

Territory and Identity in Relation to Resource Development in Québec Settler Society

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Abstract

In the past few years Québec has been investing much more attention in more conventional types of energy. Indeed, more than one government has considered the possibilities to exploit shale gas, increase northern development through several extractive activities and, most recently, establish the province as an oil producer. The latest government had its eyes on the petroleum potential of Anticosti, an island located in the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Based on Caroline Desbiens' in depth cultural, geographical and political analysis of the 1970s' James Bay mega hydroelectrical complex, this paper intends to question if Québec uses the same strategy in development nowadays as it did before, specifically in regards to Anticosti. By combining the inspection of a particular moment in the environmental history of the province with a discursive investigation of the political and economical elites' perspective on the question, this paper is then interested to bring to light the intersections between Québécois identity, society's claim to the territory now known as the province of Québec and the energy sector through time.

It argues that Québec society has had to maintain a constant tension between the cultural role that the land and territory played and keep playing in shaping the Québécois identity on one hand, and their industrial role in modernizing the nation on the other hand. Therefore, the integration of identity-making and modernity-facilitating as purposes of the land offer a powerful ideology for subjectivity in contemporary Québec. The paper contends that this is particularly true in the context that this tenuous balance is maintained by the deliberate erasure and/or negation of the colonial history (thus present) of "Québécois' land" through the sustainment of a victimizing founding national narrative.

Elements of critical theory are used to deepen the comprehension of Québec as a settler state and to make a strong case that this intrinsic characteristic of the Québécois people needs to be taken into account in mainstream discussion on development. This paper argues that, while caught between neoliberal perspectives of development and the construction of an identity tied to the land, Québec nonetheless has the tools to re-write the “grammar of its territory” (Desbiens and Irit, 2012: 43) and contribute to a re-definition of its relation with nature, outside of economic development and domination.

Foreword

I came to the MES program with a broad idea of what I wanted to achieve during my time here. The completion of a plan of study helped me focus my thoughts and determinate the best strategy to acquire the knowledge and skills I wanted to. My main concern while at FES was to develop the tools to critically engage the dominant western view of the world that establishes neoliberal notions of progress, development and modernity as indisputable objectives that can be best achieved by capitalist economic and social structures. Since my research and life interests are specific to the province of Québec within the Canadian state, I considered crucial to demonstrate how the dominant western worldview serves as a way to preserve the settler colonial structure underlying these two states. Because of the centrality of the land for both Indigenous peoples and settlers, I knew I needed to prioritize subject matters that touches the different approaches we, as humans, take to the environment. Indeed, it's important for settlers to hide and erase the [continued] dispossession and appropriation of Indigenous' lands behind the universal necessity of modernization in order to legitimate our claim to developing and exploiting these lands. Secondly, in the midst of the global environmental crisis, I supposed that one of the ways to justify the continuity of resource extraction for the purpose of producing energy is by relying on the mainly unquestioned modernity paradigm. In Québec, not only is the land linked with economic development, it's also deeply connected with the national and historical identity the province is trying to assert. The examination in my major paper of the favorable context for the extractive industry on Anticosti Island enabled me to address clearly my area of concentration after deepening my comprehension of the different components I set to understand at the beginning of my MES degree.

I adopted a justice perspective by ensuring that throughout my paper the focus was on the unevenness of power between the different groups involved in the energy sector in Québec whether to change it or contribute to it. I was able to paint a picture of a dominant paradigm dictating resource development in the province by looking at the environmental history of energy production. Finally, I had the opportunity to close the loop by bringing in alternative narratives that resists the prevalent paradigm, hopefully eventually replacing the broken, uneven state of things.

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Introduction

Many contemporary societies have had to face the reality of their history and accept the re-reading of what was seen for so long as a great beginning. The colonialism part of their foundation was once interpreted as “major discoveries” helping to spread great civilizations and their values that would elevate “savages” ways of life. Now that the violence of the first contacts becomes harder to hide, these acts are confined in the past in order to allow modern colonial societies to be in peace with what constitutes them. However, this tendency to de-link these events from the present and thus refusing to recognize that these states are built on and maintained by colonial mechanisms is now characterized as settler colonialism. The disposition of settler colonial states and societies reinforces uneven power relations between the dominant society and the Indigenous people that live within imposed social structures. For settler colonialism to slowly be able to legitimize its claim that colonialism was a past and finite event, it has had to naturalize its presence on a land that is so central for the people who lived on it since immemorial times. Canada and Québec are good examples of contemporary settler states. The situation of Québec is particularly interesting as it affirms to be a distinct nation and the inception of its strong nationalist sentiment is rooted in its economic development which is in turn intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

The French Canadian settlers have been depicted as inherently ambivalent towards the territory they settled. “Something aroused in the settlers a feeling for unbridled liberty, which became one of their dominant characteristics. At the same time, contrary forces sought to maintain in them an equally extreme sense of law and order, a family and farm as essentials of the Christian life. Between these two poles the character of a new people developed” (Warwick, 1968: 18). This ambivalence is embodied in the national consciousness through concurrent

perceptions of nature. Desbiens illustrates this particularly well when she speaks of the Durham report, which is commonly understood to be a touchstone in forging Québec's resilient character. Lord Durham painted French Canadians as a backward and traditional society in need of being elevated to the modern status of the English people. This discourse is very similar to that used by colonizers to explain and legitimate their superiority over Indigenous peoples.

“This landscape was far from innocent. Its creation had entailed the displacement of the Aboriginal population, the appropriation of their territories and the dismantling of their existing networks of exchange and production. But the settlers' social and cultural investment in this land was real and had borne many fruits. Regardless, the Durham Report claimed that Canadiens' uses of land should make room – like those of their Aboriginal predecessors – for better practices. By contrast, the English immigrants were portrayed as highly efficient, industrious, and best capable of improving the land” (Desbiens, 2013: 81).

Warwick's and Desbiens' quotes help make sense of the singularity of the subjectivity Québécois have been carrying over time. While the land and the environment are important in defining the people, it's also necessary to be used and exploited to achieve modernity and be recognized as a nation amongst other “civilized” nations. The land that is crucial to the settler colonial state is very important in Québec's particular narrative.

I will try to prove in this paper that Québec society has had to maintain a constant tension between the cultural role that the land and territory played and keep playing in shaping the Québécois identity and their industrial role in modernizing the nation. Therefore, the integration of identity-making and modernity-facilitating as purposes of the land offer a powerful ideology for subjectivity in contemporary Québec. I contend that this is particularly true in the context that this tenuous balance is maintained by the deliberate erasure and/or negation of the

colonial history (thus present) of “Québécois land” through the sustainment of a victimizing founding national narrative. Figure 1 shows the land’s productive capacity of the two meanings that need to be constantly balanced in order to constitute Québec national subjects’ consciousness. The premise of this work, illustrated in figure 2, is that by exploring the history of this land and redefining it within the context that French Canadians have not only been oppressed by English colonizers but are also settlers themselves, we can start re-thinking the way development and resource exploitation occurs on this particular territory. It’s from this perspective that I’ve decided to tackle the topic of natural resources exploitation in Québec, and more particularly on Anticosti Island as it’s a contentious development project at the moment.

Figure 1

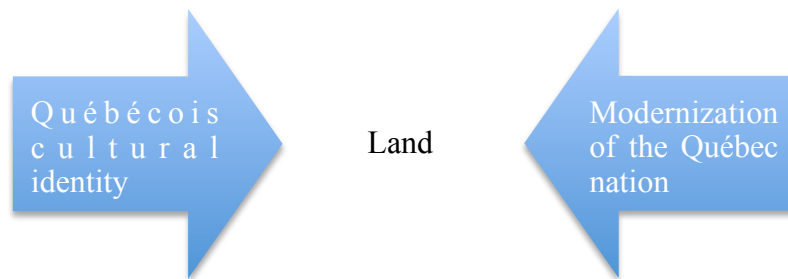


Figure 2



This paper will address this subject from three different fronts beginning with the detailed settler colonial nature of the province of Québec in chapter 1 that helps illustrate the first layer of the tension. Subsequently, in chapter 2, I will look at the environmental history of the energy sector in Québec, to show the existence of a dominant frame of reference on the topic of development and explain how it feeds the tension. In chapter 3 I will analyze the economic and political elite's dominant discourse on resource exploration on Anticosti Island in order to illustrate how the existing ambivalence remains in this situation. Finally, in chapter 4 I will look at possibilities of reforming the institutional structures surrounding development. This paper intends to draw the archeology of power in the province of Québec in the domain of natural resources exploitation in order to start thinking about new ways of approaching these assumed ideas.

Chapter 1: Québec, Settler Society

This chapter aims to provide a theoretical context of settler colonialism in order to express how it concretely comes into play in the province of Québec through the analysis of the ties between development, the land and Québec nationalism. These ties are considered in relation to the first inhabitants of this land and how they have been marginalized so that the settlers could legitimate their claim to exclusive ownership of stolen land. This chapter will serve as a framework for the whole paper by exploring in depth the processes and dynamics that inform the construction of the Québécois settler subjectivity. I could inscribe my intent with this chapter as concurring with academic Lorenzo Veracini's in his book *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*, when he asserts that we should “focus on settlers [...] in order to avoid the possibility that, despite attempts to decolonise our gaze, we continue understanding the settler as normative” (2010: 15).

I want to be careful with this claim as I think that putting emphasis once again on the settler subject, no matter how critically, could easily reproduce structures of power that safeguard its superiority. Indeed, Andrea Smith soundly raises issues with the now widely accepted practice of confessing privileges that aim to do the same; that is to disrupt the delusion of a normative, universal subject. Whereas the goal of these confessions is to, momentarily, shift the balance of power in favor of oppressed people through one's acknowledgement of their participation in structures of oppression, “these rituals ultimately reinstated the white majority subject as the subject capable of self-reflexivity and the colonized/racialized subject as the occasion for self-reflexivity” (Smith, 2013). Smith's critique is essential, and will accompany me throughout this work. Nonetheless, I will still focus on the settler subject because on one

hand I think Veracini's proposition has its merits and on the other hand I have to take into consideration my own positionality and subjectivity prior to entering these thoughts. It's an important part of this discussion because of the fact that my identity as a settler in the province of Québec will inevitably influence my personal approach to theories of consciousness. Even though this paper is only a small piece of a more encompassing work I hope to undertake in my life, I want to think how not to perpetuate the dead end that the ritualized confession of privilege can create. Subsequently, the intent of this chapter is to better grasp the construction of settler subjectivity in the specific context of Québec in order to contribute to challenging its claim of authoritative precedence over First Nations and their territory.

Positionality

Growing up as a white French-speaking woman in Québec definitely shaped how I came to perceive myself. There is a strong sense of identity belonging in Québec that stems essentially from the dominant narrative of a resilient and quietly resistant people. After being "victims" of British Conquest, French Canadians managed to keep their language, their own system of laws and their religion. The English majority of Canada marginalized us for a long time both politically and economically and the emphasis on this particular version of history is a key element in discursively positioning Québec as a legitimate aspirant to the status of independent nation.

The 1960s were characterized by a period of modernization, secularization and liberalization through, amongst others, exploitation of natural resources. During this period the government of Québec developed and nationalized hydroelectricity ensuring, with well thought public relation campaigns, to inscribe this project in the collective mindset as an identifier of the

Québécois particularity. In direct relation with this process that strived to involve all Québécois in the conquest of “wide unknown spaces to be discovered” on their own territory, a strong nationalist feeling emerged in the 1970s. There was a first referendum on the question of Québec independence from Canada in 1980 and a second one in 1995. The first (and compelling) personal memory that I have regarding a national identity occurred when I just turned 7 years old in 1995. I’m with other classmates in the school bus driving us back home and the conversation revolves around what is going to be each of our parents’ vote: “yes” or “no”. While we most likely lacked understanding of what we were discussing, I remember us all, me particularly, being proud, enthused and arguing based on which camp we were a part of following our parents’ opinion. This early conception of national identity and specificity so strong that a seven year old argues for the independence of Québec strikes me now as a very powerful moment. It probably contributed to the shaping of an imaginary that holds as true the dominant narrative that positions Québécois as a conquered people. Most of my life I evolved within mainstream Eurocentric educational and social spaces that frame the settlement of Indigenous peoples’ lands in Canada as a peaceful and past event. The notion that Québécois compose a distinct society from that of the English “oppressor” was considered common knowledge, which led me to think for a long time that sovereignty was a rightful fight to free oppressed people. Even today in (again mainstream) debates opposing federalism and sovereignty, never would the premise according to which Québec is a nation of its own be reconsidered.

Another important element of identification that strengthens the Québécois imaginary and particularizes our subjectivity is the land. “From the historical novel *Les anciens Canadiens* (1863) to the “funklore” of the popular contemporary band *Mes aïeux*, the idea of a land and people shaped by the agricultural settlement of the Laurentian valley continues to occupy a

central place in Québécois representations of identity” (Desbiens, 2013: 92). I personally struggle with this connection to the land that I definitely experience myself; I am drawn to the particularities of Québec landscapes, especially that of the St-Lawrence River. For a long time I have uncritically made mine an identity that includes belonging to a nation of people with a particular history, culture and language as well as a strong territorial consciousness. It is only recently that I have come to adopt a critical perspective on what it means for me to be Québécoise. I have come a long way in deconstructing these assumed ideas that ultimately reproduce the settler colonial structure of the settler society. I went from being a persuaded nationalist and sovereigntist to being profoundly convinced that this cause couldn’t be legitimate (and might well never be) as long as the state of Québec doesn’t – at the very least – treat the Indigenous peoples whose lands we live on as equally autonomous. On the other hand, I still don’t know how to deal with the attachment I have to this land even though I acknowledge it has been stolen and appropriated following the displacement of Indigenous peoples. I am navigating through these different narratives in hope of finding the tools to not only fully recognize my role in the ongoing colonization process but to also challenge the very processes that reproduce and strengthen settler colonialism in Québec. This chapter is divided by three main themes. Firstly I will look at the theories underlying the formation of the settler colonial state. Secondly, I want to develop on the role of anxiety and shame in maintaining the tension between different settler subjects and finally, I will explore how these notions materialize in the particular case of Québec.

Naturalizing Fantasies of the Land

While reading and thinking about what settler colonialism means, the main thread that kept imposing itself to me is how the ultimate goal of the settler state is to naturalize itself as the first and only legitimate political body to occupy the land it settled. For this portion of the chapter I will draw extensively on Lorenzo Veracini's framework. We studied and discussed some of his work in one of my classes and it raised a lot of concerns amongst my classmates; I want to touch on them here in order to approach these ideas with a critical outlook. I already mentioned that his project focuses on the settler subject because he believes it to be the best way to disrupt its normativity. However, this enterprise should be undertaken with caution as it seems like it could easily fail and actually reproduce the settler subject as normative by obliterating the other subjects part of the settler society – the indigenous and exogenous Others in Veracini's words. Since this chapter also has for central focus the settler subject, it's important to keep this critique in mind. As indicated above, my classmates and I have engaged with a specific body of Veracini's work in the context of our class. The chapters we analyzed from his book *Settler Colonialism* betray a clear intent to lay the theoretical foundations for a field of study of its own, separated from postcolonial studies. Hence, Veracini categorizes excessively (subjects, methods of displacement, etc.) in what seems like an attempt to fit the neo-liberal university ways of knowing and learning. Even though he states more than once that the categories he's trying to define are not mutually exclusive and overlap with one another, ultimately he still attempts to classify experiences that, we wonder, might just not fit Eurocentric configurations of information.

Another major critique that can be assigned to Veracini also speaks to his Eurocentric way of conceptualizing subjects. They are very homogenous in their distinctions and appear to

be lacking complexity at some points. It seems like the only structure that defines relations of power between different subjects stems exclusively from settler colonialism, which can be explained by his initial motive. Nonetheless, Veracini lacks an intersectional approach when he lays out the processes that form the settler state and its subjects' consciousness. If only he added a gender perspective by connecting settler colonialism with the dynamics behind gender and sexual violence to his analysis, I think he would have theorized a more complex subject while giving a better understanding of how came the inception of these dynamics that are continuing today. In Smith's acute words; "[t]he colonial/ patriarchal mind that seeks to control the sexuality of women and indigenous peoples also seeks to control nature" (2005: 55).

Finally, Veracini himself establishes the land and territory as the central element of settler colonialism. Considering that each land and territory has particular uses and meanings for the peoples who inhabit them, it's fair to question the relevance of theorizing land as an abstract construction in the consciousness of settler subjects, no matter where they are located. I recognize where Veracini's work falls short but I still believe that there is a lot of useful material in his concepts to analyze the workings of settler subjectivity in Québec.

Foremost I want to bring in Patrick Wolfe's description of settler colonialism as I find it very valuable in order to better grasp how it distinguishes itself from colonialism: "[t]he logic of this project, a sustained institutional tendency to eliminate the Indigenous population, informs a range of historical practices that might otherwise appear distinct – invasion is a structure not an event" (Wolfe as cited in Veracini, 2010: 8-9). Settler colonialism is the rationale that links together various methods of marginalization. Then I want to stress Veracini's departure from postcolonial studies' dual conception of power relations. Within settler colonialism, argues

Veracini, one will not only find settlers and Indigenous peoples but also a group of people that he identifies as exogenous Others. I think this added layer of analysis allows us to grasp the inherent ambiguous and ambivalent nature of settler colonialism embodied in the constant tension between the different identities the settler must struggle with in order to assert a legitimate claim on a stolen land. Settler colonialism roots its social structure in another landscape while concurrently bringing the values and lifestyle of the original “European civilization”. Settlers need to “become” indigenous on the settled land in the place of Native peoples while ensuring that their ties to their motherland – what actually distinguishes them from the “inferior” indigenous Others – aren’t seen as a proof of non-indigeneity. “[A] triumphant settler colonial circumstance, having ceased to be a dependency of a colonizing metropole, having tamed the surrounding ‘wilderness’, having extinguished indigenous autonomy, and having successfully integrated various migratory waves, has also ceased being settler colonial” (Veracini, 2010: 22). I think this quote from Veracini doesn’t aim to argue that any settler colonial entity has achieved their ultimate objective of naturalizing itself – or that it will ever happen. Yet it does highlight that this is the goal that the settler colonial strategy tries to achieve.

I concur with Veracini when he says that a key driver for settlers to make believe their rightful control over a land and its people is the creation of a fantasy that will hide the violence of their settlement. The fantasy, or the myth, intends primarily to discursively displace Native people from the land so it becomes a territory indubitably available for conquest. Vocabulary such as *terra nullius*, empty, unspoiled and infinite is used to describe the land and construct it as vacant. It’s especially easy for the settler subject to accept this imaginary, says Veracini, as they wouldn’t really see Indigenous people upon their arrival; explorers and other missionaries before them are usually the one who physically encountered Native people. The acceptance of the myth

also helps to displace the indigenous subject because, eventually, the settler “discovers” the existence of people native to the land. The realization that people have lived on the settler’s previously “virgin” territory and maintained a connection with it interferes with the whole premise of the settler society. Nonetheless, the settler state has developed multiple techniques to erase the consequences incurred by the recognition of Indigenous peoples’ presence prior to its formation. One method is to confine Indigenous peoples, their worldviews and epistemologies in a hopeless, traditional and “savage” state. They can only be rescued by European civilization: “[w]hen settlers claim land, it is recurrently in the context of a language that refers to ‘higher use’, and assimilation policies are recurrently designed to ‘uplift’, ‘elevate’, and ‘raise’ indigenous communities” (Veracini, 2010: 20). Another method that also constitutes settler societies as ineluctable, thus naturalizing their presence and authority, is the way history starts with the “discovery” of the land by Europeans explorers, disregarding any human activity that took place on the land beforehand. The settler state might engage in naturalizing discourses and actions but it also has to elaborate ways of othering the Native peoples it attempts to replace as the original legitimate authority. Arbitrarily deciding the benchmarks that constitute the commencement of history (Veracini uses the Freudian concept of the primal scene) enables the settler state to do so. “The notion of the primal scene also allows a better understanding of the already mentioned peculiar inversion mechanism by which indigenous people are seen as entering the settler space, and disturbing an otherwise serene, unperturbed circumstance after the beginning of the colonization process, after settlement” (Veracini, 2010: 89).

In a more concrete manner, Sherene Razack identifies one continuing way the state (or its agents) interacts with Indigenous peoples in order to other, denaturalize them. “It is an encounter that colonial society must anxiously manage both in policing and in law, producing

settlers as owners of the land and Aboriginal peoples as dispossessed; each comes to know himself or herself within these practices” (Razack, 2011: 103).

In short, Veracini explains how settler colonialism engages structurally in a naturalization process of its control over a territory and peoples through the creation and reproduction of myths and fantasies: “the territorialisation of the settler community is ultimately premised on a parallel and necessary deterritorialisation (i.e., the transfer) of indigenous outsiders” (Veracini, 2010: 81). These transfers take many forms and I think a way to challenge the legitimacy of the settler state is to identify said transfers and try and address them.

Anxiety, shame and the normative subject’s identity

One of the key functions of settler colonialism actually consists in hiding its very mechanisms: “[s]ettler colonialism obscures the conditions of its own production” (Veracini, 2010: 14). The settler state and the individual subject both enter in a victimization process that aims to shift the responsibility away and point at worst oppressors. However, nowadays, it seems like it became impossible to hide the violence suffered by Indigenous peoples at the hand of settler societies. This portion of the chapter will then explore the notion of settler anxiety and how it plays out within the “politics of shame” as developed by Ahmed.

Veracini mentions that the settler subject is inherently ambivalent as it simultaneously try to distance itself from Indigenous bodies and aspire to naturalize its presence upon the land it settled. This constant tension has to be sustained, which provokes what Veracini suggests is anxiety. The “white anxiety” as he also refers to is basically a fear of revenge. When put in conversation with Ahmed’s chapter on shame in her book *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, I find that these two concepts speak to one another. Ahmed starts by explaining that “shame feels

like an exposure – another sees what I have done that is bad and hence shameful – but it also involves an attempt to hide, a hiding that requires the subject to turn away from the other and towards itself” (Ahmed, 2004: 103). I propose that shame, which occupies a double role (simultaneously covering and un-covering its subject), incarnates the white anxiety: settler colonialism has been/ might be unmasked and those whose lands and bodies are colonized are asking/ might ask for retribution. However, it’s important to bear in mind the power relations at play between the settler state and Native peoples. Whereas shame as a concept is a reaction of the self, perceiving and judging itself while an other witnesses, Ahmed stresses that shame is actually felt when the self cares about the other’s gaze. This brings me to question the “authenticity¹” of expressed shame that have been more and more frequent in the past years. Can shame, an emotion initially felt by the individual, be used by the state to create a community of people? Ahmed argues in this sense and leads us to realize that by feeling shame as a nation, it builds the nation. Public displays of shame initiated by the settler state – through apologies, reconciliation commissions, etc. – serve as an excuse; the nation can’t be bad anymore as it exposed itself to be shamed. This voluntary exposure needs (or is expected) to be acknowledged and praised. From a Canadian perspective, Bonita Lawrence (2012) details the functioning of politics of recognition in Canada, which act in a similar manner as shame. The extent and substance of the recognition is based on the settler colonial decision of what, who and how can people be recognized while sustaining the settler state legitimacy. The question then becomes: do Indigenous people in Canada and Québec desire recognition or obtaining/ proving said recognition is the only option the colonial state gives them in order to protect its structure.

¹ The notion of authenticity is problematic and loaded with different meanings depending on who claims to be authentic. I don’t want to attempt to unpack the concept in this paper but I find important to highlight the complexity of it.

While making sense of Ahmed's thought I came to wonder what's the role of shame in relation to the functioning of settler colonialism. Is shame a proof that the mechanisms of settler colonialism have been unveiled or is shame instrumentalized to actually re-cover settler colonialism by allowing the nation to be ashamed and ask forgiveness about an event happened in the past? Ahmed explains how shame can be utilized through the example of Australia's recognition of "past" wrongs towards aboriginal Australians. In this case Ahmed highlights how the national subject, more precisely white and non-indigenous Australians, is the subject that experiences shame while at the same time being the other witnessing shame. Through the experience of shame, the national subjects – and by extension the nation – prove their good intentions. Through the shame that springs from failing to achieve the nation's ideals (e.g. not to be racist), the subjects show they have ideals they want to achieve as a community. This manifestation allows the subjects and the nation to discredit accusations pointing at them and engage back with the nation's ideals. As Ahmed puts it: "the transference of bad feeling to the subject in shame is only temporary, as the 'transference' can become evidence of the restoration of an identity of which we can be proud (the fact that we are shamed by this past 'shows' that we are now good and caring subjects)" (2004: 110). In order to feel pride again in a nation that can't hide its settler colonial past anymore (although negating its settler colonial present), national shame is a necessary step to go through. While "authentic" shame – whether expressed through a public apology or a truth and reconciliation commission – should signify a desire from the settler society to engage genuinely in a partnership with Indigenous peoples to try and address injustices they've been – and still are – suffering from, it actually reinstatiates the power dynamics of settler colonialism. Indeed, because the settler authority uses shame and arbitrarily decides what level of responsibility it takes on (or doesn't) in the oppression of Native peoples, shame

participates in concealing once again the processes of settler colonialism. “The politics of shame is contradictory. It exposes the nation, and what it has covered over and covered up in its pride in itself, but at the same time it involves a narrative of recovery as the re-covering of the nation” (Ahmed, 2004: 112).

I think that the idea of a nation needs more inspection here. A mythology of nationhood, necessary to naturalizing the exogenous settler colonial polity, is part of the process hiding the production of settler colonialism. An integral component of the nation is the national settler subject; the normative white body. In a particularly interesting article, Eva Mackey demonstrates how the universal human rights discourse is used in opposition to Indigenous’ claims, by positioning Indigenous people as the particular subject excluded from the nation. One of the major problems of the rights discourse is how it puts on an equal footing privileged ideal citizens and historically oppressed, dispossessed and displaced Indigenous peoples. “[A]nti-Native groups mobilize similar discourses to those of their indigenous opponents. In some senses we could see this as an assertion of their own claim that they are equally indigenous/Native” (Mackey, 2005: 18). This example of Indigenous rights struggles and “equally” important “citizen rights” demonstrate the ease with which a nation can belittle Indigenous peoples’ claims and assertion of autonomy. It’s especially true in a context where there is no reflection on what it means to be a national subject, who is included in this project and how is “equal” rights interpreted.

In relation with the use of shame by a nation and the national subjects it’s composed of, I think it’s important to mention the issue of the particular versus the universal. Andrea Smith is remarkably eloquent regarding this point. She contends that the privileged subjects (the normative and ideal national subject) construct themselves in relation to oppressed subjects.

While white western subjects understand themselves as self-determining and universal, they actually only exist in the light of racialized/ colonized others' existence. When the normative subject engages in self-reflection over its privileges whether by simply acknowledging them or expressing guilt and shame, Smith argues that "Native peoples are not positioned as those who can engage in self-reflection; they can only judge the worth of the confession" (Smith, 2013). I think this ties back to public display of shame and how the settler colonial entity decides of the specific matter its ashamed of – if at all – how it's going to express it, who and why it's intended for: to ensure that the national settler subject regains pride in the nation and secures its existence. I'm tempted to suggest that in the broader context of say a national apology (in her article Smith seems to focus on smaller activist environments), Native peoples are not even given the power to judge the reflection. Sure they can voice their critiques but to repeat Gayatri Spivak's famous question: can the subaltern speak? Or more exactly, can they be heard? Spivak expresses the idea that, even when given a space to speak, the subaltern's voice and message will always be re-interpreted and often times coopted by the elites (intellectual, political, etc.). While there is much to argue about who is the subaltern (would Spivak consider Indigenous peoples in Canada as such?), her commentary on power relations is very insightful. Who can cross the lines of power and who can't? I think that the shaming of the nation and of its ideal subject has the same function as the other processes underlying settler colonialism. By accepting to participate in self-reflection, "[t]he settler becomes the "new and improved" version of the Native, thus legitimizing and naturalizing the settler's claims to this land" (Smith, 2013).

This impasse into which the well-oiled mechanisms of settler colonialism confine Indigenous peoples as well as other marginalized groups requires going to the foundations and imagining plans to dismantle the structure of settler colonialism. In other words, to link it with

the previous arguments, I believe that we need to think about strategies to denaturalize the settler society as well as the normativity of the nation and its ideal subjects. “Based on this analysis then, our project becomes less of one based on self-improvement or even collective self-improvement, and more about the creation of new worlds and futurities for which we currently have no language” (Smith, 2013).

The Québécois myth

To conclude this chapter I want to try and contribute to challenging settler colonialism as it is embodied in the particular case of the province of Québec. I think the narrative present in Québec is fascinating, considering that I’ve personally been caught into believing it. The foundational myth of Québec society discloses a peaceful co-existence with Indigenous peoples prior to the 1763 conquest of New France by Great Britain. Following said conquest, French Canadians have taken on the role of the oppressed people in the dominant narrative of the province positioning in the past injustices committed towards Indigenous peoples. Although it can’t be denied that there has been marginalization of the French Canadian community ensuing the conquest, it disproportionately fed the myth of a people fighting oppression from English Canada; we even have our heroes and our villains. “While Québec’s master-narrative lauds this pantheon of nationalist heroes, it conveniently omits the sordid details of the period prior to British conquest, in particular the French colonization of Indigenous peoples and the practice of slavery in New France” (Austin, 2010: 25). I would argue that the story of French people peacefully settling the land and interacting with Indigenous peoples embodies the myth of the empty land that Veracini emphasizes is recurrent in the formation of settler societies. To add to the Québécois myth, the tale of the “conquest” of “French territories” by British settlers serves to

totally disappear the original presence of Indigenous peoples because if the colonized French are really colonizers their claims to the land becomes invalid. What I find interesting with Québec's fantasy is that we positioned ourselves as an oppressed minority in Canada seeking deserved autonomy, however we do not recognize the same legitimacy to "our" cultural communities (minority groups in Québec, including Indigenous peoples are often referred to as belonging to the dominant society in common French language). In order to understand the naturalization process of settlers in Québec, I want to highlight the historical role played by religion and literature. It's important to grasp the importance of the Church in building a Québécois identity, which then leads to affirmation of distinction that allows to rightfully claim the status of nation. The Church has had an important influence on French Canadian settlers and has participated in the building and consolidation of a literary movement that praised an agricultural, land-based life.

Indeed, the literary genre named *le terroir* promotes an *attachement à la terre* as a way to differentiate French Canadians from their English counterparts as well as a way to ensure social reproduction. "L'attachement à la terre, que prêtres, juristes ou sociologues prônent avec zèle et intransigeance, n'est qu'un moyen au service de cette fin suprême: *assurer la permanence de la nationalité canadienne française*" (Servais-Maquoi, 1974: 6, emphasis mine). The Québécois language abounds with examples of this imaginary myth's success in naturalizing the settlers and their relation to the land. For example many people, even today, identify as "Québécois de souche" (literally "rooted Québécois"). Another interesting example from literature is how it was told that family of settlers were "making" the land by clearing it, living on it and keeping it alive through agriculture. I would argue that the re-writing of the landscapes by the settlers has been very successful as demonstrated by Caroline Desbiens in her book *Power*

from the North where she looks at the development of hydroelectricity – more precisely the James Bay hydroelectric project – in the “North” and how it was tied with the development of the sense of nation, even though most Québécois inhabit the South of the province. It was a new “empty” space to conquer and occupy, and the fact that it is the ancestral territories and home of Indigenous peoples wasn’t part of the discussion. There were media campaigns to promote the James Bay hydroelectric complex following bad publicity caused by an injunction that the Crees and Inuits obtained. The government engaged in a public relation crusade in the same way that the Church actively participated in injecting land-based values in fiction literature in the 19th century. “[E]ven in post-Quiet Revolution or urban Québec, the symbolic realm of nature continues to anchor the national community in place by ‘naturalizing’ its presence upon the land” (Desbiens, 2013: 109).

Notions of Québécois identity vary over time but are intertwined with the land. To make sense of Veracini’s concept of naturalization and the Church’s promotion of *attachement à la terre*, the idea of place-making comes in. Desbiens uses the concept *territorialité* to explain the process of place-making for Québécois. I understand *territorialité* (and place-making) as the humanization of a space in order to give it a common meaning. In other words, how does culture make a place out of a geographical space. I would argue that this process ultimately achieves (or aims to achieve) what Veracini affirms is the ongoing project of settler colonialism; naturalization of the settler polity and society. The Québécois identity has been constructed through clerical discourse and actions focused on agriculture and being rooted in one place for the purpose of cultural (or ethnic) *survivance* even though it plays an historical role bigger than it factually did. However, the Québécois are depicted as inherently ambivalent towards the territory they settled. “Something aroused in the settlers a feeling for unbridled liberty, which became one

of their dominant characteristics. At the same time, contrary forces sought to maintain in them an equally extreme sense of law and order, a family and farm as essentials of the Christian life. Between these two poles the character of a new people developed” (Warwick, 1968: 18). This ambiguity between immobilism, safety and permanence on one hand and adventure, discovery and conquest on the other has been at the center of the stories that contributed to the making of a Québécois identity in the late 19th century and the 20th century. Desbiens argues that this narrative is still very present and is a key component in the contemporary governmental tactics to integrate natural resources exploitation to identity. “The construction of identity through a dialectical movement between rooting and mobility is a fundamental aspect of Québécois territoriality and the integration of the North into the francophone geographical imagination” (Desbiens, 2013: 67).

There is an underlying thread of victimization in the stories constituting the consciousness of the state of Québec that makes us, as subjects, consider ourselves as particular (marginalized). David Austin gives the shockingly explicit example of Pierre Vallières’ book *Les Nègres blancs d’Amérique* (1966) that linked French Canadians with the struggles for liberation from colonial power many African people were engaging in at that time. It’s important to understand that there are different kinds of nationalism (ethnic or territorial) “ and the Québécois have favoured an intercultural model with a core francophone culture with which minority groups interface rather than a multicultural one in which, ideally, all cultures are equally represented” (Desbiens, 2013: 65). To what extent Québécois’ narrative of victimization is illegitimate? How can the reality of marginalization of a French Canadian community in Canada be taken into consideration without acknowledging the marginalization we inflicted Indigenous

people of this land? Are French Canadians or Québécois illegitimate because of their past? I would say that we are illegitimate to claim full control of perspective (worldview) and power but I don't think that the particular place we occupy in this land's history can be denied. We do form a community, whether we agree on its essence or not doesn't change its existence. I do believe Québécois experience a particular tie to the land but we definitely have to acknowledge our identity as settlers; this particular tie emerges from the resistance to colonizers from colonizers themselves. In her book, Desbiens analyzes particular events of Québec history to show how they participated in the making of Québec's national consciousness despite the possibilities that they were not nationalist events, that they have been reinterpreted. Interestingly, she speaks of the Durham report, which is commonly understood to be a touchstone in forging Québec's resilient character. Durham painted French Canadians as a backward and traditional society in need of being elevated to the modern status of the English people. This discourse is very similar to that used by colonizers to explain and legitimate their superiority over Indigenous peoples.

“This landscape was far from innocent. Its creation had entailed the displacement of the Aboriginal population, the appropriation of their territories and the dismantling of their existing networks of exchange and production. But the settlers' social and cultural investment in this land was real and had borne many fruits. Regardless, the Durham Report claimed that Canadiens' uses of land should make room – like those of their Aboriginal predecessors – for better practices. By contrast, the English immigrants were portrayed as highly efficient, industrious, and best capable of improving the land” (Desbiens, 2013: 81).

However, I contend that we still are the normative and ideal subjects of the nation state of Québec. I believe that re-thinking this reality is necessary if we want to distance ourselves from a tale of victimization as a base for a Québécois society, especially one that exclude victims

of French colonization. This will also require a reconsideration of our ties to this land and the “usage” we deem normal to make of its resources.

Chapter 2: Environmental History of the Energy Sector in Québec

The main objective of this paper is essentially to understand the archeology of power within the context of natural resources exploitation in the province of Québec by mapping out the different interests involved. The first chapter extensively touched on settler colonialism and its particular mechanisms in Québec as it embodies the background narrative for nationalism and the dominant society's claim to the land and its resources. This chapter will look briefly at Hydro-Québec's role in linking the identitary construction of the Québécois with the exploitation of the land and its resources. The paradigm that will be put in place is based on Caroline Desbiens' analysis of the James Bay hydroelectric project. Her focus on comparing the settlers and the Cree's cultural fabrications of nature inform the argument I'm making about Anticosti. Indeed, the goal of this quick review is, in light of it, to ask whether the exploration projects on Anticosti Island fit into the same paradigm as previous resource exploitation.

First and foremost, I want to start with a succinct overview of how capitalism is understood in the dominant western paradigm and how it shapes the arguments used to justify resource extraction/ exploitation. I want to be careful here and acknowledge that obviously there exist critiques and there is not only one interpretation of the following concepts. I do think that our world is much less dichotomous and that with recent major collapses in the economy, growing discontent from populations expressed through protests, among other things, these assumed ideas are more carefully inspected and many more different voices are entering the public realm. However, the focus of this paper is the economic and political elites' point of view since it dominates the mainstream discourse and often times their ideas are overwhelmingly

expressed in a particular way. I think that there's recognition among the elites that the western worldview may need some improvements but because it serves their interests there is a strong will to support as much as possible in its original version.

I believe it's essential to understand that many notions and concepts commonly used in the elites' discourse on resource extraction have been considered disconnected from material and cultural realities. It's especially important because their inherent disembodiedness remain unquestioned and they sometimes are used in a positive and progressive manner (e.g. sustainable development) which only naturalize capitalist ideas about the world and other any epistemology that critiques or resists that vision. Donna Haraway explains very well how certain concepts such as development, modernity, expert knowledge and science, to name a few, are molded to fit the capitalist frame of reference when she compares feminist knowledge with claims of objectivity and rationality highly promoted within the western worldview. She contends that these claims come from disembodied perspectives; "the god trick of seeing everything from nowhere" (1988: 581). All these notions get amalgamated in a capitalist economic system that is not only disembodied but that is based on constructed scarcity, commodity fetishism (Karl Polanyi) and accumulation by dispossession (David Harvey).

Capitalism is often considered the best economic system and it got so integrated in our lives overtime that it just sounds incredible to imagine that some other system could take its place. In order to illustrate capitalist hegemony, I want to revisit Garret Hardin's tragedy of the commons. In his text, Hardin poses that the sharing of the commons is impossible because of the so-called population problem. That problem has no technical solution; the commons can only be shared by way of controlling humans' behavior. Hardin writes his text without questioning his inscription of a capitalist nature to humans. "As a rational being, each herdsman seeks to

maximize his gain. [...] Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his herd without limit – in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons. Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all” (Hardin, 1977: 20). His piece also touches on a lack of responsibility; according to Hardin, in a capitalist society a rational (capitalist) individual will do all it can to avoid responsibility for consequences put on the collectivity that result from maximizing their own personal interest. I think Hardin highlights a very real problem when it comes to climate change or resource extraction. That is, one functioning in a society dominated by a capitalist worldview will be tempted to go ahead with a project that benefits their own interests if the consequences (pollution, environmental destruction) are shared with the collectivity. However, I think there is an important distinction to be made between controlling through coercion how we deem it acceptable to interact with the commons (Hardin’s suggestion) and decommodifying our shared and imposed understanding of the commons. Once capitalism is naturalized as the dominant system, economic – as well as social and political – diversity becomes marginal in the face of its hegemony.

“Thus, under the ‘custody’ of the nation-states, Indigenous lands and resources, and even their children, have been susceptible to seizure either in the name of the greater good, for an abstract ‘all’, or for their own presumed benefit. These actions assume the colonizers’ conceptions of the correct relationships that must prevail among humans, as individuals and groups, and between human and non-human entities, or roughly what is called ‘nature’” (Blaser et al. 2004: 3).

To conclude this general review of the dominant western worldview’s capitalist character I find it important to show how modern capitalist ethos (stemming from colonialism)

constantly operates in terms of interferences in the human-nature relationship. To do so I believe that being conscious (even minimally) of Indigenous perspectives, considered marginal, will help identify the dominant society's *parti pris* when it comes to dealing with environmental issues. Native communities usually share in common holistic approaches to life that I consider critical to help emphasize the dominant western worldview's subjectivity – in contrast with its claim of objectivity obtained through rationality and expert scientific knowledge. When speaking about holistic approaches to the world, Mario Blaser explains how Indigenous struggles can't be isolated and separated from other projects and speaks of "life projects". "Life projects are embedded in local histories; they encompass visions of the world and the future that are distinct from those embodied by projects promoted by state and markets. Life projects diverge from development in their attention to the uniqueness of people's experiences of place and self and their rejection of visions that claim to be universal" (2004: 26).

On the other hand, we see more and more in capitalist societies a focus on disembodied individual actions as the solution to climate change and other environmental issues. There is little conversation in the mainstream discourse about the systemic nature of the problems that would require collectivities to organize and to think and act outside of the limits and frame of capitalist values such as consumerism and individualism. Michael Maniates explains "that an accelerating individualization of responsibility in the United States is narrowing, in dangerous ways, our "environmental imagination" and undermining our capacity to react effectively to environmental threats to human well-being. [...] Confronting consumption problem demands, after all, the sort of institutional thinking that the individualization of responsibility patently undermines" (2001: 34). I would add that this tendency to isolate humans and comfort them in their consumer power

is not unique to the United States. This bears proof to a necessary reaction required from political actors within capitalism if they want to support it. Colin Hay speaks of

“logic of crisis displacement. Through the operation of this logic, potentially fundamental economic and environmental-economic crises (which are grave enough to threaten the very existence of capitalism itself) become displaced to the realm of political responsibility. Here they become expressed as less fundamental political or ‘rationality’ crises, less fundamental because they are no longer crises *of* capitalism, but rather political crises *within* capitalism” (1996: 85).

The political actors have to displace the causes of the environmental crisis from the capitalist/economic realm into the political realm, simultaneously positioning the solution in the capitalist/economic realm. This logic becomes a ruse used in state intervention to hide the constant tension between long-term (environmental) and short-term (economics) issues. The shift essentially consists of placing overexploitation and overconsumption as a rational issue to be solved through individuals’ actions thereby obscuring the necessary questioning of capitalism structures. Environmental problematics are then de-politicized, which is presented as a step toward democratization because it entails more engagement from the “civil society” or, more accurately, from the individuals that compose said society. What actually happens is that the government abandons its responsibilities, which allows it to be more “neutral” or really more sided with development companies. We are facing a fundamental crisis of the system itself, one that won’t be solved by a change of policies or the green washing of capitalism.

I think the best example of such mechanics can be found within the expression “sustainable development” now widely used as a positive statement. However it is yet only another extension of the neoliberal paradigm posing the expansion of the economy as the unchanging variable. By presenting “sustainable development” as a proof of being

environmentally concerned, we only play in the development dogma; equating “care for the environment” with being positive for the economy that fits a framework of profits and benefits is a way to reinforce the idea that the capitalist economy can be the solution to the problems it created, that it can redeem itself.

“[O]n observe que la rhétorique du développement durable sert dans trop de cas à légitimer le statu quo [...]: il suffit de changer quelques éléments accessoires et d'utiliser le vocabulaire de la “durabilité” pour justifier les mêmes politiques et pratiques de “développement” qui n'ont cessé de creuser l'écart entre riches et pauvres et de poursuivre le projet d'occidentalisation du monde (Latouche, 2005)” (Sauvé, 2007: 2).

Supporting the capitalist concept of “sustainable development” as an answer to the environmental crisis within which resource exploitation happens, perpetuate the marginalization of non-western ways to relate to time and place by intervening in the relationship between humans and nature. “La proposition du développement durable est empreinte d'un biais culturel: elle traduit une cosmologie nord-occidentale dualiste (nature/être humain, société/environnement); elle accentue même la fragmentation du monde en consacrant la triade économie – société – environnement” (Sauvé, 2007: 9). Finally, exploring the theoretical fabric of western societies – and more specifically that of Québec – serves to highlight the origin and thus partial aspect of the “inevitability of development” trope. Rarely will the option to refuse the extractive industry's projects be a real possibility because they are equated with development which is in turn intricately associated with progress and modernity, hence one can't be against such projects without running the risk to be portrayed as backward, pre-modern and against the national interest. In the case of Québec society, the maintained tension between identity and modernity helps promote the “use” of the land.

I have already told the reader of my awareness that discourses, ideas and worldviews aren't homogenous within a group. However, what I've tried to show previously is the existence of a dominant frame of reference that gets little radical critics from within – or if it does, it definitely doesn't have the same weight and publicity as the mainstream perspective. I think that the most important thing to remember is the unevenness of power and influence that worldviews hold and that the idea that there is one voice agreeing is a skillfully constructed illusion.

Development in Québec

The previous perspective sets the context in which natural resources development in Québec came about and in which it's still interpreted. The added particularity of the province's energy sector is how it has been highly connected with identity making, especially since the nationalization of Hydro-Québec. Using Desbien's geo-political approach to the James Bay development as the background, I will ask whether the explorative phase happening on Anticosti Island fits the same nationalist paradigm.

Hydro-electricity has been a major component of the Québec society's battle to live up to its potential as a nation and to incarnate the narrative of a colonized people deserving to assert its particularities. The fact that hydro-electricity and Hydro-Québec are deeply linked with Québec's industrialization and entrance into "modernity" explains the pride that they create; they contribute to contradict Lord Durham's prophecy by proving that the French Canadians (Québécois) are worth the title of modern people. Hydro-Québec's nationalization is the key to understanding the embededness of nationalism and energy/ natural resources exploitation in

Québec. In the beginning of the 1960s, Hydro-Québec became a state-owned utility under Jean Lesage who was re-elected as the premier of the province with his main priority being the nationalization of hydroelectricity. The party's famous campaign slogan "Maîtres chez nous" (literally 'Masters in our own home') appeared as an undisguised claim to the land, the land of a distinct people. A decade later, Robert Bourassa, then leader of the liberal party and premier of the province, followed in Lesage's footsteps to package the hydroelectric development of James Bay through particularism, especially that he perceived the use and exploitation of natural resources as the best economic driver for the development of Québec's society. What is important to mention is the fact that the land and the water simultaneously producing electricity as well as Québécois identity, were (and still are) part of the ancestral territory of the Cree people. Throughout this whole project a discursive imagery was symbolically shaping the northern territory, which is well illustrated in this other slogan used in the promotion of the James Bay hydroelectric complex: "Nous sommes Hydro-québécois" ("We are Hydro-Quebecers") (Desbiens, 2004).

"Understood from a non-native perspective, the expression was meant to inspire pride, pride in dominating the natural environment, in the technical feat of building in a remote region, but pride mostly in accomplishing all of this in French. The conjunction of these two terms – one referring to a natural resource (water as hydro-power) and the other to identity (Québécois) – brings nature and nation together into a single signifier (Hydro-Québécois)" (Ibid: 109).

The conquest of the "empty" North has since then been a key component of the province economic development at the expense of the populations living on their ancestral territory. "The specifics of Québec's geography create a context where the demographic and industrial heart of the province is concentrated on a very small portion of its space" (Desbiens & Rivard, 2014:

100). Resource extraction and exploitation (mining, hydroelectricity) required the settlers to (re)define and appropriate the [northern] spaces that were at first left to Indigenous people, unwanted and undesirable. To do so, and this is what was experienced with the first mega hydro development projects, the majority society imposed its external – and culturally informed – definition of the Crees’ territory. For example, in this situation, the central element that is water has two diametrically different interpretations. For the settlers, it’s a resource to be tamed and used to produce electricity whereas for the Crees water has social, economical and practical functions in addition to guaranteeing life. The latter definition has been overwritten by the Québécois society. It legitimized its claims to define and use the land according to its positionality by extracting the geographical meaning of the Crees’ territory from its locality in order to inscribe it within the national project and [southern] territory of the Québec nation, by tying it with the Québécois identity. This strategy of imposing a meaning to a stolen land takes us back to Veracini and the naturalization process that settlers are continuously engaged in. It also reminds us of the tension this paper argues exist between the cultural role that the land and territory plays in shaping the Québécois identity and their industrial role in modernizing the nation. I believe that the James Bay project is a great example of how this ambivalence was maintained by the early erasure of the existence of the Cree people. This helped negate the colonial narrative behind the development of the North and validate the story of a people (Québécois) only making use of what is rightly theirs, as aspirants to forming a nation. “Rooted in a modernist ethos, Québécois nation-building through hydroelectricity therefore envisioned the relationship with nature to be determined by separation and domination, even as the national subject was envisioned to be firmly rooted in the land” (Desbiens, 2007: 264).

I now want to take time to look at how the particular history and geography of Anticosti Island fit (or not) in this paradigm. It already seems like a similar discursive strategy is used to minimize impacts of oil exploration (and potentially extraction) on this nearly “empty land”. I am careful to differentiate both situations, especially that, contrarily to the James Bay territory, there are no Native communities established on Anticosti Island. The island might be described as almost inhabited with only one permanent settler village, seasonal workers and tourists. However, the island has been part of the territory inhabited by Indigenous peoples, mainly Innu and Mi'kmaq. “They would spend the spring season on the island hunting bear, the activity from which Naticotec, the Innu name for the island, originated” (Brisson, 2007). There is currently an agreement in principle between the government of Canada and Québec as well as with Innu communities to recognize their legitimate right to their ancestral territory (Innu Assi), which includes the territory of Anticosti. However, if an agreement is met, the natural resources found in the underground wouldn't belong to the Innus: “Quebec shall retain the ownership of the hydraulic resources and of the minerals (with the exception of surface mineral substances), and of the subsurface rights on the Innu Assi of the First Nation of Nutashkuan” (Government of Canada, 17: 2004). Thus, “[f]or the time being, Anticosti is part of Nitassinan for the sole purpose of sharing royalties” (Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones, 2010).

I think it's relevant to look more closely into the Agreement-in-principle of general nature (APGN) concerned with defining the rights and responsibilities of each parties involved with this agreement on Innu's ancestral territory (Innu Assi). The APGN “shall be a land claims agreement and a treaty within the meaning of sections 25 and 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982” (Government of Canada, 1: 2004). Contrary to the James Bay and Northern Québec Agreement

(JBNQA), the APGN wasn't a government response to opposition against oil exploration on Anticosti. It has been thirty years in the making now. Even though the JBNQA was put together following protests from Crees and Inuits denouncing that they weren't consulted before their territory was destroyed for hydroelectric sake, it has been presented as "an unprecedented social contract that established the rights and responsibilities of the Cree and Inuit, and of the other parties involved, as well as the terms and conditions that were to govern resource development in the Baie-James territory" (Hydro-Québec, 2014). This statement doesn't begin to consider the inequalities between the different parties and the power owned by the government of Québec, starting with the capacity to begin the construction before considering the people living on the land. Nonetheless, in the mind of many, the JBNQA has the status of proof that Québec can fulfill its national destiny whilst being thoughtful of a minority's rights. I think that in this light, it's fair to say that hopes are high for the APGN to validate both the government of Québec and Canada's will to achieve good collaboration between the Innus and them.

The APGN started in 1979 when Attikameks, in collaboration with the Innus, made a global land claim. In 1994, the negotiation group decided to stop the communal process and three groups emerged from the split; only one pursued the land claim. In 2000, it was decided that the negotiation process would be carried on under the strategy named "Approche Commune" (co-management of sort) to which still participates the first nations of Mamuitun and Nutashkuan, the government of Québec and the government of Canada (Cook, 2013). However, since the decision to continue the negotiations under the "Approche Commune" scheme there has been strong or vocal opposition from the allochthonous population on the territory touched by the agreement. Whereas it was easier to come to an accord with the Crees and Inuits in James Bay because of the Québécois' perceived emptiness of the territory, the situation is much

different on the territory concerned with the APGN because each region's population is composed of around 95% of non-Aboriginals (Rivard, 2013: 29).

In understanding the causes of settlers' defensiveness (or outright disagreement) towards the negotiation of the APGN, Cook and Rivard's analysis both highlight the expression of injustice as being the periphery "governed" by the center; the latter doesn't know the former's interests and needs. In Québec there exists a decentralization process that's very imperfect; the regions' governing bodies always seek more control over their territory. Hence an Agreement negotiated mainly between the provincial and federal governments and Native communities is likely to go against the municipalities' desires for more autonomy and control. There already exist multiple decision-making structures limiting municipalities' political flexibility thereby cancelling the decentralization process thus far. Adding another one to the advantage of Native peoples is perceived as impeding on the local allochtonous population's interests. By going pass regional governing structures, the APGN might add tensions between Natives and non-Natives. The opposition coming from the settler population reflects fear to experience unfair treatment and this is not an uncommon trope in cases where communities feel that their rights are threatened by Indigenous communities' ancestral rights. The debate that then frames the issue as a competition of rights (human rights vs Natives rights) is a recurrent story in Indigenous' battles to assert their legitimate claim. There is a sense that the allochtonous inhabitants' rights should prevail over Innus' ancestral rights because all human rights being equal, a group shouldn't experience special treatment, especially if it threatens the way of life of the majority population. Besides, as explained earlier through Eva Mackey, one of the major problems with the rights discourse is how it puts on an equal footing privileged ideal citizens and historically oppressed, dispossessed and displaced Indigenous peoples. Additionally, in this particular context, the

economy of the settler population living on Innu Assi is quite dependent on the exploitation of natural resources and the APGN can be perceived as giving authority to Indigenous communities to dictate the allochthonous population' rights to the resource.

In unraveling the center-periphery debate, Cook finds a nationalist/ independantist narrative that equates negotiations with the Innus as to negotiating with the federal government (that has "Indian" competency) and accepting that Québec is losing rightful ownership of its own territory. The opposition fears that negotiations mean implicit recognition of the constitution or of the federal's territorial authority. Finally, Cook also shows the existence of common sense racism, a trope according to which Innus don't exist anymore and people who claim to be Innus are inauthentic: they possess no blood links, "only" cultural and customary relations with Innus.

Rivard shows that despite the opposition stemming from the settler population, not everyone understands the APGN in the same way. There is, it's true, the local non-Aboriginal dominant population facing aging and high rates of unemployment and who often depends on multinational investments. On the other end, the growing green market and ecotourism industries give a "new" value to Indigenous ways of life in the eyes of certain local governments' decision makers. Often driven by economic interests, some see the land claim as an opportunity for the regions to gain more powers though working with the Innus; they foresee the benefits they can gather for their populations through helping the Innus to reach a satisfactory agreement. In spite of sounding like a potential desire to cooperate, the logic still distinguishes between the allochthonous and Indigenous populations' interests.

The APGN was signed in 2004 but at this stage it doesn't have much binding value. The deadline to come up with a treaty is in 2015 whereas exploratory projects have already begun on

Anticosti Island. The previous account showed that there are various interests at play on the Innu Assi and that the opposition's discourse is heterogeneous and people are identifying different adversaries. In an attempt to map out the archeology of power in Québec I think this chapter shows that both central governments have their own interests, often sided with that of extractive companies, the local governments have their perspectives and in a totally different box there are the Indigenous peoples. They probably have different opinions among themselves regarding natural resources exploitation, just like other groups. However, because they seek recognition and assertion of sovereignty on their land through the APGN they can easily be singled out. In terms of Anticosti, there already are environmentalists and activists arguing against extraction and exploitation on the Island but they are located in the debate as being geographical outsiders, demeaning their legitimacy to fight the project. The analysis seems to show that the discourse is often built as an opposition between a center power that discriminates against the more legitimate local power. In this conversation, Indigenous communities are still outside the debate.

It's still unclear how/ if Innus will be battling to assert their rights on Anticosti either to prevent or to participate in oil exploration. The fact that they are not living on the Island and that they most likely want to achieve their land claims might be a determining factor in their implication (or lack thereof) in this particular development project. "Despite having distinctive views over development (notably in terms of sustainability and territoriality), Innu people appear to endorse, for a great part, the 'hegemonic' vision of economic development only they want to better control its implementation in their ancestral territories" (Desbiens & Rivard, 2014: 110). I assume that the agreement process in which many interests are involved and a lot is at stake makes it hard to foresee if there will be opposition to exploiting resources on Anticosti on the basis of it being part of Innus' ancestral territory. So what would it mean for the territory of

Anticosti if both the settler society and the Innu communities covet it when considering that Native peoples have to position themselves and prioritize certain things in the light of what the settler government authorizes them to.

“En bref, si le concept de cogestion territoriale engage un dialogue actif entre les autochtones et les autorités étatiques, ces dernières se gardent encore en grande partie l’initiative des canaux de communication à privilégier. Au-delà de ces rapports de force et des critiques somme toute fondées qu’accuse le concept de cogestion territoriale, il reste toutefois dans l’esprit de l’ÉPoG l’intention de tenir compte de la différence culturelle au lieu de simplement l’ignorer. Aussi modeste soit le pas, il constitue une avancée” (Rivard, 2013: 28).

Basically, Innus part of this agreement will be allowed to “use” nature only to fulfill their cultural way of life (see articles mentioned below). It sounds like they won’t have an authoritative say regarding the use of the land even though it’s recognized as their ancestral territory. To say the least both governments are making sure to keep control over what they deem the “useful way” to interact with the land. A few questions come to my mind when I link this with the situation in James Bay where images of the Natives’ landscapes and geographical imaginary were absent virtually and discursively. First, I will use the next chapter to ask whether the same pattern is repeating itself with Anticosti. I will also pay special attention if the fact that the island is included in the APGN as being part of the Innus traditional territory is mentioned in discourse. As we will see, there’s definitely less of a conquering goal with Anticosti, at least not as blatant. There’s a more important focus on Québec being “responsible and sustainable”. Even considering this change in approach, the fact remains that the structure of the conversation is unchanged; we’ll be more careful but we’ll keep envisioning nature and the land the same way because of economic development and assertion of our rights as a nation.

Here are a few articles from the APGN that I found important to highlight.

“WHEREAS [...] the Treaty establishes certainty as regards the ownership and use of the lands and resources of Nitassinan” (APGN, 2004 :6). Does the use of these particular words reflect any other worldviews than the western one?

“4.1.2 The Anticosti Island is part of Nitassinan for the purposes of royalty sharing and other purposes which shall be identified before the conclusion of the Treaty for the First Nation of Nutashkuan” (APGN, 2004 : 16).

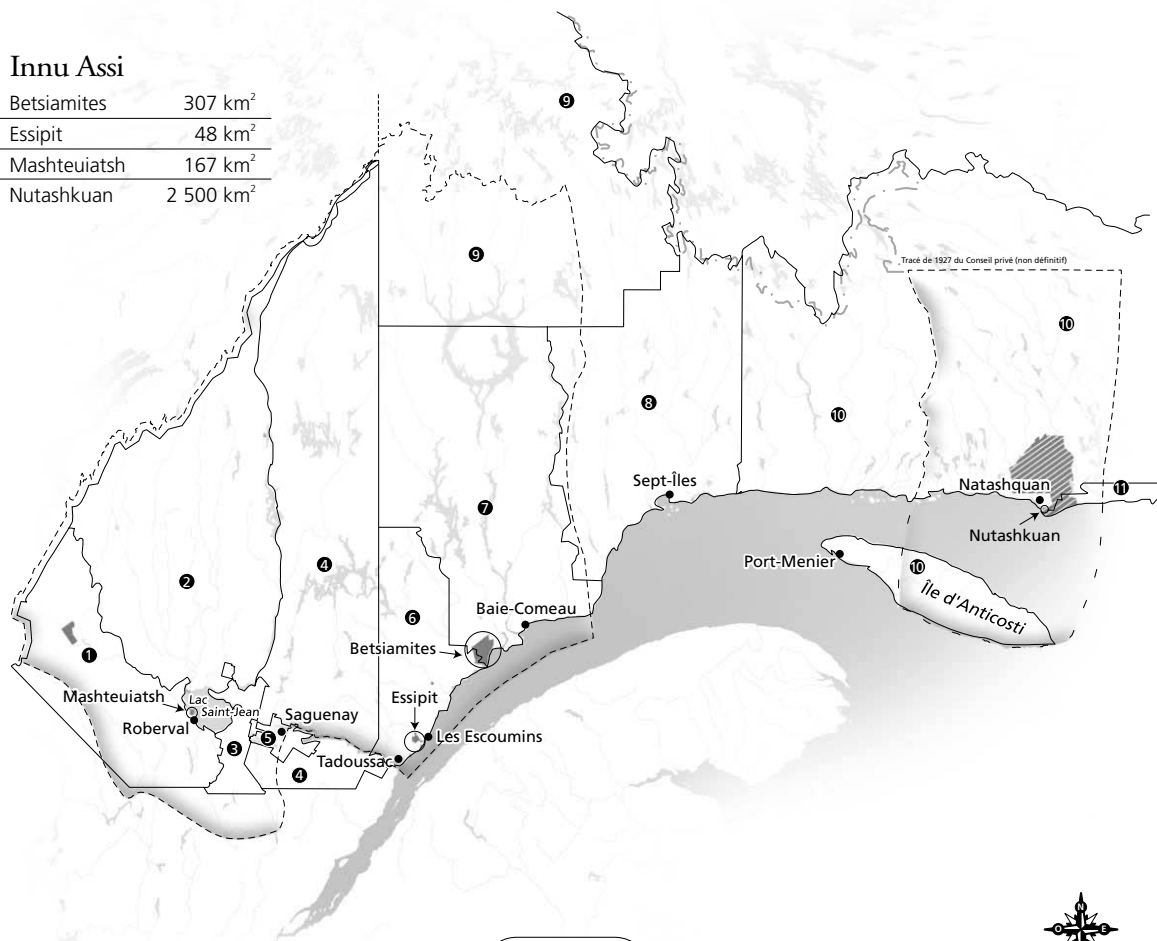
“4.2.3 On the lands of Innu Assi, notwithstanding in particular the inherent limits and Inalienability, except to the Crown, of the aboriginal title as defined by the courts, the aboriginal title of each First Nation shall be deemed to include all attributes of full ownership of the soil and subsoil, including the right to freely and fully use, enjoy and dispose of these lands” (APGN, 2004 :16).

“6.6.1.3 If, by the end of the processes, after all possible efforts of consultation and mitigation have been made, there is no agreement and the government approves the project despite the objections of the First Nations, the proponent shall compensate the First Nations, for the benefit of their members, if their rights have been affected. This compensation shall be established on the basis of the damages sustained through arbitration according to the provisions of Chapter 15” (APGN, 2004 :34).

The dotted lines on this map show the scope of Nitassinan (Innus' ancestral territory) as defined for the interest of the APGN.

L'Entente de principe d'ordre général

Innu Assi	
Betsiamites	307 km ²
Essipit	48 km ²
Mashteuiatsh	167 km ²
Nutashkuan	2 500 km ²



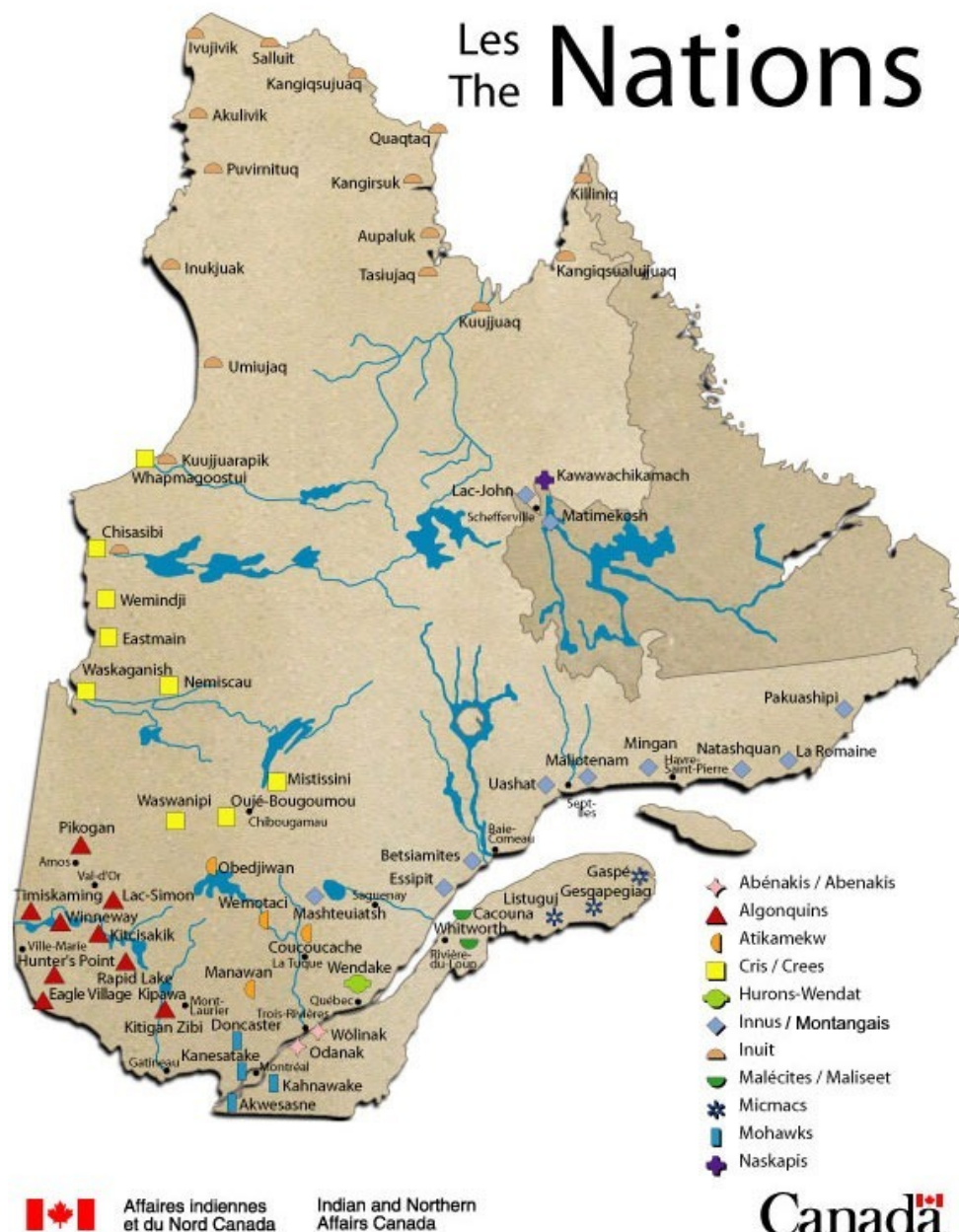
LÉGENDE

- | | | |
|--|---|---|
| <p>■ INNU ASSI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territoire innu avec autonomie de gestion • ententes de bon voisinage (règles à convenir) <p>▨ INNU ASSI DE NUTASHKUAN</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territoire innu avec autonomie de gestion, à l'exclusion des ressources hydrauliques et du sous-sol • ententes de bon voisinage et de fréquentation par les résidents des localités voisines (règles à convenir) | <p>- - - NITASSINAN (à l'exclusion d'Anticosti)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territoire de pleine juridiction québécoise • règles à convenir avec les Innus quant à l'application des éléments suivants : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - partage de redevances - modalités de participation réelle à la gestion du territoire - chasse, piégeage et cueillette - protection du patrimoine - développement socioéconomique <p>- - - ANTICOSTI</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territoire de pleine juridiction québécoise • règles à convenir avec les Innus pour le partage des redevances, ou à d'autres fins, d'ici à l'entente finale | <p>— MRC ET TERRITOIRES ÉQUIVALENTS (TE)</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 Le Domaine-du-Roy 2 Maria-Chapdelaine 3 Lac-Saint-Jean-Est 4 Le Fjord-du-Saguenay 5 La ville de Saguenay (TE) 6 La Haute-Côte-Nord 7 Manicouagan 8 Sept-Rivières 9 Caniapiscau 10 Minganie 11 La Basse-Côte-Nord (TE) |
|--|---|---|

Secrétariat aux affaires autochtones, 2010.

11 89226-C016-1010 (1E)
 10 Minganie
 9 Caniapiscau
 8 Sept-Rivières
 7 Manicouagan
 6 La Haute-Côte-Nord
 5 La ville de Saguenay (TE)
 4 Le Fjord-du-Saguenay
 3 Lac-Saint-Jean-Est
 2 Maria-Chapdelaine
 1 Le Domaine-du-Roy

The following map represents the reserves of the First Nations of Québec. In yellow, right along James Bay, are the Cree communities. The light grey diamond shapes that border the St Lawrence River indicate the Innus communities.



First Nations of Quebec and Labrador Health and Social Services Commission. 2011. *Map of the Quebec First Nations communities*. [Online], <http://www.cssspnql.com/en/about-us/communities>

Chapter 3: Discourse & Power Analysis in Policy and Practice

Method

This chapter focuses on the analysis of the dominant discourse on the resource development in Québec society and the exploration projects on the Anticosti Island. I will use discourse analysis as a research method because of its capacity to efficiently investigate complex and multilayered issues such as exploration and extraction. I deem it important to start by explaining my approach to discourse analysis because it's a very malleable methodology. Indeed, the shaping of the research design is tied with the idea the researcher has of the concrete formation and composition of "discourse". For the purpose of my research I will use Hajer and Versteeg's definition of discourse analysis, itself based on a Foucauldian frame of reference: "[d]iscourse is defined here as an ensemble of ideas, concepts and categories through which meaning is given to social and physical phenomena, and which is produced and reproduced through an identifiable set of practices" (2005: 175). From this perspective, a discourse embodies an epistemology or how one's worldview is shaped by the world. For Foucault, discourse is much more than spoken speech and includes all the ways in which the discourse (or ideology) is supported and promoted. Foucault focused his theory on identifying the struggle for power between worldviews; he didn't linger over how to end this struggle. There is a strand of discourse analysis theory that differs from Foucault by drawing on Habermas' ideal discussion space. It admits the existence of power relations but poses that the solution to the imbalance in power is to reduce inequities through a process allowing all voices to be heard – the goal is to build this space. Public hearings are based on the idea that if people are able to voice their concerns and are given substantive information on the project at hand, the resulting outcome of the hearings will be an ideal and democratic decision. I think that the idea according to which it's

possible to ensure a space where interactions occur without undue power imbalances is not productive because it obscures the unchanging existence of inequalities. I believe that working to identify all the ways in which power is unfairly distributed in given situations is more helpful to disrupt the dominance of one worldview. So even if Foucault doesn't elaborate on how to concretely bring about changes, I find that drawing a discourse analysis from his theory is much more interesting because of the emphasis he puts on inspecting power and its role in naturalizing the dominant discourse. Despite the lack of guidance, Foucault's method helps to highlight the existence of a powerful support system to the dominant worldview, which is, I think, where efforts need to focus in order to challenge said system. I will use discourse analysis as a tool to establish the social construction of environmental problems in order to show "that there is not one authoritative interpretation of these events but multiple contested interpretations" (Feindt and Oels, 2006: 162).

Another element I deem important to stress when conceptualizing my take on discourse is its function as concurrently producing and describing reality. It describes the reality it produces: "discourse analysis provides insight into the processes of subject and object formation [and] it shows that, like all discourses, environmental discourse constitutes identities, expectations and responsibilities that play their part in disciplining individuals and society at large" (Feindt and Oels, 2006: 169). Categories of individuals and groups are constructed through the dominant discourse that also produces "nature", "environment", "development", etc. While being careful not to deny people's agency, I think a power analysis of discourse and language will show how subjects who do not agree with or who are excluded from the dominant worldview are being acted upon, especially those considered non-humans.

My take on discourse analysis in the context of this research is that the outcome is not about having a prescriptive alternative to how discourse should occur. It's really about showing how different realities – built through discourse – are not offered equal weight in places that traditionally hold power in Québec society. I also hope that with the analysis I choose to make, this research will bring to the table uncomfortable questions necessary to start walking down the environmental justice path. In defining the goal of my analysis I concur with Sharp and Richardson when they write: “[o]ur intention is that our texts should challenge the practitioner-reader to think critically about their own practice. [...] We hope [...] that critical analysis of one context will stimulate critical thought about another” (2001: 207). At this point, I think it's fair to say that we find ourselves in the middle of a tortuous road that will engage different positions in respect to energy in Québec. This is why I believe it's the ideal moment to reflect on what are the government and the industry's strengths in order to better strategize critical thinking and actions.

An important part of concretely designing this research has to do with the intent I take with me in this project. My readings on discourse analysis suggest identifying a decisive moment that triggered my interest in the subject. I think the announcement of the Plan Nord in 2011 by the government at the time definitely hit me as a shift in the dominant environmental paradigm of the province. Le Plan Nord is a “development” project (i.e. extracting and exploiting resources) in the North of the province of Québec. Despite having no independendist agenda, with le Plan Nord, the liberal government “was pursuing the economic nationalism and ideal of cultural sovereignty that underlay Bourassa's own vision of northern development” (Desbiens, 2013: 210). This supports the continuous presence of the ambivalence between identity and development in Québec. In the midst of this government's announcement, Québec has also

expressed interests in the shale gas industry which sparked opposition among the population especially because of the method used to extract gas: fracking. A moratorium on gas exploration has been in place since 2010 in Québec and there is presently a draft law discussed at the national assembly that intends to extend the moratorium for five years. However, the most recent government has made clear its favorable position towards extracting and exploiting oil in Québec even if the extraction method (fracking) is the same as with shale gas. On February 13th, the government of Québec announced a partnership with the industry to get a sense of the quantity of oil resources on Anticosti Island. In a global context of climate change within which Québec has long prided itself for being a “green” leader with its hydro-electricity production, the dominant discourse now has shifted to say that developing non-renewable energy is coherent with a strategy of reducing GHG emissions. The mainstream discourse since the beginnings of colonialism on this land has always been about “developing” and “making the best use of nature” but the way to do so has changed. This is a moment that stuck in my mind as an obvious reordering in terms of Québec’s environmental direction, as if the defining of identity through a land that we also exploit for industrializing purpose has become increasingly difficult to reconcile.

I want to focus on discourses and practices of the dominant actors due to a very common notion whereby their vision includes the preoccupations of the whole society. In this sense, I think it’s very important to highlight their *parti pris* and biases towards one way of life. Again, I’m careful not to deny people their agency but I do think that the maintenance of a dominant discourse through the voice of the more powerful, influences the worldview of many people who naturalize this idea of a good life and then becomes supporters of the powerful

interests' perspective. Also, the way dissension is portrayed in the media and by the elites most likely play a role in keeping these different worldviews marginalized. The premise to this work is the existence of a global dominant discourse promoting development, modernization as the objective for all societies that ties in with nationalism in Québec, as if economic development and prosperity based on natural resources have become the province of Québec's particularity. The exploration of discourses will help answer the question whether Anticosti fits the same paradigm.

The pieces that will be analyzed in the interests of the paper are a moment embedded in a social, political, economic and historical fabric. The previous chapter explained this changing context with hopes of contributing to the comprehension of the discursive analysis. Following this historical contextualization I intend to analyze documents related to Anticosti and the oil industry in Québec made by key actors within the government, from the oil & gas industry and from various economic organizations. The time frame for my research will be since the election of the last government on September 4th 2012 until the February 13th 2014 announcement of collaboration between the government and the companies to start exploring the island. It's important to mention that since then a new party was elected as the government of Québec and, they have stated that they will honor the agreement made by the previous government while also promising to complete various Environmental Assessments to study the benefits and consequences of exploring (more) and potentially extracting oil on Anticosti. However, my focus is on the previous government and my central point of interest is when they announced that they would be partnering with a few private companies through investments in exploration work on the island.

The discourse analysis is mostly based on press releases. After looking at the documents, I created three broad categories of inquiry in order to verify if the situation on Anticosti fits the paradigm I explained previously with the development of hydro-electricity. The first category is the linking of national identity with territory, the second one is the expression of power and the third one is the worldview conveyed. Within the worldview category I paid close attention to the way “nature” is portrayed. It’s virtually impossible to put these ideas in boxes as they all overlap and meet at one point or another but I find that using this outline is better for purpose of clarity. While going through the official governmental documents, I realized that not many of them spoke manifestly about Anticosti. However, there’s a general *mise en contexte* that asserts the government’s interest to exploit oil; it’s quite implicit but still a sense is given that the government is heading that way. I chose the official documents I wanted to analyze according to their allusion of Anticosti, northern development projects, oil exploration and/or extraction and relations with Indigenous peoples. In the documents released by organizations defending economic interests references to Anticosti are more obvious. I still looked at a few that were talking generally about resource extraction and/or exploration in Québec.

1. Québécois identity embodied in the territory

1.1 Government

The government’s discourse intertwines economic development with the respect of nature in a way that speaks to a feeling of belonging in order to (discursively) build a community, a nation. To profess its concerns for sustainable development, the nation of Québec joins the club of nations who do the same, which adds to its legitimate claim to the status of nation-state. The following sentence express this sentiment very well: “[I]e développement du

Nord permettra au Québec de s'inscrire parmi les nations qui ont pris le virage du développement durable, respectueux de l'environnement et des communautés” (Première Ministre, November 14th 2012). Throughout the press releases there is a frequent and repetitive use of the possessive that points to the building of a sense of collectivity.

(Première Ministre, September 19th 2012)

Les nations autochtones du Québec	chez nous
Cette richesse appartient à tous les Québécois et doit profiter à tous	Nous avons le talent, la créativité, le territoire, les ressources, l'énergie et l'esprit d'entreprise
immense territoire qui est le nôtre	

I think that the Québec government's focus on the province's nation status strengthens its legitimacy to possess natural resources and to profit from their exploitation because in our western understanding, a nation has the right to use "their" resources [faire avancer avec force nos intérêts et de promouvoir notre identité non pas à titre de province, mais à titre de nation]. That tendency to affirm ownership of the land, and more importantly the resources it shelters is especially blatant in the premier's press release from February 13th when she announces the investments the government of Québec will make in exploration projects on Anticosti in order to secure its monetary participation and ensure benefits if it turns out that oil can be extracted on the island [le Québec reprend ses droits sur des ressources naturelles qui lui appartiennent collectivement et qui doivent profiter à tous les Québécois./ les retombées économiques pour les Québécois pourraient représenter jusqu'à 45 milliards de dollars sur 30 ans]. I think that the discourse centers on affirming a right to property and usage and it speaks to the naturalization process that Veracini explains as intrinsic to settler colonial societies. Indeed, this sentence from the Premier's press release from September 19th 2012 is a good example: [Depuis plus de 400 ans, la nation québécoise cohabite sur l'immense territoire qui est le nôtre avec les Premières Nations.] This sentence is phrased so First Nations are recognized but they are sharing the

territory of the nation of Québec. It gives a sense of superiority to that nation as if it was pre-existent to the First Peoples of this land. I think this is a way to produce through discourse a legitimate claim to “our” territory. The government also makes calls to a larger purpose when associating natural resources exploitation and Québec, which I believe to be reminiscent of the Church’s intent with the literary genre *le terroir* to ensure the permanence of French Canadians on the territory.

(Première ministre, May 14th 2013)

chef de file environnemental dans le monde	
L’exploitation et la valorisation de nos richesses naturelles, et ce, dans l’intérêt supérieur du Québec	

1.2 Economic interests

It doesn’t seem like organizations promoting the economic interests behind resource extraction use the call to a bigger project that is the nation to validate their position. I read through the press releases that as soon as there’s a hint that it might be possible to produce energy with what’s in the ground, nature becomes a resource that humans should use. A few times it was mentioned that the territory belongs to us by qualifying it of “québécois and canadien”, perhaps to add legitimacy although I have the impression that solely the invocation of economic development is sufficient. Also, when benefits for Québécois.es and Canadians are mentioned, it’s still in a perspective of economic development and not some superior moral achievement.

(FCCQ, June 14th 2013)

richesses naturelles x 4	ressources naturelles
--------------------------	-----------------------

(FCCQ, May 24th 2013)

Le potentiel de production pétrolière de ce territoire	les ressources qui se trouvent en sol québécois et canadien
--	---

(FCCQ, February 13th 2014)

grand potentiel de creation de richesse dans les régions et pour le Québec tout entier
--

However, I found the argument of energetic independence in some press releases regarding the promotion of Canadian oil, which probably is a proof that they play on the “nation” argument.

(FCCQ, May 22nd 2013)

reliable, less expensive and greener source of energy	
this would specifically reduce the dependence of refineries in Québec and Ontario on foreign offshore oil while ensuring supply security for québec’s domestic energy market. Western Canada will always be a more stable geopolitical region than any country in North Africa or the Middle East currently supplying Québec	the Enbridge project is consistent with sustainable development, for the environmental footprint would be even greater if the oil were to be refined in the United States and the redirected to Québec

(FCCQ, May 24th 2013)

Le potentiel de production pétrolière de ce territoire	les ressources qui se trouvent en sol québécois et canadien
--	---

One noteworthy exception to this pattern might be the oil company Pétrolia’s slogan that reads “Oil from here. By the people here. For here.” This is most likely an attempt to generate approbation within the population by presenting the company as a definite contributor to Québec’s economy and development².

2. Expression of Power

2.1 Government

Within both the political and economical elites’ discourses, I observed a scaling of knowledge. To give a higher value to scientific knowledge whether against traditional

² Although it’s debatable to what extent the company is still “québécoise” with all the transactions and change in investors and CEO.

knowledge, personal experience or stories, is a recurrent occurrence characteristic of these kinds of development projects, and of the western paradigm. “Foucault’s approach suggests that we should ask how, why and by whom truth is attributed to particular arguments and not to others” (Sharp and Richardson, 2001: 197).

In the case of Anticosti, based on “expert” knowledge and existent regulations (designed by “expert”), exploration will be tightly examined. While using expert knowledge to control the safety of these exploratory projects, the government simultaneously says that these projects will allow gaining new knowledge (necessary to said expertise) in order to draft studies as well as new regulation for exploitation. I believe that the blind approval and validation we give scientific knowledge needs to be criticized and challenged in general, but it’s fascinating to witness the government’s unwavering certainty in science’s superiority in a domain (shale oil extraction) that is new for most people, even said experts, involved in Québec. It leads me to ask how expert is that expert knowledge and why is it given so much power? Why are people reassured by these statements when one only has to turn to history, recent and distant, to notice that expert scientific knowledge hasn’t precluded environmental disasters of all kinds including numerous and catastrophic oil leaks.

Expert knowledge (Première Ministre, February 13th 2014)

une démarche structurée et rigoureuse	les travaux d’exploration requièrent l’émission de plusieurs certificats d’autorisation en vertu du cadre législatif et réglementaire actuel. Les travaux prévus permettront en parallèle d’acquérir des connaissances nouvelles et précises qui seront mises à profit pour l’élaboration d’études et du nouveau cadre réglementaire
études confiées à des comités d’experts	
les experts	

2.2 Economic interests

The business community's framing of knowledge is similar to that of the government. The Fédération des Chambres de commerce du Québec (FCCQ) explains that the public will approve of exploiting natural resources if it's subjected to facts and objective data. The FCCQ gives Pétrolia as an example of a good corporate citizen that contributes to an unbiased, informed conversation by hosting information sessions and consulting populations in regards of their exploration projects on Anticosti and in Gaspé. This perspective is interesting in which it's an obvious example of power imbalance in the context where the company frames the conversation and the information it will disseminate. Another important point is to look at who attends these information sessions and ask whether topics of contention are addressed when dissension arise. The FCCQ's press release says that the company met with the business community and the decision makers. Also, this interpretation of such gatherings and meetings take me back to the issue I see with idealizing "rational" discussion in certain spaces and that is the overlooking of the existence of power dynamic between the different actors. Finally, to put certain kind of knowledge on a pedestal is based on "the further assumption that there is a clear separation between facts and values, so that it is possible for technical experts to confine themselves to the facts, that is, to be as objective as possible, and not to stray into the area of values." (Richardson et al. 1993: 10)

(FCCQ, December 12th 2012)

rencontrer les chambres de commerce et les élus de chaque region pour échanger sur le sujet avec eux	L'entreprise mène depuis plusieurs mois des demarches structurées et dynamiques d'information et de consultation des populations locales et régionales
S'assurer que le débat public fournisse des données objectives et factuelles sur les enjeux économiques liées aux projets d'exploitation et les precautions que les entreprises doivent prendre	En l'absence de données fiables

3. Worldview(s) and Portrayal of Nature

3.1 Government

I want to start this section with the Premier's press release of February 13th 2014 when the government made public its agreement with three private companies to invest in exploring Anticosti Island for oil. I noticed in this press release the existence of a framework – that appears recurrent in the context of the other press releases – that circumscribe humans' relation to nature as one of inevitable exploitation of the natural environment to our advantage. There is no questioning of the dominant discourse about modernity being associated to development which is apparently not in contradiction with being simultaneously concerned with nature's well-being. A lot of words or expressions are employed in a way that seems to assume common meanings. I understand that the documents that I studied are meant to be short but they're also meant to be symbolic and use key ideas. As a Québécoise myself, I think that the feelings these ideas seek to trigger are meant to inspire pride and attachment to Québec in a way that is not critical of its history and national existence. Once people agree to that symbolic project, I think it's easier to convince of the importance of extracting natural resources [intérêts de la nation québécoise / histoire du Québec / Un nouveau souffle sera également donné aux relations avec les nations autochtones] (Oct. 31st 2012(b)).

Going through the documents with a close attention on identifying presence of a particular worldview (or paradigm) I found that most of the references to nature or environment were in terms of how the latter can serve humans. When it comes down to the environment, I don't think that we should ban the word "usage" but the assumptions regarding the kind of usage are not even questioned. There is no – or little – mention of what are the society's energetic needs when justifying exploration or how we can/ should learn to modify these needs but only

how the environment can be used to contribute to the society's economical growth. Decisions and actions are driven by (capitalist) economic concerns of profit even if it's not explicitly said. The government basically admits that exploitation won't be denied if it's proven that it's economically viable. In the February 13th press release, the sentences are written in a mix of future tense, which doesn't leave the government's intentions up for interpretation, and conditional tense. While reading it, it gives the impression that the goal is already set but that it can't be too obvious.

programmes d'exploration qui auront pour but de confirmer le potentiel pétrolier de l'île d'Anticosti	déterminer si leur exploitation était économiquement viable
éventuelle exploitation sécuritaire des ressources en hydrocarbures, dans le respect de l'environnement, des populations locales, des sources d'eau potable et du développement durable	documenter tant les retombées économiques, les impacts environnementaux que les moyens de mitigation pour être en mesure de prendre les bonnes décisions
permettront de créer de la richesse durable	
La participation prépondérante de l'État permettra également d'assurer un développement sécuritaire et de positionner avantageusement le gouvernement en vue d'ententes pour une éventuelle exploitation, ce qui assurera une juste part des bénéfices aux Québécois	si les travaux prévus concluaient que les réserves de pétrole à Anticosti pouvaient être exploitées de façon rentable, le gouvernement s'est déjà engagé à confier au Bureau d'audiences publiques sur l'environnement (BAPE) un mandat de consultations publiques sur l'exploitation des hydrocarbures à l'île d'Anticosti.

Another element found in this press release, and echoed in the other government's documents, is a constant ambiguity towards what the environment represent for us [ressources naturelles qui lui appartiennent collectivement et qui doivent profiter à tous les Québécois/ protection de l'environnement]. It seems as though there is a distinction to be made between natural resources that need to profit Québec and a natural environment that has to be protected (from ourselves). On one hand it is our duty to exploit and take advantage of the natural environment when it's constructed as an asset, and on the other hand it's our duty to protect the

environment that can't be of economical use from being destroyed. Environment is often referred to as an asset ("richesses") that belongs to all of the Québécois. To me it's a discursive way to transform something that is not a commodity into merchandise through using what is deemed an acceptable story that is that Québécois have a rightful claim to this territory because of their making of the land.

An important work of rendering safe and acceptable the extraction/ exploitation of oil on Anticosti Island is to focus on the project's capacity to create what the government called *prospérité durable*. The word *durable* is commonly associated with the idea *développement durable* even if this is a contested concept. To use it with *prospérité* seems to serve the assumptions that profits and economic increase underlie the modernity paradigm while expressing concerns for the degrading environment (*durable*).

(Première Ministre, September 19th 2012)

Il ne saurait y avoir de prospérité durable en opposant le développement économique et la protection de l'environnement. Les deux vont de pair	maximiser la transformation de nos ressources pour créer des emplois de qualité chez nous
le développement du Québec se conjuguera avec l'amélioration constante de notre environnement et nous nous assurerons que le Québec devienne un chef de file environnemental dans le monde	

Unless they understand "the developing of Québec" in another way than the dominant one, I don't think that the two concepts the government wants to reconcile (*prospérité* and *durable*) make sense. As if mentioning the idea of *durabilité* allows to keep doing business as usual. There is also a constant use of the terms development and responsible exploitation. I don't want to oppose them necessarily but the way development is assumed to occur in order to accelerate the expansion of the economy, simply doesn't make any sense with responsibly

exploiting natural resources. [Pour mettre de l'ordre dans nos finances et accélérer la croissance économique... l'exploitation responsable des ressources naturelles] (Oct 31st 2012 (2)).

I observed a repetition of expressions and words that are left unexplained and that could signify many things. By not giving them a definition but repeatedly using them, I think these words end up being empty and while they're meant to be reassuring and prove the government's intent to care, they appear more and more to only serve as frills. Economic growth and development are the drivers of the government's decisions but in an attempt to hiding that fact, decision makers try to comfort the population that they will take care of ensuring this development is done in respect of "whatever makes them look like they care". Why aren't the considerations the other way around? Why aren't people and the environment the first drivers of where and how to do "responsible development"?

(Première Ministre, May 7th 2013)

Nous souhaitons développer le Nord de manière responsable afin de maximiser les retombées pour les communautés locales et pour l'ensemble des Québécois	développement social des communautés Nordiques, le respect de l'environnement et de la biodiversité, et le développement économique
nous assurerons un développement harmonieux et respectueux de l'environnement	développement harmonieux, éthique et respectueux des populations concernées

At the Davos forum in January 2013, the premier repeated the discourse linking development and extraction while discussing actions to fight climate changes. These discussions all happen in a context that promote investments, economic growth, development. At one moment, the focus is on being a leader (important topic) in "green energy" as well as reducing Québec's GHG emissions and at another moment they talk about "responsible extraction" although the words exploration and extraction are not explicitly used, the conversations are about mining development. Also the government has repeated its intention to reduce Québec's GHG emissions but never explained how it will be done by exploiting oil on its territory.

(Première Ministre, January 26th 2013)

projet qui contribuera à positionner le Québec comme leader dans le développement des technologies d'énergies propres	PM a fait part de l'approche avant-gardiste québécoise en matière de protection de l'environnement ainsi que de la nouvelle impulsion que le gouvernement du Québec souhaite donner au développement du Nord québécois
développement minier responsable	Mme Figueres s'est réjoui de l'engagement du gouvernement du Québec de hausser à 25% la cible de réduction des gaz à effet de serre sous le niveau de 1990

I thought that to conclude on the government's paradigm section I would come back to the ambiguous relation we maintain with the environment. This one announcement regards the creation of a national park "Parc national Kuururjuaq" in Northern Québec, to be managed by Inuits. In this situation, protecting the natural environment became a way of development and I can't help myself but ask why we value differently particular environments and came to recognize that it's linked with the potential of monetary benefits. [Le parc fait aussi la fierté des Inuits, qui en assument la gestion, en plus d'offrir des emplois de qualité à des jeunes, ce qui, à mon avis, constitue des atouts majeurs pour le développement durable du Nord] (September 14th 2013).

3.2 Economic interests

I want to begin this section by talking about a gesture that I think is telling of the industry's habit of looking down on people's worries and concerns. During a presentation with representatives from the oil and gas industry, John Gorman, vice president of Halliburton Canada, drank from a glass filled with fracking liquid (APGQ, October 28th 2013). I read this action as a condescending way to minimize fear and concerns towards fracking. It also displaces the issue of the consequences of fracking onto the tool used to proceed to extract oil. By saying

we are using a product that is safe to enter the human body, it disregards the risks of weakening the soil that fracking in itself can provoke regardless of what's used to get the oil.

Among the press releases there are many assumptions, unchallenged suppositions in the speech and positions that, according to the FCCQ, are not arguable which only strengthens the business as usual scenario as factual.

(FCCQ, May 22nd 2013)

the fact is that businesses and individuals will continue to use energy from hydrocarbons for many years to come	it would not be realistic to hope that we might change our consumption habits overnight, and it would be especially impractical to suppose that electric transportation could replace traditional methods in the short term. The transition is well underway but it will take a very long time
the prosperity of future generation/ more competitive/ economic benefits/	maintaining and creating jobs and supporting the development
competitive and active/ improve Québec's trade balance	economic activity and creating jobs

(FCCQ, May 24th 2013)

Puisque le Québec utilisera le pétrole pour encore plusieurs décennies
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(Conseil du patronat du Québec, February 13th 2014)

avancée majeure/ accroître leur (les Québécois) richesse collective

(Chambre de commerce du Montréal métropolitain February 13th 2014)

faire preuve de pragmatisme

(FCCQ, February 13th 2014)

exploiter de manière responsable	afin que les Québécois puissent bénéficier des retombées économiques des ressources pétrolières et gazières qui seront éventuellement exploitées sur notre territoire
trois composantes du développement durable	

(Conseil du patronat du Québec, February 13th 2014)

exploitation responsable et durable de nos ressources en hydrocarbures
--

In the different documents we witness a reinscription of what are everyone's roles in society according to mainstream ideas. The government has to be a partner of the industries to inform and reassure the emotional (non expert) population. When the government listens to their citizens/ humans' worries for their environment it's not legitimate.

(FCCQ, June 14th 2013)

le gouvernement a imposé un BAPE	il a laissé un règlement municipal avoir préséance sur les lois gouvernementales
il a imposé un moratoire	

The previous analysis of various documents from the political and business communities show that they both embrace a certain perspective on the extractive industry and the environment. Many questions emerge from this study regarding the definition that is subjectively attributed to the environment depending on the use it can be put to. Why certain landscapes are allowed to be worthy of protection and deemed “environmental heritage”? I think this speaks to the thesis of this paper, that there still exist ambivalence towards the land and nature, as both (cultural and industrial) meanings are necessary to construct the Québécois identity. From the perspective of power relations, I find it telling to note the existence of imbalances prior to even considering a social discussion on oil exploitation on Anticosti Island. The minister of environment from the government at the time was constantly saying that a “consultation” – without specifying the model of said consultation – would occur after confirmation that there is potential to benefit from oil extraction on Anticosti, which entails going forward with exploration. This means that if there is to be a significant amount of oil on Anticosti, how does a government refuse a company to extract in order to have their investment pay off even if that extraction makes no sense environmentally, socially and economically? Who gets the benefits?

As I said before, I think that the elites still use the argument of the nation to justify and legitimize exploitation of natural resources. However, I think it's less and less prominent and the sort of blatant conquering and colonizing discourse that was used in the 60s and the 70s with James Bay wouldn't be accepted anymore. On one hand I think Québec society has a greater awareness of Indigenous people's desire for legitimate recognition, at least to acknowledge their presence. On the other hand, the vocabulary around development has had to change in the recent years due to the reality of climate change and the increasing pressure from a variety of groups to stop overexploiting, overconsuming and polluting. I think that the paradigm with which Québec approaches the land and nature is still present but has been softened and now other variables, such as sustainable development, are taken into account.

Chapter 4: Reforming the Resource Development Scheme

After exploring the particular historical and social context of Québec society, this chapter will examine already existing suggestions intended to improve the political process that structures debates and decides whether or not to go ahead with a development project. These suggestions focus on making better avenues for dissent to be heard and – it is hoped – taken into account. First, the conversations on how to improve the democratic process of decision taking often revolve around a re-conceptualization of the notion of citizenship. Professor Michael F. Maniates explains that nowadays, the mainstream idea about citizenship and what it involves in terms of participation in society is equated with consumers' power. Maniates describes this situation as the individualization of responsibility. His focus is on the U.S.A but really this behavior has been encouraged by a capitalist paradigm where it's dominant. The effect of the individualization of responsibility is that it prevents citizens from considering organized cooperation and collaboration as a means to affect decision makers. "It embraces the notion that knotty issues of consumption, consumerism, power and responsibility can be resolved neatly and clearly through enlightened, uncoordinated consumer choice" (Maniates, 2001: 33). To consider and encourage consumers to be the central power driving climate change mitigation or environmental injustices in general annihilates the crucial value of people's participation and protects an inappropriate structure. As mentioned previously in this paper, the dynamic of crisis displacement used by governments is intrinsic to capitalism. "In capitalism, there is a complete separation of private appropriation from public duties; and this means the development of a new sphere of power devoted completely to private rather than social purposes" (Wood, 1995: 31).

What Maniates touches to, is how citizenship not defined through a capitalist framework can be a tool to fight environmental injustices in different instances, in the face of the

extractive industry for example. Other authors recognize the issues Maniates raises and go further than discussing the fact that individuals have responsibilities among the collectivity for their own sake. These notions of citizenship, that broadly falls under “ecological citizenship”, requires that we think in terms of responsibilities towards one another including the Earth, as the environment is part of this web of relationships and it’s not accounted for in the actual notion of “citizen”. The same thing goes for future generations. This results in a more inclusive definition of democracy and citizenship, which aims to extend the concept of responsibility to all actors. Also, there’s a re-shaping of responsibility so it incorporates care and is not only perceived as a chore. “[G]reen democracy goes further than existing conceptions of social citizenship in seeking to include human ‘non-citizens’ (non-citizen residents, of a territory, residents of other territories, future generations) in decision making, recognizing the supranational nature of environmental concerns and questions of global justice” (Adkin, 2009: 1).

The concept of ecological citizenship repeatedly comes with the idea that deliberative democracy is the key to favor its practice. Deliberative democracy, as thought by Habermas, says that to find the ideal solution we just need a space that enables all rational discourses to occur between all interests and without any power structure. I think it’s fair to question the weight given to deliberative democracy, especially if it’s idealized among green citizenship theorists because, for one, consensus will not necessarily emerge within the counter-hegemonic segment of the population. Also, how realistic is it to think possible such a space where power relations are inexistent and all the concerned interests are present? What if the virtue should be decided by the people (giving more power to more marginalized groups) and for the state to promote? I’m aware that not every thinker poses that deliberative democracy is the best avenue but I deem important to mention it because it brings to light issues of power. Even if we were able to agree

on a virtue to cherish as a society, say responsibility, not everyone or every group of people have the same capacity or need to fulfill the same responsibilities because of various systems of oppression.

The interesting aspect of inspecting citizenship is about re-thinking modes of being in and contributing to a society. I'm mindful of the issues surrounding "citizenship" in regards of its legal exclusivity and the difficulties and pressures put on groups of people denied citizenship in a country. Thus, the previous discussion ponders over defining the theoretical responsibilities one should have when being part of a society. Also, I think the ideas just brought up try to address a particular way that one takes part in the group, which is not accessible to everyone. Indeed, the previous critiques speak to more privileged individuals who can afford to question the impacts of their actions.

The next part of this chapter presents a few programs that exist to favor a more equitable process when First Nations people try to assert their rights on their ancestral territories against industries and/or settler governments. I find important to inspect the ways in which society's political and economical elites think that they're helping reduce uneven relations of power; it helps assessing both the positive aspects and the shortcomings of the steps being taken towards a more just practice in terms of natural resources development. The first program I want to mention is the Impact and Benefit Agreements (IBAs), which are "negotiated, private agreements [that] serve to document in a contractual form the benefits that a local community can expect from the development of a local resource in exchange for its support and cooperation" (Bradshaw & Fidler). These agreements take the form of a contract between the Indigenous communities whose lands are concerned and the companies authorized to undertake development

projects on the land. The state isn't involved in these agreements. "Within such alternative forms of influence exists an opportunity to address issues of historical colonialism, the language and cultural values people are forced to work under, and dominant economic institutions (Bone, 2009; Newhouse, 2000)" (Caine & Krogman, 2010: 77). However, does the participation of Indigenous peoples in negotiating IBAs necessarily mean equal distribution of benefits? Also, is consent sought or are IBAs only a discussion about how Indigenous people can avoid to be ripped off from a resource exploration project that has already started? IBAs oblige Aboriginal groups to naturalize capitalist behavior as the industry has the power to leave out of the conversation questions such as traditional knowledge, connections to the land, etc.

Another tool that could help modify the uneven distribution of power in development projects is promoted and requested by Indigenous rights movements, hence it has the potential to really make a difference if implanted; it is called Free Prior and Informed Consent (FPIC). Usually the different actors (broadly government, Extractive Industry (EI), "civil society") agree with the importance of engaging in direct engagement regimes, which are not limited to FPIC. However, they have very different motivations. The state has interests in avoiding social pressure hence delegating to EIs the responsibility of engaging communities. EIs have interests in avoiding or minimizing social discontent and using direct engagement can legitimize extractive projects even if there is a big opposition, just by holding consultations and witnessing participation. "For the transnational indigenous movement, FPIC forms part of an attempt to redefine notions of national sovereignty, citizenship, and the nation-state in order to make room for the meaningful recognition of indigenous political institutions, indigenous sovereignty, and indigenous citizenship" (Szablowski, 2010: 114). This type of collaborative work seems to emulate a Nation to Nation framework. Opinions vary but FPIC is not necessarily limited to

indigenous peoples, it seeks to protect non-indigenous marginalized groups as well (peasants, rural and urban poor, etc). Maybe requiring consent is the only way to actually even out power relations between the state and EIs on one hand and the grass roots actors on the other hand. However, even when consent is sought or required, how do we ensure that Indigenous peoples actually have power and authority if it's the EIs or other multinational corporations that have the responsibility to obtain that consent? How do we make sure that the communities are not forced into giving their consent? When they're promised health, social and other benefits how are they supposed to say no? Are they given the opportunity to say no?

I think that a potential answer to these questions lay with the influence, us researchers, can have on how power is allocated between the community and the industry. In his article, Kirsch focuses on anthropologists and their responsibilities when they decide to inquire on issues of extraction. The author says that anthropologists should help liaise information between communities, the industries and the governments as well as provide information, help and resources to "better" convey the – mainly indigenous – communities' points. For a community to not enter a negotiation process on the terms of the more powerful it has to have access to crucial information and this is where the anthropologists/ scholars come in, argues the author. Kirsch says that scholars' attempt to neutrality favors one side, the more powerful one. The author "argue[s] that neutrality may not be possible in disputes between transnational corporations and indigenous communities because of structural inequalities that make it easier for corporations to take advantage of anthropological expertise and silence opposing voices" (Kirsch, 2002: 175). I find it very problematic that because different knowledge is not equally appreciated in a neoliberal, capitalist context, people have to adjust to the dominant framework.

I believe that looking at these existing or suggested initiatives, which are intended to render more equal the decisional processes that lead to development projects, helps highlight the work that has been done on one hand and think about how it can be improved on the other hand. To link these structural and institutional issues back with my thesis, I think a very real brake to the possibility of requiring consent in the case of Québec is its founding narrative that rests on the victimhood of the French-Canadians. In a weird way, Québec society is having its history of oppression cohabits with the existence of First Nations on its territory. It's as though both peoples have been occupying the territory for so long that the Québécois' claim to the territory is as valid as the First Nations'. Québec seems ready to discuss limited sharing schemes as long as it doesn't impede on its territorial integrity.

Conclusion

To conclude my major paper I want to remind the reader of my goal. That is, to show that Québec society has had to compose with a constant tension between the cultural role that the land and territory played and keep playing in shaping the Québécois identity and their industrial role in modernizing the nation. Therefore, the integration of identity-making and modernity-facilitating as purposes of the land offer a powerful ideology for subjectivity in contemporary Québec. I contend that this is particularly true in the context that this ambivalence is help maintained by the deliberate erasure and/or negation of the colonial history (thus present) of “Québécois’ land” through the sustainment of a victimizing founding national narrative. After spending some time analyzing the historical event that is the hydro-electric complex in James Bay, I think that I showed how this paradigm was accurate at the time. Following a more detailed inquiry into the discursive environment around the exploration projects on Anticosti Island, I would argue that the project (this one in particular and other potential oil exploitation projects) can’t be (and isn’t) presented with the same manifest nationalistic tone as before. There are mentions of Québec’s right, as a nation, to use its natural resources. However the reference is less about the making of an identity than to the natural need of a country to ensure its economic development. It gives me the impression that the ambivalence towards the land as a maker of cultural identity and as a facilitator of development that I mention in my argument becomes less and less reconcilable. It seems like it shifted into a dichotomous perspective where land can’t produce both meanings simultaneously. Where before water imagined as electricity was integrated into the Québécois’ nature, I don’t think oil can fulfill this task, particularly that, contrarily to hydro-electricity, it can’t pass for “green and renewable” energy. Arguments against exploiting oil on Anticosti focus on the false economic benefits that exploitation is said to bring

to society as well as the island's intrinsic value as part of Québec's natural heritage, like this quote from an anti-oil manifest shows: "l'île considérée comme un patrimoine naturel au Québec" (Cornelissen et al. 2014). This manifest signed by a diversity of Indigenous rights activists, environmentalists, scientists, etc speaks of natural resources in a different light than as an object of domination. It makes me say that there is an evolution on how the environment is perceived even though it's within circles that are commonly deemed more progressive (e.g. environmentalists).

What I found harder with the task that I've given myself, and that perhaps I should have expected, is to find an analysis of exploration on Anticosti Island based on its geographical and historical presence in First Nations people's universe and territory. When speaking about Indigenous rights in relation to potential exploitation, the focus is on reminding the importance of consulting in a Nation to Nation relation. There's no focus specifically on Anticosti. There has been a recent call for a moratorium on oil and gas development by the chiefs representing the Innu, Maliseet and Mi'gmaq Nations. Their request is to protect the Gulf of St. Lawrence at large: "All of us, Innu, Maliseet and Mi'gmaq, depend on the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence for our livelihoods said Chief Jean-Charles Piétacho of the Innu community of Ekuanitshit in Québec" and "our intention is to show that together, we own and occupy the Gulf said Chief Claude Jeannotte of the Mi'gmaq community of Gespeg in Québec" (CNW Telbec, July 16 2014). I wonder if it's a calculated strategy to not speak of Anticosti in particular. The fact that there are no permanent reserves on the island as well as the significant symbolic and practical value of water can explain that the focus of the Chiefs is on the Gulf in general (although it's not clear if the required moratorium should apply to Anticosti). Just like James Bay was a huge scale

project, maybe I shouldn't have focused on Anticosti as an isolate project but consider the larger picture of oil exploitation in Québec.

I think that it's still very early to make conclusions specific to how governments and First Nations people will act regarding Anticosti (and oil exploitation in general) considering that the exploration phase only started. Also I think that we can't underestimate the power relation Innus have to compose with if they want to sign an agreement that would recognize their land claim. Even though it's a very hot topic I believe that I have shown the existence of a paradigm in development projects in Québec that includes the particular identitary aspirations of its settler colonial subjects.

I think that this paper has highlighted the necessity of defining alternative ways to approach the development of "natural resources" and to think ourselves in relation to the land. To conclude this paper, I deem it important to further discuss more radical ideas that can be situated outside the system. Even though this paper pays close attention to the exploration projects on Anticosti Island, the problems highlighted are recurring in development in general when understood through the dominant lens. In this paper I've alluded to the western capitalist worldview's dysfunctions which is why I want to bring up how activists and authors think outside the box.

What is just and what is not remains, I think, one of the most important and complex questions of our time. I believe that Foucault's biopolitics theory (Foucault, 2003) offers insightful explanations of the relations between marginalized communities and privileged groups. In a world where games of power result in exploitation of a part of the population in

order for another part to consume, our own personal lives are more and more involved in these relations of power. Whether this happens consciously or not, I think we are responsible for participating in changing the system.

“All of us who benefit in whatever way from unequal global relations (tropical holidays; garments, shoes, carpets, manufactured in sweatshop conditions; use of raw materials, especially wood and minerals, exacted at a price usually unknown to Western customers; the consumption of ever cheaper coffee, tea and sugar, etc) must take responsibility for the effects of our actions and the need for effective change”
(Goudge, 2003: 43).

Once we accept the idea of responsibility, I think a crucial question to tackle is, is the nation-state a viable environmental actor? Indeed, environmental problems are not limited to the states and the conversation happening in the political realm is far from equating the complexity of the problem. Adkin says that “[t]he main tasks of the counter-hegemonic forces are to call into question the legitimacy and naturalness of the ruling order and to replace these with a vision and a program of their own” (2009: 13). In this sense, there have been many examples recently of groups of people saying that we need to change the conversation (Zapatistas, Arab Spring, Occupy, Idle No More) and as Smith points out too,

“our [Natives’] understanding that it was possible to order society without structures of oppression in the past tells us that our current political and economic system is anything but natural. [...] Once land is not seen as property, then nationhood does not have to be based on exclusive control over territory. If sovereignty is more about being responsible for land, then nationhood can engage all those who fulfill responsibilities for land.” (2010: 50 and 62)

In the context of Québec, I think that the settlers who, to this day, perpetuate the stealing of ancestral lands by appropriating it as their own are responsible to ensure the state's recognition of this territory's first habitants' rights.

These radical ideas about the nation-state and responsibility make it hard to imagine factually what the next step is but I believe that asking these difficult questions and re-considering our accepted visions of the world are definitely part of the solution. It's important to recognize and acknowledge the diverse ways in which power exists and acts if we want to challenge it. It's hard to envision that we'll start doing development differently until this isn't an accepted occurrence. In this sense, I want to bring perspectives from Indigenous leaders to shed light on what it could mean for Québec to re-think its relation to the territory and the land that is so deeply linked with the Québécois subjectivity. In 1996, then Grand Chief of the Grand Council of the Crees and Chairman of the Cree Regional Authority, Mathew Coon Come spoke about the 1995 Québécois referendum that almost passed. While asserting that he has nothing against the Québécois'es' desire for recognition, and can even identify with it, he calls out the double standard of the province. While asking for self-determination, the government of Québec refuses it for First Nations in Québec. "The present government of the Canadian Province of Quebec is seeking, on grounds of French ethnic nationalism, to secede from Canada. And this secessionist government in Quebec states that when it secedes, it can forcibly include my people and our traditional lands, into a sovereign Quebec" (Coon Come, 1996). I note the same critique of double standard from Ghislain Picard, chief of the Assembly of First Nations of Quebec and Labrador, in 2014 in relation to the possible election of a sovereigntist government. He said: "[I]et us be even more clear: Quebec can decide what it wants in terms of its culture, its identity

and its development, but it cannot claim sovereignty over a territory which is still, fundamentally, First Nation” (Shingler, 2014). The fundamental question, say both these leaders, is that Québec has to recognize the First inhabitants of this land as such and treat them as equal, just like any other self-determining state. Taiaiake Alfred, Kahnawake Mohawk author and educator, concurs:

“Aussi le premier pas sur la voie de la réconciliation entre nos peuples doit-il consister en la redéfinition, par le peuple québécois, de ses objectifs politiques concernant les peuples et les territoires autochtones. Par cette idée de redéfinition, je ne me réfère pas à l'idée que le Québec doive abandonner son existence nationale ou renoncer à l'identité distincte qui forme la base de votre communauté politique. Je parle seulement d'abandonner la part du projet politique qui implique la perpétration d'injustices envers d'autres peuples, c'est-à-dire l'impératif d'étendre la souveraineté réclamée aux nations autochtones, lesquelles ont toujours eu une existence politique indépendante et n'ont jamais consenti à faire partie de votre communauté politique. Cet impératif de la souveraineté, qui demeure non pensé mais qui est établi au plan intellectuel, cause tous les conflits entre nos peuples ; c'est la grande faille de l'idéologie québécoise nationaliste” (Alfred, 2000).

Their focus is not on denying the people of Québec their particular identity. However, the acceptance of the premise according to which Québécois can't do whatever they please with a territory that isn't theirs, definitely interrupt the victimhood narrative the Québécois subjectivity has been based on.

I want to finish with a suggestion from Desbiens and Irit who say that each generation of a society renews the grammar of its identity and its territoriality “renouvelant la grammaire de

son identité et de sa territorialité” (2012: 43). The authors were referring to the evolution of First Nations’ ways of life throughout time, sometimes being accused of lacking authenticity because they live in a “modern” way. What if the Québec community consciously did the same? I think that once Québec society discusses critically its victimhood maintained by the Conquest narrative and recognizes its settler colonial capacity, it will have all the tools to redefine, in collaboration with First Nations, its relation to nature. By interrupting the tension and correcting the premise, I believe that we can challenge the still prevalent paradigm in Québec that use cultural ties to the land and nationalism to put forth industrial development as the main purpose of the territory.

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