It is paradoxical; public and private, individual and social, as clothing represents a multitude of the body, self and communications (Turbin 45). “Dress is inherently and simultaneously both public and private because an individual’s outwardly presented signs of internal or private meaning are significant only when they are also social, that is comprehensible on some level to observers (Turbin 45). Dress functions to weave together “socially situated garments, bodies, social practices and identities” (Chen and Zamperini 265). Although dress may enter public space, the wearer brings intimate personal/domestic meanings with them.

Individual articles of clothing carry messages and narratives defined by culture. Articles are socially constructed through norms and values of the culture they exist within. These articles are literally layered onto the human body. The body is a cultural fact as it is a reflection of the society and culture it exists within (Baudrillard 277). Adornment of the body thus prepares it for the social, giving it meaning and identity (Entwistle 274). A simple analysis of an article of clothing and its meaning is not effective. Garments have no intrinsic meaning in themselves, but are made meaningful through interpretation (Maynard 19). Clothing is given meaning once it enters the public sphere.

In Québec the use of hair and facial coverings becomes politically meaningful as the wearer enters public space. Although the wearer brings personal/domestic understandings of its significance, it is contextualized by the social space of the public sphere. In the post 9/11

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Western world, women's hair and facial coverings have been identified as symbols of oppression that potentially threaten Western lifestyles. Fuelled by a culture of Islamophobia, the clothing denotes 'freedom-hating and democracy eschewing terrorism' (Ramachandran 35). The garment or piece of clothing is socially constructed and perceived as a symbol for threat to security. Both literally a threat to physical safety, as well as culturally, women's hair and facial coverings disrupt feelings of security. Within Québec, this disruption exists within the realms of culture and values. The practice of covering the face has become synecdoche for multiple cultures and is an example of the conflation of race and religion. The cultural reality of Québec places hair and facial coverings within the realm of threat, perpetuating stereotypical narratives. Accordingly, women who choose to don hair and facial coverings in public space are thought to communicate resistance to provincial values.

Dress provides a sphere for Québec to exercise security and assert authority (Fandy 91). If dress can be controlled, it becomes a tool to physically define the appearance of culture and values on the bodies of its citizens. The *Charter of Values* (2013) is an example a provincial government attempting to define the appearance of the ideal citizen, the *pure laine*. *Pure laine*, translates to pure wool, and is used in Québec to designate francophones who can trace their lineage back several generations to the first settlers who came to New France (Ireland and Proulx 169). The *pure laine* remain the ideal citizens of the province, as they are believed to encompass the true original values of Québec and its revolution. This citizen does not threaten the security of the space, as they represent the culture and values of Québec. These values include commitment to secularism and religious neutrality, and gender equality. The *Charter of Values* (2013) attempts to create the appearance of security and national identity in day-to-day public lives of the Québécois. The appearance of security encourages

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

confidence in citizens' belief that shared values are protected. This legitimizes the structure of the state through its ability to create, construct and regulate security. The goal is to create social cohesion through public policy, and combat segmented national identity. Thus, the *Charter of Values* (2013) attempts to define a normative dress that communicates the culture and values of Québec.

The use of *pure laine* is an interesting textile metaphor to consider when addressing dress within Québec. Literally meaning 'pure wool', natural, unchanged, and unprocessed, the dense, often curly hair forms the coat of a sheep. The emphasis of a pure fiber is ascribed within the pure wool metaphor. The *pure laine* of Québec are implied to be those whom are able to track their ancestry back to French, and maintain a pure, undiluted French blood. This metaphor links the fibre of the true Québec citizenship back to France. In this instance, citizens unable to link their heritage back to France are viewed as impure. Furthermore, hair and facial coverings are literally woven fibers used to adorn the body. The coverings references 'foreign', impure textiles. Often dyed, but always processed into a woven fiber, the wool used to construct the garment is no longer in its natural state. Hence, both the use of hair and facial coverings, as well as the garment itself, references the cultural and textile 'other,' the impure.

Notwithstanding, those identities who communicate difference challenge security. Nonnormative dress, or dress not tied to *pure laine*, communicates adhesion to a set of values outside those as defined by the collective, or in the case of Québec, the provincial government. It is precisely these differences that are identified by the *Charter of Values*. The charter identifies facial coverings as a violation of Québec values, and thus attempts to remove them and their presence from the public space. The charter states "personnel members

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

of public bodies much exercise their function with their face uncovered” (Bill 60 3.6). If this were to be systematically implemented, the lasting impact would be the death of a segment of identities within Québec.

In attempting to think through this paradox of life and death, it is useful to consider French theorist Michael Foucault’s theory of ‘biopower’. Foucault first defined biopower in *The History of Sexuality* (1990) and further develops the theory into a framework of ‘biopolitics’ in *Psychiatric Power* (2006). Biopolitics is the study of power and how it relates to the human body. Foucault states...

It seems to me that power must be understood in the first instance as the multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization; as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transforms, strengthens, or reverses them; as the support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the disjunctions and contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, as the strategies in which they take effect, whose general design or institutional crystallization is embodied in the state apparatus, in the formulation of the law, in the various social hegemonies (1990: 92-93).

To put simply, formalized power is constructed by government and achieved through laws, however a complex structure of power also exists in social life and relations. For Foucault, power is not binary: it shifts and flows. Biopolitics attempts to theorize how power works to protect life, while at the same time produce a reality of mass death, or ‘letting die’. Foucault highlights two types of power in his works, sovereign power and disciplinary power.

Sovereign power is described as “... the right to *take* life or *let* live” (1990: 136). This power is characterized by an ‘asymmetrical relationship’, ‘founding procedure’, and acknowledging that power is not ‘isotopic’ (2006). The first feature acknowledges there is an imbalance (Foucault 2006, 42), placing one side at the mercy of the other. The second feature identifies

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

how power is granted (Foucault 2006, 43). The final feature assumes power is not the same between different elements or people (Foucault 2006 43). Sovereign power is achieved through symbols, whereas disciplinary power is reinforced through surveillance (Foucault 2006, 47). If sovereign power can be characterized as *taking* like or *letting* live, disciplinary power is concerned with *controlling* life; biopower can be considered as *making* live and *letting* die (Foucault 1990, 138).

Biopower can be imagined as a map of protected or unprotected bodies (Image 4.2). First assume power creates a centre circle. This centre represents those bodies that are protected. The bodies that exist outside the centre are at risk of death. Protected bodies are those bodies *made* to live. Whereas unprotected bodies are *let* die. The different forms of power can be applied on any of the bodies to alter their positionality within the map. Both sovereign and disciplinary power is used to create structure. Although biopolitics and subsequent texts reference the real bodily experience of life and death, the framework is useful when considering the life and death of identity. More simply, the presence of identity within public space or its elimination. If we replace the physical body with constructed identity, it becomes a useful lens to critique the *Charter of Values* (2013).

The proposed public policy found within Bill 60 (2013) encompasses a framework of *making* live and *letting* die. The *pure laine* is made to live, while the identities of the ‘other’ are left to let die. The ‘other’ becomes unprotected. They become vulnerable to the varying types of power that have the potential to eliminate them from existence. The *Charter of Values* (2013) intends to eliminate conspicuous religious symbols and clothing that covers the face from public space. In this instance, women who don facial coverings are placed in the realm of the unprotected. The identity achieved through the wearing of a facial covering

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

becomes threatened with death, whereas the identity of the *pure laine* is protected and recreated through the policy.

The power used to precipitate and enforce the *Charter of Values* (2013) follows this model outlined by Foucault. Sovereign power is characterized by the creation of policy. For Foucault, sovereign power is replaced by disciplinary power in modern societies such as Québec. The relationship of power is ‘asymmetrical’ as the bill has been introduced by the Parti Québécois without the citizens’ input or approval. The ‘founding procedure’ is exemplified by the formalized structure of the charter found in the form of Bill 60. Because the current version of the bill is unclear in specifying to whom and when it could be enforced it maintains ‘isotopic’ status, as values remain the same, but application varies depending on context. Disciplinary power will be characterized by institutions’ compliance to supervise public space and ensure adherence to the *Charter of Values* (2013). To limit the scope of this analysis, power will be considered as coming from formalized state-recognized institutions. Foucault’s theory acknowledges power flows in multiple directions, not just top down. Power flows from cultural constructions, societal interactions, and varying levels of government policy in this model. This for example could be characterized by citizen peer enforcement. This type of analysis would be largely speculative, as the bill has not yet become law.

Canada has prided itself as the ‘land of freedom’, the freedom to be whom and what you want to be, or dress how you want to dress. The proposed Québec *Charter of Values* (2013) is a strong example of government-based public policy designed to restrict aspects of dress in public space. This paper intends to analyze the proposed policy as a piece of legislature and its potential to eliminate identity, achieved through dress, from public space. The discourse analysis of textual legislation, public statements, and visual images allows for a

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

better understanding of the impact of the Charter. I will argue that the Québec government has designated women's facial coverings as a threat to security, warranting the banning of such practices. In order to prove hair and facial coverings threaten provincial security, I will use existing dress and political theory to contend that the *Charter of Values* (2013) proposes to eliminate the presence of women marked through dress by national, cultural, ethnic and religious identities from Québec. Moving beyond an analysis of veiled Muslim women in Québec, this work looks to question how these identities interrelate with the provincial construction of a national subject, the *pure laine*. The reader will come away with a better understanding of how public policy can change the landscape of dressed bodily identities in Canada.

To provide clarification, the following points have influenced this work. First, I have analyzed the *Charter of Values*, as it exists within Bill 60 (2013). Given that the policy is proposed and not yet legislated, the nature and scope of the *Charter of Values* (2013) is subject to change. This potentially alters the impact of the policy. Second, terminology within this piece of work has been carefully considered. Citizens of the province of Québec are referred to as Québécois. This terminology should not be confused with socially normative practices of the term as referring to a portion of citizens tied to a politic of Québec separation. Thirdly, the resources for analysis have been limited to material made public in the year previous to the completion date of this work. This has limited the scope of analysis, and provided a basis for understanding the bill as initially proposed before the Québec Election of April 7th 2014. Additionally, it should be noted many terms, titles, and references have been translated from French to English. In this process of translation meanings, and understands can potentially be altered. Finally, I am writing this piece as an English-speaking scholar from

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Ontario, Canada. This positionality has shaped and affected my understandings of Québec's history, and future within Canada.

5. THE CHARTER

The dress of the Québécois has thrown the province into the media spotlight. Provincial policies and laws have affected numerous citizens' dress in public space. The beginning of the media whirlwind began in the mid 2000's. Individual cases were splashed across newspaper headlines as various forms of clothing such as kirpans and hijabs, were banned within Québec. As the province took steps to understand the impact of immigration and the presence of international identities with the *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences* (2008), Québec continued to be plagued with an identity issue. Numerous high-profile religious accommodation cases have given rise to a profound discomfort. The result is contemporary policy, constructed to control and shape the appearance of the Québécois.

After extensive court proceedings, a unanimous Supreme Court of Canada decision in 2006 granted a student the right to wear a *kirpan* to school. The *kirpan*, a Sikh ceremonial dagger, became contested when Gurbaj Singh Multani dropped the religious object in the yard of the school he was attending. The court decided that under reasonable accommodation law, the student was allowed to carry a *kirpan*, provided it was secured safely (Herrera and Lachapelle 89). The case protected the practice of carrying a *kirpan* under Section 2a of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, which protects every Canadian's right to freedom of religion. The case exemplifies a balance between the school's duty to provide its students with a safe learning environment and Multani's freedom of religion. However, the case did

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

not go unnoticed by the media. As the province had become exceedingly secularized, media and news agencies debated over the symbolism of carrying an object like a *kirpan* within Québec.

In 2007, two cases drew attention after the *hijab* had been banned from both a soccer game, and taekwondo tournament. The cases gained international attention as they highlighted young girls' ability to participate in sport. The first case featured Ashmahan Mansour because she had not been allowed to participate in a soccer game in Laval, Québec. The Québec Soccer Association had banned the girl from playing while wearing a *hijab* ("Rule against hijab stands"). The ruling created precedence within Québec to ban the *hijab* in future soccer games. The second case featured a team of five Muslim girls barred from participating in a regional taekwondo tournament. The team from a "...Montreal taekwondo club were told they could not compete in a Longueuil tournament unless they removed their headscarves" ("Hijabs Get Girls Banned"). Although both the Fédération Internationale de Football Association ("Rule against hijab stands") and World Taekwondo Federation rule against wearing any item of clothing on the head outside head protection while participating in the sports, common practice in countries around the world allows the *hijab* ("Hijabs Get Girls Banned"). In both instances, Québec officials determined that the *hijab* to pose a safety risk to the athletes (Ramachandran 33).

Academic authors such as Tanisha Ramachandran have argued the bans were unequally reinforced against women and girls (2009). Despite that, bans have also been applied to men and boys in Québec as well. A spokeswoman for the Canadian Soccer Association said a memo was sent to all local associations in April of 2013, affirming its position that *turbans*, *patkas* and *keski* were allowed to be worn by players (Borden and

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Austen 2013). “That provision was successfully applied everywhere in Canada, ... except for Québec; the Québec Soccer Federation, known as F.S.Q., voted ... to ban such headwear, saying it was concerned that it presented a safety issue” (Borden and Austen 2013).

Over the next decade, similar cases continued to gain national and international notoriety. Debates surrounding aspects of clothing socially constructed as tied to religion and their role in public space became a hot topic. The above examples exist within differing realms ranging from education to sport but always involving children. Provincial and third party institutions complicate the examples; however all are linked by the common theme of time and reasonable accommodation law. As Ramachandran points out “[at] first glance, the issue of safety suggests the need to protect [citizens] from physical harm, but these rules were not actively applied until the political storm over ‘reasonable accommodation’ hit Québec” (33).

The apprehensiveness of the Québécois over immigrant presence may be best characterized by the paradigm of Hérouxville. Beginning in 2006, and internationally surfacing in 2007, the rural farming town of Hérouxville developed a five-page town charter. The charter forbade behaviours deemed incompatible with ‘Québécois culture’. These included “...the use of face-covering[s] and any accommodation of religious requirements in public institutions” (Laxer, Carson, Korteweg 134). The publication was developed after a 20-question opinion poll was taken by 196 of the town’s 1300 residents (Cooper 2014). The document was designed to articulate the structure and culture of Québec for newly arrived immigrants. Be that as it may, the charter potentially eliminated citizens from public space and defined the physical identity of a citizen. Although the Hérouxville case was not made in

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

an extremely multicultural space, but a rural small town, the intended effect was to impose the majority's identity; European, Catholic and Francophone or French-speaking.

As tensions grew, Québec Premier Jean Charest announced the establishment of the *Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences* (2008). This was commissioned to investigate the subject of reasonable accommodation within Québec. Gérard Bouchard, a sociologist, and Charles Taylor, a philosopher, headed the project. "The concept of 'reasonable accommodation'... emerged [during the early 1990's] from Canadian case law and jurisprudence, and falls under the government's justice policy sector" (Herrera and Lachapelle 88). Intended to be a legal tool used within Québec to manage conflicts occurring from growth in diversity and society, reasonable accommodation assumes all human beings are equal but not identical (Herrera and Lachapelle 88). The law acknowledges that handling individuals and groups identically does not necessarily result in equal treatment.

After initial research, Bouchard and Taylor expanded the mandate of the commission beyond the subject of reasonable accommodation (Herrera and Lachapelle 103). The broader themes included questions of Québec's identity, the accommodation of immigrant culture, and religious diversity in the province. The intended purpose of the report was to achieve four goals;

- a) take stock of accommodation practices in Québec; b) analyze the attendant issues bearing in mind the experience of other societies; c) conduct an extensive consultation on this topic; and d) formulate recommendations to the government to ensure that accommodation practices conform to Québec's values as a pluralistic, democratic, egalitarian society (Bouchard and Taylor 17).

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Just over a year later in 2008, Bouchard and Taylor released their findings. The report did not directly result in legislation; but it did become the object of heated debate. Questions of Québécois national identity and its role in public space exposed the populations' anxieties surrounding immigration, and the increased presence of global nationalities, made visible in part by different dress practices.

Five years later, the Parti Québécois (the ruling provincial government party) introduced the *Québec Charter of Values* (formerly known as the *Secularism Charter*). First introduced during the election campaign, Minister Bernard Drainville formally announced the proposed charter to the national assembly during September of 2013. The *Charter of Values* purports to affirm the rights and values of the Québécois. Believed to be achieved through the separation of the church and state, the charter is intended to become part of existing human rights legislature, and can be found in Bill 60 of the National Assembly. Included in the *Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests* are five proposals. They amend the Québec Charter of Human Rights and Freedom, establish a duty of neutrality, limit the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols, make it mandatory to uncover the face when providing or receiving state services, and establish an implementation policy for state organizations.

The provincial government has designed and published a website to be used as an educational tool by the Québécois. www.nosvaleurs.gouv.qc.ca explains the proposed *Charter of Values*, and features Minister Bernard Drainville as a spokesperson for the intended changes. Published in French, the website directly translates to 'Our Values'. Drainville, the provincial minister of Democratic Institutions and Active Citizenship, provides

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

a statement contextualizing the charter. Acknowledging a history of secularization beginning with the Quiet Revolution, and the belief the charter will unite and strengthen the civic bond of the Québec population; the document cites the numerous high-profile religious accommodation cases since 2006 as the catalyst. Three goals defined as ‘setting clear rules for everyone’, ‘affirming values’, and ‘establishing the religious neutrality of the state’ substantiate the *Charter of Values*’ purpose.

The setting of clear rules intends to maintain social peace and promote harmony. By defining rules outlining the process of religious accommodation, the charter is said to prevent social tensions found within Québec from developing further (NosValeurs.Gouv). Equality between women and men and the religious neutrality of the state are cited as cherished values of the Québécois. The website states these values have been imposed on by previous religious accommodations. By creating a formalized set of rules and requirements outlining when an application for religious accommodation can be made, the framework is said to benefit Québécois, as well as newcomers. Protecting the Québécois from discrimination ensures that the state remains neutral (NosValeurs.Gouv).

Affirming the values of Québec culture ensures the society shares fundamental values (NosValeurs.Gouv). As the reality of the province is increasingly multiethnic, it becomes important to clarify the social contract that guides the integration of all citizens (NosValeurs.Gouv). These fundamental values include the rule of French, equality between men and women and the religious neutrality of the Québec government institutions. The rich history of Québec has resulted in a proud heritage. Found on the website published by the Parti Québécois, a diagram illustrates what type of religious symbols are allowed, and what are not (Image 5.1) Religion, specifically Catholicism, has occupied a central role in the

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

province's history. This is why the government has proposed to enshrine the iconic elements of cultural history, such as the crucifix in the National Assembly, the cross on Mount Royal, and toponymic elements that adorn the Québec landscape (NosValeurs.Gouv). The separation of the state and religion shall exist in the creation of religious neutrality of institutions, while protecting the historical heritage spaces. The website states that defined values assist prospective immigrants to learn about Québec culture and society, and enables all Québécois to respect differences, and acknowledge shared beliefs (NosValeurs.Gouv).

By establishing the religious neutrality of the state, the charter is intended to promote pluralism by ensuring equal and fair treatment of all faiths. To date, the religious neutrality of the state are not defined or affirmed through legislature and law (NosValeurs.Gouv). Along these lines, the state must remain independent of religious power, and no religion shall determine the conduct of public institutions. The impact would result in provincial staff being required to exercise religious neutrality, both in behaviour and appearance. The government proposes a formal recognition of secularism be part of the Québec Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

The *Charter of Values*' five proposals have all resulted in mass media attention. Bill 60 states “[p]ublic bodies must, in pursuit of their mission, remain neutral in religion matters and reflect the secular nature of the State” (2). Points establishing a duty of neutrality for state personnel, limiting the wearing of conspicuous religious symbols and the mandate to have one's face uncovered when providing or receiving a state service has captured global attention. The proposed policy could potentially alter and eliminate the appearance of numerous Québec citizens.

6. ANALYSIS

Québec may appear centralized in its provincial powers; however growing citizen insecurity surrounding dress practices causes this power to be questioned. The current bodily landscape in Québec speaks to the reality of a multinational province faced with complex intersecting issues of identity, history, and values. Dress becomes a vehicle for the presentation of both protected and contested identities as it marks the temporality of state relations with the various communities (Fandy 90). Dress and nuances in dress practices speak to time and space. As dress evolves over time, changes in practices reflect current cultural norms and values. The existence of various identities within public space causes the complexities of Québec to become pronounced. Women who don hair and facial coverings have become a symbol of these differences and complexities.

Québec has ‘increasingly pointed to women’s bodily attitudes as indicative of their refusal to join the wider society’, and as ‘failure of the society to sufficiently carry out’ political agendas of socialization and integration (Bowen 235). The provincial government of Québec has targeted women’s practices around covering the hair and face. These practices have been constructed as a potential threat to the security of the province, both by the media and the government - the narrative around the charter has focused on hair and facial covering practices, predominantly by Muslim women. According to John R Bowen, covering the hair and face ‘misrecognizes the minimal requirements of living in society’ and places these women in ‘a situation of exclusion and inferiority’ clearly incompatible with the values of Québec. The provincial government has justified the proposed *Charter of Values* (2013) by way of protection and security. The misrecognition of minimal societal requirements,

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

concerns the requirement to protect its citizens under the *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* (1976). This is based upon stereotypical claims of patriarchy and oppression linked to the donning of hair and facial coverings. The situation of exclusion and inferiority, concerns the physical security of the state and culture. Together these justifications place the *Charter of Values* (2013) within the realm of value-based condemnation of hair and facial coverings.

The shift from harm prevention to value protection in Québec seems to be a parody of France's banning of religious symbols in public space. At the beginning of the decade, rhetoric of harm prevention could be found in both Québec and France. Like Québec, France had maintained women's right to wear scarves and veils as instances of religious freedom under the law (Bowen 239) leading up to 9/11. As the social construction of these garments evolved in a post 9/11 world, they were assigned to personify Muslim women (Hanninman 271). Islamophobia, the fear and hatred of Islam and its adherents (Hanninman 271), became an ideological tool used to legitimize campaigns of political, social, and cultural reform. A call for governments to create public policy that would 'protect girls' would become a common political agenda. "...[R]eligious rights were outweighed by the need to protect some girls, who did not wish to wear scarves, from the men and women who were trying to force them to do so" (Bowen 239). This is exemplified by cases in both Québec and France. As noted, young girls in Québec were banned from participating in sporting activities; while in France, girls wearing headscarves to school became questioned as an example of paternal control (Bowen 239).

This type of rhetoric moves the debate away from the realm of religion, and into the realm of public moral order. As a public actor, the state needed to protect the vulnerable class

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

of its citizens. In these instances, the governments are not required to show the meaning of hair or facial coverings but to ensure that covered women have access to the same rights and freedoms as uncovered women. The overarching cultural narratives situated hair and facial coverings as impeding on these rights. Exemplified by Québec town Hérouxville's 2007 charter, and the French Parliamentary Commission to Study the Wearing of the Full Veil in France (2010). The report stated...

...the wearing of the full veil infringes upon three principles that are included in the motto of the Republic: liberty, equality and fraternity. The full veil is an intolerable infringement on the freedom and the dignity of women. It is the denial of gender equality and of a mixed society. Finally, it is the will to exclude women from social life and the rejection of our common will to live together (Atwill 2010).

Hair and facial coverings were constructed as to disadvantage women, as they symbolized instruments of oppression; linking Islam to misogyny, violence and totalitarianism (Sacirbey 262). The harm-based argument became difficult to promote as neither Québec nor France were witness to large groups of women speaking out against their supposed oppression inflicted by the donning of hair or facial coverings. Consequently, the governments further shifted focus from a harm-based argument to a value-based argument.

As the needs and realities of Québec and France differ, each locale has taken a different approach to the value-based banning of hair and facial coverings. One of the largest differences is Québec's positionality. The province remains a piece of the larger confederation of Canada, while France is a sovereign centralized state. France successfully passed legislature in 2012 banning the use of hair and facial coverings in public space. In contrast, Québec has only proposed Bill 60, which would achieve a similar end.

Led by Minister Bernard Drainville, the *Charter of Values* is proposed to affirm the

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

values of Québec society and the secular nature of provincial institutions. Found on the Parti Québécois website, *A Word From the Minister* states that the Québec government has expressed neutrality towards religions in many ways. The political party claims that the *Civil Code* grew free of religious influence in 2008 and *The Québec Charter of Rights and Freedoms* was amended to explicitly mention equality between women and men; however, the nature of the Québec government is not yet secular (www.nosvaleurs.gouv). Drainville claims the province has found a balance between the values and rights of individuals, consequently it is time to formalize respect for the secularity of the state. The intention is to act in a responsible way for the future of Québec and its social cohesion (www.nosvaleurs.gouv). The minister responsible for the Democratic Institutions and Citizen Participation in Québec states that, by intervening in this way, the governments can ensure future requests for accommodation will be granted in line with Québec values, respect and equality of every citizen (www.nosvaleurs.gouv).

To achieve its value-based banning of hair and facial coverings, Québec must primarily define how hair and facial coverings counter Québec values. The *Charter of Values* (2013) states specific instances when hair and facial coverings would not be allowed, but does not identify any specific religious, ethnic, or national segment of the population. Under the section ‘Religious Neutrality and Secular Nature of Public Bodies’, the charter states the public body must remain neutral.

In the exercise of their functions, personnel members of public bodies must not wear objects such as headgear, clothing, jewelry or other adornments which, by their conspicuous nature, overtly indicate a religious affiliation (Bill 60(2.5)).

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Thus, clothing and garments must remain neutral to ensure they are expressive of the modern *pure laine* culture (Davis 152) of Québec. Chapter three of the charter declares the obligation to have the face uncovered. To summarize the section, citizens must exercise their functions with the face uncovered, unless their face must be covered because of working conditions or occupational requirements (Bill 60 3.6). This is also assumed for those who are receiving services from personnel members/ employees of public bodies (Bill 60 3.7). The chapter concludes by acknowledging that accommodation requests can be refused, stating instances in which some unidentified level of security, identification or communication is compromised by a covered face (Bill 60(3)). It is clear that two aspects of the charter address hair and facial coverings. The requirement to uncover the body of conspicuous religious symbols and the covering of the face are addressed. The Parti Québécois has positioned the charter not as the banning of religious practices or dress, but as a tool to formalize community security.

One of the central values the *Charter of Values* attempts to protect is the secularization of the state. Subsequently, anything communicating religion or religious affiliation is considered to hold no place in public space. Secularization becomes a tenant of Québec's security, as it constitutes a specific value of the provincial culture. If security is a quality of a relationship grounded in human needs and encouraging confidence in citizens, then values must be protected and projected in a manner comparable to those around you (McSweeney 1999). Secularization only becomes a shared value if all those in the community maintain it comparably. By covering the hair or the face, the body of the wearer is marked as misaligned with shared community values. This delegitimizes claims to community and the security of that community. If this is the case, the adornment of a symbol referencing religion, such as hair or facial coverings, becomes problematized as the communication of

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

misalignment.

Another central value of the *Charter of Values* is the formalization of gender equality. One might question how clothing or dress practices intersect with gender inequality. The culture of Québec has socialized the majority of its citizens to understand the donning of hair and facial covers as an expression of oppressive Islamic practices. The assumption is then, that women who don hair or facial coverings are doing so out of submissive compliance to patriarchal structures created through religion. Thus, their entrance into public space while wearing hair or facial coverings communicates their oppression. The banning of such practices is not concerned with the meaning behind them, but with their symbolic value. Refusing to live as a citizen embracing equal human rights communicates in this case, a Muslim woman donning a hair or facial covering as her inability to assume and integrate into Québec culture. The wearing of a hair or facial covering then supposedly communicates an unwillingness to participate in the creation of community and active citizenship.

Although the Parti Québécois argues that the charter formalizes the province's adherence to secularization, the proposed policy excludes the banning of symbols referencing 'cultural heritage' (Bill 60). If the goal of the ban were to ensure the appearance of neutrality and impartiality of the state, it would be assumed all symbols referencing religion would be included in the ban. This may not be the case. As the policy has not become legislature, it is difficult to predict what the inclusion of "emblematic and toponymic elements of Québec's cultural heritage that testify to its history" (Bill 60) might look like in sartorial terms. However, the inclusion of some religious symbols over others results in a hierarchy of value. By placing Catholic symbols in the realm of protected religious symbols, Catholicism is placed atop of the pyramid. *Pour un Québec Inclusif*, an activist group against the charter

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

asserts, the maintenance of the crucifix hanging above the Speaker's chair in the National Assembly, results in "... the impression of a two-tiered secularism in which the religious symbols of the majority are celebrated" (Bourget et al 2014). A CROP/La Presse poll measuring public reaction to *The Charter of Values* (2013) found 78 per cent of those polled believe it is " 'important to preserve historic Catholic symbols,' while 56 per cent say 'the Catholic religion should have special status in Québec' and 62 per cent affirm that they 'belong' to a religion" (Gagnon 2013). While the religious symbols of minorities and the 'other' are banned as a threat to Québec values and security, those symbols attached to the *pure laine* are protected. As a result, symbols of minority beliefs are further stigmatized.

The Charter of Values (2013) defines what are acceptable forms of dress in public space through its statement of what are not. By banning religious symbols, and the covering of the face, the province eliminates the presence or reference to non-Québec values. In this instance, the body becomes a communicative tool referencing active participation within the social realm, reflecting the values of the citizens who constitute it. As Québec sets its sights on secularization, it defines the 'ideal' citizen. The 'ideal' citizen physically represents the values of the province through her body as she enters public space. If this is achieved, a strengthened collective identity is created, communicating a strong adherence and commitment to the security of Québec values.

The ideal citizen is the *pure laine*, the citizen able to trace their lineage back several generations to those who came to New France (Ireland and Proulx 169), or those who can perform the part. They embrace the metaphor that, 'life is a theatre', performing the role of the 'true' Québécois citizen. A blog post by AngryFrenchGuy articulates the identity of the *pure laine*.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

I am Pure Laine. I'm the prototypical Frog. I'm a Pepsi, a Pea Soup, a fucking Frenchy. I'm white and French-speaking and baptized in the Holy Catholic Church. I'm exactly who you're talking about when you call someone Pure Laine. The grandson of a farmer who was the grandson of a voyageur who was the grandson of a Norman sailor. I'm Pure Laine. As pure as they come... I'm as pure as any Québécois who's family tree has at least one root that goes back to those first French settlers (AngryFrenchGuy 2008).

Thus, the *pure laine* is the citizen that embraces the history and values of the current body politic and communicates it through her clothing. Free from religious symbols, her dress authenticates social categories while legitimizing authority (Fandy 90) and reproduces Québec's values of secularism. She appears modern and autonomous and enters public space. By doing this, she is part of the 'shared life' the security of Québec. Her identity becomes a political object, as the 'right' to life and the satisfaction of her needs is defined by public policy.

The *Charter of Values* (2013), places her identity in the protected centre. Biopower ensures that her identity is maintained, and safe from control, which would eliminate it. She poses no threat to the provincial structure, therefore she is *made* to live. Her protection is promulgated, as it is believed that there is a direct relationship between clothing and mentality, and that outward appearance reflects the inner aspects, values and beliefs constituting her identity. Her position in the centre is not fixed. Her positionality can be threatened at any time. If she were to flout the conventions of the 'Other' or of the unprotected identities, her protection is not longer guaranteed. This consistent threat ensures she continues to exercise and communicate her *pure laine* identity.

As noted above, she does not have to fall within the normative definition of the *pure laine* to be in the centre. To remain powerful, the centre must be constructed of a strong

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

portion of the populace. Those identities with social power, and culturally ascribed value must be added to the centre to legitimize the structure. Those who are found within positions of influence, or represent a portion of the community, are ideal candidates for the centre. As the increase of immigrants has fractured Québec's political scene, it becomes important that the centre is rearticulated to account for this new reality. Hence, identities, once considered to be unprotected, must be defined as protected to legitimize the strength of the centre and the power structures that create it. Replacement and containment of the centre or protected identities, are at the base of the policy that defines it (Morgensen 59). Those in powerful positions prescribing the biopolitical model must constantly redefine who are protected/unprotected to account for cultural narratives and norms. In this instance, the Parti Québécois must constantly reconstruct what identities can be added or removed from the centre. To be added to the centre she must perform the normative identity of the *pure laine*. She has learned this presentation through her integration and adaptation of Québec values. For the contemporary Parti Québécois this normative identity does not include conspicuous religious symbols or the covering of the face.

The *Charter of Values* (2013) defines who is protected and who is unprotected. Women who choose to don a hair or facial covering are at risk as they do not communicate the bodily identity of the *pure laine*. Their bodies communicate otherness. They are not guaranteed the same 'rights' as the protected, as they are pushed to the outside, the unprotected. In this realm, her identity is *let to die*. Her hair or facial covering communicates her unsuccessful integration and denial of Québec values. Thus, the charter is designed to 'amalgamate' or 'erase' (Morgensen 59) her identity achieved through hair or facial coverings. She is left to choose to conform to the policy or eliminate herself from public

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

space. If she is to conform to the policy, and her performance is believable, she potentially places herself in the centre. If she does not conform, she risks legal/political action, or limits herself to private space. In either circumstance, her identity created by way of hair and facial coverings is eliminated from public space. The result is the death of that aspect of her identity within the consciousness of the Québécois.

A diagram of biopower allows us to acknowledge the interrelated relationships of clothing and political discourse and public policy. The *Charter of Rights and Values* (2013) seeks to ‘maximize its forces and integrate it into efficient systems’ (Foucault 139) defining the appearance of the Québécois. The charter maintains ‘regulatory control’ (Foucault 139) of the types of identities presented in public space through the protection and un-protection of communicative garments. Dress in Québec is affected by three elements of interrelation; the physical garments, the role the garment plays in communicating Québec values, and the citizen’s compliance within cultural practices. The provincial government has assigned objective value to hair and facial coverings, justifying actions against the wearer based on those grounds. Hair and facial coverings are situated to communicate her violation of public security.

The province of Québec is in a position that requires it to create a political and social environment in which it can reconcile seemingly incompatible identities. To achieve this, the *Charter of Values* (2013) attempts to create a normative framework prioritizing the *pure laine*. Those able to perform as the *pure laine* become a protected entity. They represent traditional notions of civility, as they interact in the ‘shared life’ of secular Québec. Those who don conspicuous religious symbols such as hair and facial coverings are viewed to alter their physical appearance through dress. Through the covering of either the hair or the face,

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

their identity becomes veiled from the populace around them. The *Charter of Values* (2013) assumes one is not able to participate as a civil citizen while veiled. The veil is deduced to hide true secular identity. Accordingly, the policy adapts a model that positions clothing as an ‘expressive product of modern culture’ (Davis 152) linked to mentality. It intends to change peoples mentality through their outward appearance, eliminating otherness and prioritizing the values associated with the *pure laine*.

7. NOW WHAT

Spaces outside private residences facilitate citizen interaction. Both state funded/controlled institutions such as schools, medical facilities and government offices as well as public space, offer a common experience. “Common spaces are defined locations in time and space where visible and religious minorities and other [Québécois] meet and interact” (Dib, Donaldson and Turcotte 162). These spaces become the vehicle through which multicultural, multi-racial, multi-religious populations develop synergies that are strong enough to lead to a collective national identity (Dib, Donaldson and Turcotte 162). Common spaces are an important catalyst for defining provincial security, as they communicate citizens’ shared burden of protecting and recreating societal values. “The cumulative result of shared experience is a common economic, social, and cultural demographic infrastructure, which leads to a shared sense of belonging” (Dib, Donaldson and Turcotte 162). All groups, including visible minorities, must be viewed as culturally and racially enriching to Québec society to ensure their protection within common spaces.

The *Charter of Values* (2013) attempts to define these spaces, and who can interact

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

within them. If particular identities are excluded from common spaces, it becomes increasingly difficult for them to contribute to a shared common experience. Without their identity within these spaces, people become marked as unwilling or disinterested in contributing to a national identity. In contrast, those identities protected by the charter freely enter public common spaces. In doing so, citizens continue to exercise their shared economic, social, and cultural burden, communicating their commitment to provincial security.

Under the guise of promoting provincial secularity and gender equality, the prohibition of religious symbols would exclude those citizens who are unable to choose between the requirements of their conscience and those of the state. "... [O]bligations are set out for personnel members of public bodies in the exercise of their functions, including a duty to remain neutral and exercise reserve in religious matters by, among other things, complying with the restriction on wearing religious objects that overtly indicate a religious affiliation" (Bill 60 2). This also extends to those identities that enter the above spaces as participants. As previously discussed, the bill includes defined instances of when the charter is applicable, however, it loosely articulates when 'members of public bodies' is applicable, opening the legislature to a much wider extension of power. By articulating schools, medical facilities, and government buildings as applicable spaces the charter applies to the legislature places parametres on its impact. Nonetheless, the use of 'public bodies' is not defined in the same way. This has the potential to open the charter to a much broader scope of application, affecting bodies that exist in the private space of the home. If we operate under the assumption the *Charter of Values* (2013) extends to most instances the body is taken into public space, and interacts with citizens who facilitate economic and social livelihood, it is obvious the policy is widereaching. The potential impact is massive, as large segments of the

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

province's population could be excluded from participation in everyday activities that we take for granted as citizens. These may include enjoying public parks, going shopping, or taking public transportation.

The very idea of designating certain items of clothing as religious 'signs' or 'symbols' also reflects an imposition of a certain cultural and religious framework that is far from neutral (Riley 2014). "Although, for many Christians, wearing a cross may be primarily out of wanting to display it as a religious symbol (one that is entirely allowed under the proposed charter, provided that it is not too "conspicuous"), this is not exactly analogous to other "religious symbols" targeted by the charter" (Riley 2014). Hair and facial coverings are better understood as religious practices, and not simply as signs. By asking women not to wear these garments, the province is not just asking women to refrain from wearing symbols. Although hair and facial coverings may have come to symbolize cultural facts in Québec, requiring women to go without these garments is asking people to go against personal beliefs. Through designating certain articles of clothing as religious symbols, the provincial government is inserting itself into a process of interpretation through public policy. The interpretation about the significance of 'religious symbols' or dress tied to religion is a "curious action for a government that takes such a strong stance on the religious neutrality of the state" (Riley 2014).

Bill 60 is constructed in a way that prioritizes *pure laine* identities. Those identities, which communicate such, are a valued resource in creating national identity. However, the charter and discussion around it, has unfairly focused on women who choose to wear hair or facial coverings. The *Charter of Values* (2013) has further stigmatized these women. As the province has defined who is worthy of protection and who is not, they communicate who is

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

valuable and who is not. Ultimately, hair and facial coverings are socially constructed as threatening provincial security and not warranting protection or accommodation. Ergo, their exclusion from public common spaces ensures their identity is marked as threatening, and results in further rejection of hair and facial coverings in Québec. A ban of particular dress practices within Québec would force women to choose between their beliefs and the values of the province.

A recent CBC-Ekos poll suggests “[mo]st non-francophones agree that Québec's secular charter singles out Muslim women and infringes on religious rights” (CBC Most Anglos). Whereas, a poll released by the Montreal Gazette found 57 per cent of French-speaking respondents support Bill 60 (Québec secular charter ...). The CBC poll surveyed 2,020 Québec residents by phone from February 10th to 18th, 2014. Citing 58% of respondents agree racial tensions have increased in Québec over the past year, and 52% agree the charter targets Muslim women (CBC Most Anglos...). The polls place the proposed policy in context. Although there is a portion of the Québécois population who support the *Charter of Values* (2013), a significant segment of the province's citizens also contest the policy. It is important to acknowledge the potential impact of the charter, and the outcry of activists who have responded to it.

Since the public introduction of the *Charter of Values* (2013), increased instances of both verbal and physical aggression towards women donning hair and facial coverings has dominated public media. *Islamic News Daily* reported in November (2013) 117 complaints of verbal or physical abuse against Muslims were made between September 15th and October 15th (2013) within the province. This can be compared to an average of 3.5 complaints per month in the months leading up to September. Of the 117 complaints, Muslim women were

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

overrepresented, accounting for 114 (Islamic News Daily). Geneviève Pinard Prévost at the Université de Sherbrooke has conducted a study of 388 Muslim women to better understand the growing culture of Islamophobia. She found 88% of the respondents no longer felt safe leaving their homes (Adam 2014). This can be characterized by the well-documented case involving Hanadi Saad; a daycare worker who claims the police did not assist her when she and two friends were spat on and screamed at by a man. She told Global News that it was not the first instance of harassment she has experienced. Things such as “ ‘Terrorist go back home.’ ‘you will get out of your veil, terrorist’ ” (Adam 2014) have been yelled at her before. Saad believes there was tension after September 11th, however it was nothing compared to the current cultural atmosphere (Adam 2014). The possibility exists that some part of this is related to higher levels of reporting such incidents, but the intense increase is nonetheless alarming (Riley 2014). The increase in violence and intolerance towards covered women exemplifies the links between Bill 60 and justified discrimination, the perpetuation of racism and Islamophobia.

As a response to public outcry, parliamentary consultations of Bill 60 have been held in Québec City. Approximately 230 presenters were scheduled to brief parliamentary representatives about the impact of The Charter of Values (2013). Starting in January and ending in February 2014, members of the public had until December 20th 2013, to submit a request to appear at the hearings. Held in the National Assembly’s Salon Rouge, the hearings include representatives from a variety of groups and institutions including the University of Montreal, Concordia University, and Québec’s main employers’ group, Le Conseil du patronat (Peritz 2014). Critics have argued that “...the real goal of the hearings is to keep the emotional identity issue alive long enough to carry the minority PQ government into the next

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

election” (Peritz 2014). Interesting is the use of ‘emotional identity’ terminology. Debate over the charter, and expressions of otherness through physical identity, has polarized Québec citizenship. This links The Charter of Values (2013) to a politic of identity creation. Minister Drainville has stated "Even if people are against the charter, if they have the impression they have been listened to and respected, they will be more inclined to respect it when it becomes law” (Drainville via Québec Secular Charter...). The Parti Québécois has argued the bill is for Québécois and reflects contemporary society.

Many Muslim women in Québec have been very clear that they wear hair or facial coverings out of their own volition. Eloquently expressed in an open letter to Parti Québécois leader, Pauline Marois, Fariha Naqvi-Mohamed states...

In cégep in the early 2000's I made a decision to express my individuality and embrace my faith. Much like my peers who chose to grow mohawks, wear ripped pants, and about nineteen different earrings, I too chose a form of self expression. After all, if it was one thing I knew for sure, growing up in my Québec, it was that self expression is a thing to be embraced. So against my family's wishes at the time, I put on the hijab (headscarf) in the winter of 2000. (Huff Post Politics Canada).

For Fariha Naqvi-Mohammed, the donning of a hair covering was a decision she made for herself, not for anyone else. She has chosen to don a hair covering to communicate her alignment with a certain set of beliefs and values, as well as with community members. This has been a common narrative within the province. Women have taken to social media to communicate their desire, and autonomy in making the decision to wear hair or facial coverings.

“Even in the rare cases where the headscarf is not chosen freely, it is difficult to understand how or why potentially depriving these women of job opportunities is seen as a solution” (Riley 2014). Exclusion from education, medical, and government institutions

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

would severely limit women's access to employment opportunities and the labour market. A 2009 report by the Fédération des femmes du Québec states unemployment among immigrant women is very high. At any given point, it is roughly 20% higher than the provincial rate, currently sitting at 8.8 percent (Statistics Canada). In this regard, the ban of hair and facial coverings contributes to increased economic vulnerability of women who wear such coverings. The ability to participate in social activities and financial stability becomes exceedingly threatened, as employment opportunities are limited to those positions not defined as public under the charter. Women's autonomy is jeopardized. Bill 60 potentially exacerbates inequalities between men and women. "For those women who do not experience their [hair or facial covering] as a source of oppression, the bill represents an intrusion into their choices about how much clothing they want to wear" (Riley 2014). Additionally, the bill threatens women who are in oppressive situations, as their source of independent income and self-determination is threatened (Riley 2014). In either circumstance, hair or facial coverings are the marker of exclusion from labour markets.

Dawson College professor, Dipti Gupta wears a headscarf during her lectures as a form of protest. She says she wears the scarf out of "solidarity for people who are wearing different head gears" ('Quebec Values Charter – Professor'). Consider a fictional example of a professor at a university; under the *Charter of Values* (2013) a professor would be forbidden from wearing 'ostentatious' religious symbols, such as hair coverings, and unable to wear facial coverings. For a professor who wears a hair or facial covering, three things are assumed; first, her hair or facial coverings is a religious symbol. Second, by choosing to wear such, she attempts to impose religious beliefs on those around her. Finally, her ability to communicate and teach is somehow negatively affected by her choice in dress. In all these

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

instances, her hair or facial covering upsets Québec's notions of security. She must choose between her position and her personal beliefs. If she is excluded from the space of postsecondary education, the university's presence of multiple racial, ethnic, religious, and cultural perspectives is threatened as well. Additionally, the lack of the garment's presence within the university speaks to its social value within society. The university is positioned as a space of authority and knowledge. A potential lack of hair or facial coverings on professors sends the message the practice has no place in positions of authority or power. In this instance it becomes clear that access to employment, and the ability to freely exercise self-expression would be limited.

The *Charter of Values* does include a framework for accommodation requests. These accommodation requests must ensure, the request is the result of section 10 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (chapter C-12).

Every person has a right to full and equal recognition and exercise of his human rights and freedoms, without distinction, exclusion or preference based on race, colour, sex, pregnancy, sexual orientation, civil status, age except as provided by law, religion, political convictions, language, ethnic or national origin, social condition, a handicap or the use of any means to palliate a handicap

The request must also be consistent with the right for equality between women and men (Bill 60 15.2). "[T]he accommodation is reasonable in that it does not impose undue hardship on the public body with regard to, among other considerations, the rights of others, public health and safety, the effects on the proper operation of the public body, and the costs involved (Bill 60 15.3). The last requirement for an accommodation request states the request must not compromise the separation of religions and the State, or the religious neutrality and secularity of the State (Bill 60 15.4). Under these parameters, it can be assumed accommodation

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

requests pertaining to hair or facial coverings may not fit within the above requirements, as the Parti Québécois has defined their use as a religious symbol.

The Fédération des femmes du Québec has been a loud public voice in speaking out against the charter. The president of the FFQ, Alexa Conradi, blames the Québécois for allowing the focus of the charter debate to drift to covered women. “In a sense, it’s a form of institutionalized racism, when even the state doesn’t do everything in its power to make sure these prejudices haven’t been encouraged” (Conradi 2014). The FFQ has published three goals on their website (www.ffq.qc.ca). The first includes the withdrawal of Bill 60. The group believes the charter does not satisfy secularity requirements. The result is weakened rights and the preference for a system of values over a system of rights as defined by the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. This values over rights, allows the provincial government to impede on citizens rights prioritizing the claim of shared provincial values. These values define the worthiness of socio, cultural, ethnic, and religious identities. The second requests that more research and consultation be completed concerning the process of secularization. Then, only after that has been completed, a new bill of secularization would be presented. This bill would create laws, procedures, systems, and institutions, which would not impede on the rights of all people. And finally, it calls for a partnership between researchers, feminist activists, and politicians to avoid the presentation of damaging policy in the future (FFQ 2014). This type of rhetoric is important as it asks the Québécois to reconsider the current version of Bill 60.

Marina Totino has also created a lot of attention with the release of her Photoshopped Pauline Marois image (Image 7.1). CBC news reports “Countless campaign posters in Montreal have been vandalized and covered in graffiti since the start of the campaign season,

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

but one Montreal artist is using Photoshop instead of spray paint to get her message across” (Berstein 2014). Totino took an image of an election billboard featuring Marois and covered the Parti Québécois leader in a hijab. "I don't think there's anything disrespectful about what I've done. All I've added was one piece of clothing over her head, and I feel like she still looks beautiful in it," Totino says. The artist's use of drawn clothing has layered the image in meaning. Totino reclaims power from the political figure, and positions the premier as an image to be consumed. In doing this, she contests the authority Marois maintains in office, as well as her future ability to hold the position. The artist is able to reposition power, causing the audience to consume the political image of Marois in a different way. The Photoshopped piece causes the premier to become a caricature of herself. This causes her politics, and political agenda to be questioned, and reframed as humorous. The Photoshopped billboard creates the appearance or imitation of Marois, exaggerating the peculiarities of her political agenda. The image frames the *Charter of Values* as grotesque, exaggerating the impact of the proposed legislature. The release of Marina Totino's piece is particularly important as the timing of the public release fell within Marois' election campaign. This was a crucial time for the premier to exercise her power and persuasion; however it became complicated by her caricatured image.

The upcoming April 2014 election has reignited debates surrounding Québec's distinctive identity, and its role within Canada. Both Québecois leader Pauline Marois and Liberal leader Phillippe Couillard have acknowledged the importance of identifying Québec as a distinct province requiring unique status (Wyatt 2014). The Charter of Values (2013) is the focal point of The Québecois election platform (Shingler 2014). Bill 60 has become/or becomes a potential tool a tool for the province to construct and define a 'single-nation'

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

identity. Essential to communicating its distinctiveness, Québec attempts to construct a homogenic identity that exists in contrast with the rest of Canada: an identity that communicates community and alignment with shared values, which differs from the rest of Canada. By defining the acceptable forms of dressed bodily identity within public space, the province is able to define and create the appearance of cohesion and adherence to Québec values in the sartorial sphere. Instead of asking what the national identity now means in a post-globalized Québec, the province attempts to define how the *pure laine* identity can be established as the single-national identity.

8. CLOSING

Quebec history may well be in the making with the introduction of Bill 60. However, this what? does not ignore the province's past. The proposal of the *Charter of Values* (2013) responds directly to historical movement towards provincial independence. Any attempt at independence requires a sense of nationalism, a strongly linked community, tied together by a homogenic sense of identity, unity and security. In its past two attempts at separation, nationalist movements were very much about an ethnic nationalism. This ethnic nationalism was made up of the *pure laine*. Citizens were able to trace their heritage back hundreds of years to the original settlers of New France. The contemporary reality of Québec requires the province to rearticulate its nationalism. Due to demographic changes in the province, the government could not solely rely on the *pure laine* vote. An increase in immigrant population threatens the legitimacy of ethnic nationalism. Instead, the Parti Québécois has reconstructed its nationalistic agenda to be about civic nationalism. It is no longer about if the population is

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

white and of French descent, it is more about if individuals embrace the shared values of the distinct society.

As response to Québec's shaky sense of national identity the Parti Québécois published Bill 60, the *Charter of Values* (2013). The proposed legislature is designed to create the appearance of civic nationalism. This civic nationalism is fashioned through dress and clothing. The stereotypical appearance of the *pure laine* is prioritized and protected, as foreign religious symbols are banned from various forms of public space. Bill 60, *Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests* (2013) situates the outward appearance of its provincial citizens as commentary on the state (Fandy 91). The Parti Québécois attempts to use public policy to promote homogeneity, through the elimination of distinct dress in public space.

This examination of the proposed *Charter of Values* (2013) illustrates: the role public policy plays in identity creation and presentation; the ways dress legislature produces and maintains exclusion and racism; and the role clothing plays in communicating community security. The Parti Québécois attempts to eliminate confusion surrounding provincial national identity, and resume control over differentiation that threatens community security. This has caused hair and facial covering practices to become the centre of attention. The charter is thus designed to eliminate the presence of such dress practices from public space. Through doing this provincial government agencies positions the garments as symbolic of a non-Québec narrative. This type of narrative has no place in a space struggling to define its nationalist identity.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Hair and facial coverings have been socially constructed to express otherness threatening community security within Québec. In this instance dress provides a sphere for government to exercise authority. Civilians' bodies become a communicative tool used to define the appearance of Québec culture and values. Bodies communicating alignment with the *pure laine* identity are protected as they do not threaten the security of the state. However, those women who don hair and facial covers are constructed as a threat to security, as the garments communicate attachment and adherence to culture and values outside the province. Although the government argues the legislature is designed to protect women from patriarchy and control, the reality is the government is attempting to protect the state structure from the expression of distinction. The appearance of security encourages confidence in citizens', legitimization of the structure of the state. When this is threatened the state apparatus is weakened.

In this way, the *Charter of Values* is designed to eliminate the expression of otherness, and maintain the *pure laine*. Bill 60 perpetuates racist discourse as the charter strengthens claims of nationalism through prioritizing a particular set of identities, while excluding others. Instead, the charter should account for difference and build on commonly shared Québécois experiences. This can be achieved through common public spaces. These commonly shared public spaces offer opportunity for shared tolerance, and shared experience. Nonetheless, for these shared spaces to be effective, citizens must be able to express personal identity and not the defined identities as prescribed by the state.

Moving forward it is important for both academia as well as state actors to recognize hair and facial covers are not quintessential signs of women's unfreedom (Abu-Lughod 786). The meanings and interpretations behind various forms of Muslim hair and facial coverings

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

cannot be simplified to a single form of clothing. Under this, the practice of hair and facial coverings should be protected. The distinguishing point here is the protection of the right to choose certain garments with personal meaning, over protecting women from themselves, or the culture that supposedly controls them. By requiring women not to wear these garments, the province is not just asking women to refrain from wearing symbols, but it is also demonstrating a disregard for personal beliefs and values.

Although the Parti Québécois has lost the April 7th 2014 provincial election to the Liberal party, the damage has already been done. The proposal of Bill 60 has reignited discussion surrounding national identity, exploring who belongs and who does not. How does limiting the individual rights of some serve to unite the whole?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abu-Lughod, Lila. "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others." *American Anthropologist* 104.3 (2002): 783-90.
- AngryFrenchGuy. "Pure Laine Is an English Word." Weblog post. *AngryFrench Guy*. Wordpress, 11 Jan. 2009. Web. 20 Feb. 2014.
- Atwill, Nicole. "France: Highlights of Parliamentary Report on the Wearing of the Full Veil (BURQA)." *Library of Congress*. United States of American Government, Feb. 2010. Web. 10 Jan. 2014. <<http://www.loc.gov/law/help/france-veil.php#f1>>.
- Baudrillard, Jean. "The Finest Consumer Object: The Body" *The Body: A Reader*. Routledge, 2005. 277-282.
- Bernstein, Jaela. "Pauline Marois 'looks Beautiful' in a Hijab, Artist Says." *CBC News*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 14 Mar. 2014. Web. 14 Mar. 2014.
- Bleiberg, Jake. "'I Feel ...' Hardly Justifies Bill 60." *The Gazette Montreal*. N.p., 4 Feb. 2014. Web. 20 Feb. 2014.
- Borden, Sam, and Ian Austen. "Canadian Conflict Grows Out of Québec Soccer Federation's Ban on Turbans." *The New York Times*. Nytimes.com, 11 June 2013. Web. 20 Jan. 2014. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/06/12/sports/soccer/canadian-soccer-rift-grows-out-of-Québec-federations-turban-ban.html?_r=0>.
- Bouchard, G. and Taylor, C. 2008. *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation*. Québec City: Gouvernement du Québec.
- Bouchard, Gérard, and Charles Taylor. *Building the Future, a Time for Reconciliation: Report*. Québec: Commission De Consultation Sur Les Pratiques D'accomodement Reliées Aux Différences Culturelles, 2008.
- Bourget, Rémi, Frederic Bernard, Ryoa Chung, and Judith Lussier. "Pour Un Québec Inclusif." *Manifeste*. Pour Un Québec Inclusif, n.d. Web. 20 Feb. 2014. <<http://Québecinclusif.org/manifeste-2/english/>>.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

- Bowen, John R. "How the French State Justifies Controlling Muslim Bodies: From Harm Based to Values Based Reasoning." *Social Research* 78.2 (2011): 325-48.
- Canada. Citizenship and Immigration. *Facts and Figures 2012 – Immigration Overview: Permanent and Temporary Residents*. Government of Canada, 07 Aug. 2013. Web. <<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/facts2012/permanent/01.asp>>.
- Canada. Gouvernement Du Québec. Institut De La Statistique. *Demographics*. N.p., 2014. Web. <<http://www.stat.gouv.qc.ca/statistiques/population/demographie/caracteristiques/index.html>>.
- Canada. Parti Québécois. Democratic Institutions and Active Citizenship. *Nos Valeurs*. Parti Québécois, 2013. Web. 07 Jan. 2014. <<http://www.nosvaleurs.gouv.qc.ca/en#minister>>.
- Canada. Québec. Democratic Institutions and Active Citizenship. *Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism and Religious Neutrality and of Equality between Women and Men, and Providing a Framework for Accommodation Requests*. 2013.
- Canada. Statistics Canada. Employment. *Labour Force Characteristics, Unadjusted, by Province (monthly) (Québec, Ontario, Manitoba)*. N.p., 7 Mar. 2014. Web. 10 Mar. 2014. *Débat Sur La Laïcité Et Le Port De Signes Religieux Ostentatoires Dans La Fonction Et Les Services Publics Québécois*. Rep. N.p.: Fédération Des Femmes Du Québec, 2009. Print. A.G. Spéciale.
- Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism and Religious Neutrality and Equality between Women and Men, and Providing a Framework for Accommodation Requests, 60, 4th Québec House of Commons., Québec Official Publisher 1 (2013).
- Charter Of Human Rights And Freedoms, § 12 (Québec 1976).
- Chen, Tina Mai., and Paola Zamperini. "Guest Editors' Introduction." *Fabrications*. 2nd ed. Vol. 11. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003. 261-69.
- Conseil du statut de la Femme. *Right to Equality Between Women and Men and Freedom of Religion*. Government of Québec, 2007.
- Cooper, Celine. "Bill 60 Is Hérouxville Writ Large." *The Gazette*. MontrealGazette.com, 26 Jan. 2014. Web. 12 Feb. 2014. <<http://www.montrealgazette.com/news/Celine+Cooper+Bill+H%C3%A9rouxville+writ+large/9427194/story.html>>.
- Coon, Carl. "Islamophobia." *The Humanist* May-June 2006, 66th ed., sec. 3: 4-5.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

- "Chronology of the Recent Political History of Québec." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 25.4 (1995): 143-45.
- Davis, Fred. "Do Clothes Speak? What Makes Them Fashion?." *Fashion Theory: A Reader*. Comp. Malcolm Barnard. London: Routledge, 2007. 148-58.
- Derfel, Aaron. "Supporters of Quebec Charter of Values demonstrate in Montreal" *Canada.com*. N.p., 23 Sept. 2013. Web. 20 Feb. 2014.
- Dib, Kamal, Ian Donaldson, and Brittany Turcotte. "Integration and Identity in Canada: The Importance of Multicultural Common Spaces." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 40.1 (2009): 161-87. "Most Anglos, Allophones Say Secular 'values' Charter Targets Muslim Women." *CBC News Montreal*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 04 Mar. 2014. Web. 10 Mar. 2014.
- Dickinson, John Alexander., and Brian J. Young. *A Short History of Québec*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 2003.
- Eco, Umberto. "Social Life as a Sign System." *Fashion Theory: A Reader*. Comp. Malcolm Barnard. London: Routledge, 2007. 143-47.
- Entwistle, Joanne. "Addressing The Body " *Fashion Theory: A Reader*. Comp. Malcolm Barnard. London: Routledge, 2007. 273-291.
- Entwistle, Joanne. *The Fashioned Body: Fashion, Dress, and Modern Social Theory*. Cambridge: Polity, 2000.
- Entekhabi-Fard, Camelia. "Behind the Veil." *Mother Jones* 2001: 68-73. ProQuest Research Library.
- Fandy, Mamoun. "Political Science without Clothes: The Politics of Dress or Contesting the Spatiality of the State in Egypt." *Arab Studies Quarterly* 20.2 (1998): 87-104.
- "For Secularism without Domination: The Complete Memory." *Fédération Des Femmes Du Québec*. Fédération Des Femmes Du Québec, 3 Mar. 2014. Web. 10 Mar. 2014.
- Foucault, Michel, and Jacques Lagrange. *Psychiatric Power: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1973-74*. Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.
- Foucault, Michel, and Robert J. Hurley. *The History of Sexuality*. New York: Vintage, 1990.
- Fournier, Marcel. "Quebec Sociology and Quebec Society: The Construction of a Collective Identity." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 26.3 (2001): 333-47.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

- Frost, Catherine. "How Canada Killed Multiculturalism." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 43.1 (2011): 253-64.
- Gagnon, Alain, and Raffaele Iacovino. *Federalism, Citizenship, and Québec: Debating Multinationalism*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 2007.
- Gagnon, Michelle. "Québec's Values Charter Forcing Rethink of Catholicism, Religious Identity." *CBC News*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 03 Oct. 2013. Web. 05 Jan. 2014. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/Québec-s-values-charter-forcing-rethink-of-catholicism-religious-identity-1.1876855>>.
- Goffman, Erving. "Embodied Information in Face-to-Face Interaction". *The Body: A Reader*. Routledge, 2005. 82-86.
- Grey, Julius H. "Language Laws and the Charter." *Canadian Issues* (2007): 104-08.
- Hanniman, Wayne. "Canadian Muslims, Islamophobia and National Security." *International Journal of Law, Crime and Justice* 36 (3008): 271-85.
- Herrera, Charles Sancy, and Guy Lachapelle. "Politicians, Public Opinion, and Reasonable Accommodation in Québec." *Québec Studies* 49.1 (2010): 87-106.
- "Hijabs Get Girls Banned from Québec Taekwondo Tourney." *National Post*. O.Canada.com, 17 Apr. 2007. Web. 22 Jan 2014. <<http://www.canada.com/nationalpost/news/story.html?id=39a23f32-9744-44e2-9435-c7dc45fb6282&k=0>>.
- Hoodfar, Homa. "The Veil in Their Minds and on Our Heads: The Persistence of Colonial Images of Muslim Women." *Resources for Feminist Research* 22.2 (1993): 5-18.
- Ireland, Susan, and Patrice J. Proulx. *Textualizing the Immigrant Experience in Contemporary Québec*. Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004. Print.
- "Islamic News Daily." *Islamic News Daily Uncovering the Face of Covered News.*, 7 Nov. 2013. Web. 30 Jan. 2014.
- Landes, Joan B. "Further Thoughts on the Public/Private Distinction." *Journal of Women's History* 15.2 (2003): 28-39.
- Laxer, Emily, Rachael D. Carson, and Anna C. Korteweg. "Articulating Minority Nationhood: Cultural and Political Dimension in Québec's Reasonable Accommodation Debate." *Nations and Nationalism* 20.1 (2014): 133-53.
- Lurie, Alison. *The Language of Clothes*. New York: Random House, 1981.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Jiwani, Yasmin. "He Great White North Encounters September 11: Race, Gender, and Nation in Canada's National Daily, The Globe and Mail." *Social Justice* 32.2 (2005): 50-68.

Kaplan, Jeffrey. "Islamophobia in America?: September 11 and Islamophobic Hate Crime." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 18.1 (2006): 1-33.

Maynard, Margaret. "Theorising Global Dress." *Dress and Globalisation*. N.p.: Manchester UP, 2004. 15-31.

McSweeney, Bill. *Security, Identity, and Interests: A Sociology of International Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999.

"Most Anglos, Allophones Say Secular 'values' Charter Targets Muslim Women." *CBC News Montreal*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 04 Mar. 2014. Web. 10 Mar. 2014.

Multani v. Commission scolaire Marguerite-Bourgeoys, [2006] 1 S.C.R. 256, 2006 SCC 6

Naqvi-Mohamed, Fariha. "What a Hijab-Wearing Muslim Québécoise Has to Say to Pauline Marois." *Huff Post Politics Canada*. Huffington Post, 11 Sept. 2013. Web. 30 Jan. 2013.

Nemni, Max. "The Case Against Québec Nationalism." *American Review of Canadian Studies* 24.2 (1994): 171-95.

Nugent, Amy. "Demography, National Myths, and Political Origins: Perceiving Official Multiculturalism in Quebec." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 38.3 (2006): 21-36.

Peritz, Ingrid. "Québec's Charter of Values Debate a Hearing in Name Only." *The Globe and Mail*. N.p., 18 Jan. 2014. Web. 30 Jan.

"Québec Secular Charter Hearings Begin." *CBC News Montreal*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 14 Jan. 2014. Web. 30 Jan. 2014.

Quebec Values Charter - Professor Protests by Wearing Headscarf in Class. Perf. Dipiti Gupta. *Daily Motion*. TheGazette, 13 Sept. 2013. Web. 20 Feb. 2014.

Ramachandran, Tanisha. "No Woman Left Covered Unveiling and the Politics of Liberation in Multi/interculturalism." *Canadian Woman Studies* 27.2,3 (2009): 33-38.

Raoult, Éric M. *Assemblée Nationale, Rapport D'information Au Nom De La Mission D'information Sur La Pratique Du Port Du Voile Intégral Sur Le Territoire National*. Rep. France: President of the National Assembly, 2010.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

- Reece, Debra. "Covering and Communication: The Symbolism of Dress among Muslim Women." *Howard Journal of Communications* 7.1 (1996): 35-52.
- Riley, Krista. "Not in Our Name: Muslim Women and the Québec Charter." Weblog post. *Muslim Media Watch*. Patheos, 10 Mar. 2014. Web. 13 Mar. 2014.
- Roach, Mary E., and Joanne B. Eicher. "The Language of Personal Adornment." *Fashion Theory: A Reader*. Comp. Malcolm Barnard. London: Routledge, 2007. 109-21.
- Rouse, Elizabeth. "Why do People Wear Clothes?." *Fashion Theory: A Reader*. Comp. Malcolm Barnard. London: Routledge, 2007. 122-25.
- "Rule against Hijab Stands: World Soccer Body." *CBC News*. CBC.ca, 03 Mar. 2007. Web. 20 Jan. 2014. <<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/ottawa/rule-against-hijab-stands-world-soccer-body-1.660585>>.
- Sacirbey, Omar. "Images of Muslim Women in Post -9/11 America." *Muslim Women in War and Crisis: Representation and Reality*. Ed. Faegheh Shirazi. Austin: University of Texas, 2010. 262-73.
- Séguin, Rhéal. "Québec Values Charter Takes a Beating at Opening Day of Public Hearings." *The Globe and Mail*. N.p., 14 Jan. 2014. Web. 30 Jan. 2014.
- Sharify-Funk, Meena. "Muslims and the Politics of "Reasonable Accommodation": Analyzing the Bouchard-Taylor Report and Its Impact on the Canadian Province of Québec." *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* 30.4 (2010): 535-53.
- Shingler, Ben. "Parti Québécois Election Platform Highlights Values Charter and French Language." *National Post*. N.p., 8 Mar. 2014. Web. 9 Mar. 2014.
- Stewart, John Robert. *Bridges Not Walls: A Book about Interpersonal Communication*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2012.
- Turbin, Carole. "Refashioning the Concept of Public/Private: Lessons from Dress Studies." *Journal of Women's History* 15.1 (2003): 43-51.
- Trudeau, P. E. 1968. *Federalism and the French Canadians*. Toronto: Macmillan.
- Wyatt, Nelson. "Canadians Shouldn't Be Afraid of Québec Election Outcome, Marois Says." *CTV News*. N.p., 14 Mar. 2014. Web. 14 Mar. 2014.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

IMAGES



1.1

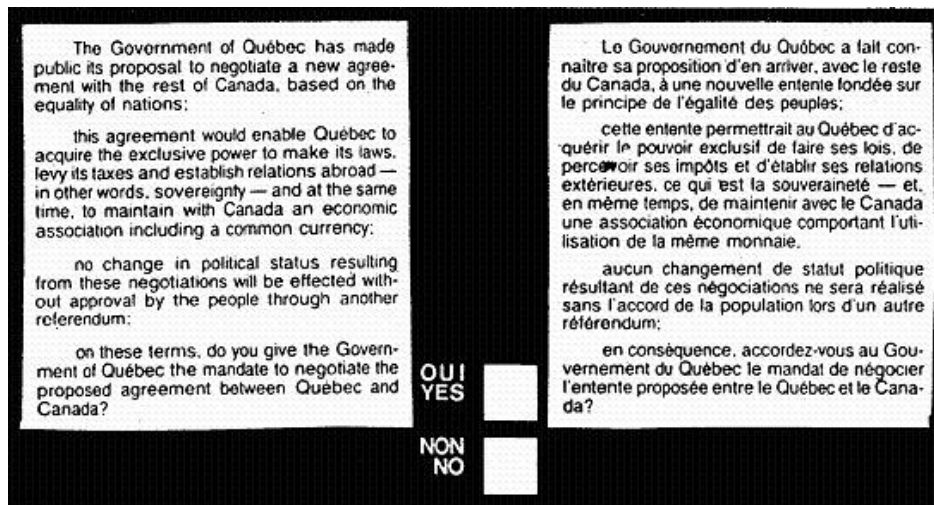
Hughes, Gram. *Supporters of a Proposed Quebec Values*. 2013. Montreal. *Ocanada.com*.
Web. 20 Mar. 2014.



1.2

Hughes, Gram. *Supporters of a Proposed Quebec Values*. 2013. Montreal. *Ocanada.com*.
Web. 20 Mar. 2014.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec



The Gazette, Montreal, 13 May 1980

3.1

1980. Montreal. *The Gazette*. Web. 20 Mar. 2014.



This shows the question on the ballot in Québec's 1995 sovereignty referendum. Subsequently, in 2000, Canada's Parliament passed the Clarity Act, which authorizes the House of Commons to determine the clarity of a referendum question on the secession of a province.

3.2

1995. Quebec. *Elections Canada*. Web. 20 Mar. 2014.

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec

Government commitment

Québec is a society enriched by diversity that welcomes immigrants from the four corners of the earth with their knowhow, skills, language, culture and religion. All Quebecers enjoy the rights and freedoms recognized under the *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms*.

In conjunction with public, private and community partners, the Québec government provides welcoming and support services for social, economic and cultural integration as well as French classes adapted to the needs of the people it welcomes.

The MICC and immigrant support organizations

In Québec, the Ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC) is one of your prime sources of information. Moreover, community organizations that receive financial support from the MICC also help to welcome and integrate immigrants. Since they are keenly aware of the needs of newcomers, they can help you in very concrete ways.

Free services

The services offered by the MICC and community organizations are free. Only the comparative evaluation for studies done outside Québec carries costs.

Your commitment

All Quebecers, including newcomers, enjoy the rights and freedoms recognized under the *Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms* and are obligated to respect the values it enshrines.

As an immigrant, you are committed to taking charge of your integration process and starting it as soon as possible, with the means at your disposal.

You are also committed to understanding and respecting the common values of Québec society as well as all of its laws, regardless of your personal convictions.

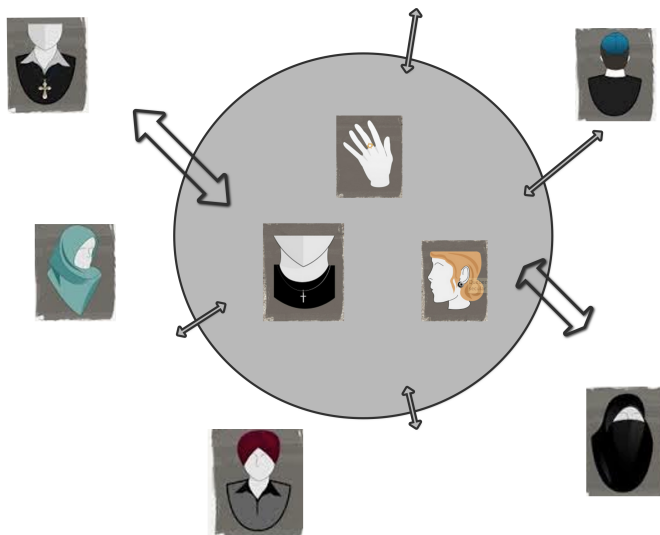
The success of your integration depends, to a large extent, on your efforts and your ability to adapt to Québec society.

10

Learning About Québec

4.1

Canada. Gouvernement Du Québec. Direction Des Politiques Et Programmes D'intégration Sociale Et économique of the Ministère De L'Immigration Et Des Communautés Culturelles (MICC),. *Learning About Québec Your Guide to Successful Integration*. 3rd ed. N.p.: Gouvernement Du Québec, 2012.



4.2

Uncovering Dress Policy in Québec



5.1

Plante, Caroline. *A Glimpse of What Conspicuous Religious Symbols*. 2013. Montreal. *Global News*. Web. 20 Mar. 2014.



7.1

Totino, Marina. "Pauline Marois 'looks Beautiful' in a Hijab, Artist Says." *CBC News*. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, 14 Mar. 2014. Web. 14 Mar. 2014

