Université de Montréal

# Language, Religion, and Difference:

# North African and Turkish Jewish Immigrants in Canada

*par*

Övgü Ülgen

Département de sociologie, Faculté des Arts et des Sciences

Thèse présentée en vue de l'obtention du grade de Philosophiae Doctor (Ph.D) en sociologie

Février 2023

© Övgü Ülgen, 2023

Université de Montréal
Département de sociologie, Faculté des arts et des sciences

**Language, Religion, and Difference:**

**North African and Turkish Jewish Immigrants in Canada**

*Présenté par*

**Övgü Ülgen**

*A été évaluée par un jury composé des personnes suivantes*

**Sara Teitelbaum**

Présidente-rapporteuse

**Fahimeh Darchinian**

Directrice de recherche

**Deidre Meintel**

Membre du jury

**Anna Triandafyllidou**

Examinatrice externe

Abstract

This dissertation seeks to understand immigrant belonging at the intersection of language and religion. It explores how the lived experiences of North African and Turkish Jewish immigrants differ from one another and what that says about interculturalism and multiculturalism in Canada. It examines how societal particularities of Montréal and Toronto embed in the processes of negotiating the difference and create a complex relation between language and religion. It further looks at how relations between participants and the majority groups and inter and intra Jewish relations form and transform in these processes. The stories I relate in this thesis highlight the centrality of language and religion in shaping group identity, and the multifaceted patterns of inclusion and exclusion experienced by the interview participants.I show how the Jewish identity of the participants is heavily attached to language, rather than just religion. This makes it possible to make sense of the continuing salience of religion in the "post-secular" age, specifically, how *cultural religion* emerged as an important determinant of immigrant boundary making in the communities I interviewed.

The empirical data for this study was gathered over a total of nine months between May 2020 and February 2021. Using life-story interview data, my analysis of the complex relationship between language and religion relies on interviewees' relations with the majority culture, inter and intra Jewish relations. In Québec, I describe in detail how first-generation francophone North African Jews were caught between Franco-Québécois and their coreligionists, anglophone and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, which in turn led to their community being recognized in the province. There are important generational differences in the perspectives that were shared with me. In contrast to younger participants, I discuss how first-generation North African Jews developed an intercultural sense of belonging through language in Québec. In Toronto, interviewees' relations with the majority culture and intra and inter-ethnic relations amongst them are explored through a critique of multiculturalism as a way to grasp the larger, structural picture of Canadian pluralism. Since intercommunal relations do not map onto one another, I show how hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jews do not feel the need to navigate their difference between the majority and English or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, which in turn result in the recognition gap of the community in Toronto.

**Keywords:** Belonging, Ethnic Studies, Quebec Studies, Canadian Studies, Sociology of Religion, Interculturalism, Multiculturalism

Résumé

Cette thèse cherche à comprendre l'appartenance des immigrant.e.s à l'intersection de la langue et de la religion. Elle explore comment les vécus des juif.ves de l'Afrique du Nord et de la Turquie diffèrent les uns des autres et ce que cela dit sur l'interculturalisme et le multiculturalisme au Canada. Elle examine comment les particularités sociétales de Montréal et de Toronto s'intègrent dans les processus de négociation de la différence et créent une relation complexe entre la langue et la religion. En outre, cette thèse cherche à comprendre comment les relations entre les participant.e.s et les groupes majoritaires et les relations inter et intra-juives se forment et se transforment au fil des négociations. L'analyse des récits de vie mettent en évidence le rôle central de la langue et de la religion dans la formation de l'identité du groupe, ainsi que dans la construction de multiples modèles de facettes d'inclusion et d'exclusion vécus par les participant.e.s. Je démontre comment l'identité juive des participant.e.s est fortement attachée à la langue, plutôt que seulement à la religion. Cela permet de donner un sens à l'importance continue de la religion à l'ère « post-laïque », en particulier à la manière dont la *religion culturelle* est apparue comme un déterminant important de la formation de frontières des immigrant.e.s chez les communautés que j'ai interrogées.

Les données empiriques de cette étude ont été recueillies sur une période totale de neuf mois entre mai 2020 et février 2021. À partir des données basées sur des entrevues de récits de vie, mon analyse de la relation complexe entre langue et religion s'appuie sur les relations des participant.e.s avec la culture majoritaire, et les relations inter et intra-juives. Au Québec, je décris en détail comment les juif.ves de l'Afrique du Nord francophones de première génération ont été pris entre les Franco-Québécois et leurs coreligionnaires, les Ashkénazes anglophones et yiddishophones, ce qui a conduit à la reconnaissance de leur communauté dans la province. Il existe des différences générationnelles importantes dans les perspectives des participant.e.s qui m'ont été communiquées. Contrairement aux participant.e.s plus jeunes, je discute comment les juif.ves de l'Afrique du Nord de première génération ont développé un sentiment d'appartenance interculturelle à travers la langue au Québec. À Toronto, les relations des participant.e.s avec la culture majoritaire et les relations intra et interethniques entre elles sont explorées à travers une critique du multiculturalisme comme un moyen de saisir un portrait plus large et structurel du pluralisme canadien. Étant donné que les relations intercommunautaires ne correspondent pas les unes aux autres, je montre comment les juif.ves hispanophones marocain.e.s et turc.que.s ne ressentent pas le besoin de naviguer leur différence entre la majorité et les Ashkénazes anglophones ou yiddishophones, ce qui entraîne à son tour la lacune de reconnaissance de la communauté à Toronto.

**Mots clés :** l'appartenance, études ethniques, études québécoises, études canadiennes, sociologie de la religion, l'interculturalisme, multiculturalisme

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

**Abstract** ... iii
**Résumé** ... iv
**Table of Contents** ... v
**List of Figures and Tables** ... viii
**Abbreviations** ... ix
**Acknowledgements** ... xi

**1 INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE, RELIGION, JEWISH IDENTITY, AND BELONGING IN CANADA** ... 1
1.1. Language, Religion, and Jewish Identity in Canada: A Historical Overview ... 3
*Ontario: Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants* ... 5
*Québec: Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants and Third Solitude* ... 8
1.2. Sephardic Jews in Canada ... 11
1.3. Belonging or Un-Belonging & Comparing Ontario with Québec ... 21
1.4. Conclusion ... 26
1.5. Overview of the Dissertation ... 27

**2 METHODOLOGY** ... 31
2.1. Life-Story Interviewing ... 32
2.2. Recruitment of the Participants ... 34
2.3. Corpus and Interview Process ... 36
2.4. A Note on my Positionality ... 47
2.5. Politics and Logics of Data Analysis ... 52
*Pre-coding stage* ... 52
*Coding stage* ... 53
*Development of themes* ... 54
*Comparing and crossing the themes* ... 54
2.6. Conclusion ... 54

**3 LANGUAGE AND RELIGION: CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO BELONGING** ... 56
*Belonging and boundary making* ... 57

3.1. Conceptualizing religion: “Cultural Religion” as an umbrella concept and specificities of Québec ........ 59
*Christendom* ........ 63
*Exculturation* ........ 63
*Catho-secularism (Catho-laïcité)* ........ 64
*Vicarious Religion* ........ 65
3.2. Language ........ 66
*Ethnic boundary blurring* ........ 68
*Ethnic boundary crossing* ........ 69
*Ethnic boundary shifting* ........ 71
*Linguicism* ........ 71
*Recognition Gap* ........ 73
3.3. Conclusion ........ 75

**4 THE QUIET REVOLUTION AND AFTERWARD: CULTURAL DIVERSITY, INTERCULTURALISM, AND MULTICULTURALISM AS POLITICS OF CANADIAN PLURALISM ........ 77**
4.1. Quiet Revolution in Québec (1959-1970) ........ 79
4.2. Québécois Nationalism of the Post-Quiet Revolution Period in Québec ........ 83
4.3. Cultural Diversity, Language and Religion after the Quiet Revolution in Canada ........ 85
*The Reasonable Accommodation (l’Accommodement raisonnable)* ........ 91
*The Charter of Québec Values (Charte des valeurs québécoises)* ........ 94
*A Debate on Religion in Ontario: The Sharia Law* ........ 97
4.4. Multiculturalism and Interculturalism ........ 98
*Multiculturalism* ........ 100
*Interculturalism* ........ 102
4.5. Conclusion ........ 106

**5 JEWISH MEMORY, NATIONALISM AND MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONS IN MOROCCO AND TURKEY IN THE 1950s AND 1970s ........ 108**
5.1. Historical Background ........ 110
*Morocco* ........ 110
*Turkey* ........ 114
5.2. “It’s Time to Leave and Get out of the Woods”: Moroccan Jews, Arab Nationalism, Decolonization, Zionism, and Education ........ 118

5.3. *Kayades*: Turkish Jews, Nationalism, and Forces of Change .......... 126
5.4. An Overview of the Two Cases .......... 130
5.5. Conclusion .......... 132

**6 LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND NORTH AFRICAN JEWISH IDENTIFICATION IN QUÉBEC: A COMPLEX RELATION .......... 133**

6.1. Linguistic Commonality, Religious Difference: First-generation North African Jews in Québec .......... 136
6.2. North African Jews, Ashkenazi Jews, and Franco-Québécois: An Ambivalent Relation .......... 151
6.3. Did Religious Identification Triumph over Linguistic Identification?: Generations and Difference .......... 158
6.4. Conclusion .......... 167

**7 RECOGNITION GAP: MULTICULTURALISM, HISPANOPHONE JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AND DIFFERENCE IN TORONTO .......... 169**

7.1. Linguistic Difference and Ethnic Boundary Crossing: Hispanophone Moroccan Jews in Toronto .......... 172
7.2. Ethnoreligious Difference and Hispanophone Moroccan Jews in Toronto .......... 180
7.3. "Recognition Gap" and Difference: Moroccan and Turkish Jews in Toronto .......... 187
7.4. Inter Jewish Relations: North African and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation vis-à-vis Ashkenazim in Canada .......... 197
*Historicizing the Encounter* .......... 198
*Canadian Moroccan and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation vis-à-vis Ashkenazim in Toronto* .......... 202
7.5. Conclusion .......... 208

**8 CONCLUSION .......... 210**
**BIBLIOGRPHY .......... 216**
**APPENDIX: Methodology .......... 237**

## LISTE OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of Sephardic Jewish settlements in northern and southern Morocco .................... 15

Figure 2: Map of Sephardic Jewish settlements in the Ottoman Empire ..................................... 16

Figure 3: Map of Official Languages in Canada ........................................................................... 88

Figure 4: Québec Charter of Values allowing and banning religious symbols and accessories poster ........................................................................................................................................ 96

Figure 5: On Bill 21 by Fernanda Muciño ..................................................................................... 96

Figure 6: North African Jewish identification in Québec .......................................................... 155

Figure 7: Moroccan and Turkish Jewish identification in Toronto ............................................ 191

## LISTE OF TABLES

Table 1: Figures according to the places of birth of the Sephardic community members in Québec ....................................................................................................................................... 18

Table 2: Countries of origin, birth years, places of birth and gender of the participants .............. 40

Table 3: Years of immigration, places of settlement, linguistic and generational characteristics of the participants ........................................................................................................................ 42

Table 4: North African Jewish Identity Formation in Québec .................................................. 136

Table 5: North African and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation in Montréal and Toronto **Erreur ! Signet non défini.**72

## ABBREVIATIONS

(A.I.U.) Alliance Israelite Universelle

(ASF) Association sépharade francophone

(BOUN) Boğaziçi University

(CAQ) The Coalition Avenir Quebec

(CDP) Commission des droits de la personne (Human Rights Commission)

(CCCI) Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration (Council for Cultural Communities and Immigration)

(CÉCM) La Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal (Montreal Catholic School Commission)

(DP) Democrat Party

(FLP) Front de libération Populaire

(FLQ) Front de libération du Québec

(IICJ) Islamic Institute of Civil Justice

(NATO) North Atlantic Treaty Organization

(PLQ) Parti libéral du Québec

(PQ) Parti Québécois

(RIN) Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale

(WASP) White Anglo-Saxon Protestant

*Kommt der Krieg ins Land, Dann gibt's Lügen wie Sand*[1]

*An old German proverb*

[1] "When war enters the land, then there are lies like sand." First seen in the book *Réflexions d'un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre* by Marc Bloch (1999, 20).

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I conducted this thesis and wrote it all by myself, but it is the fruit of a collective and collaborative work. For that reason, I would like to thank first to my family for their support and care throughout the journey. My parents, who tried their best to help me get a good education from the day I was born, kept an eye on my concerns, wellbeing, and challenges I faced while conducting and writing this dissertation. Their wisdom guiding me to be a decent and grounded person is a testament to my ability to finish it. When I say family, I refer to my mother, father, brother, aunts, uncles, and cousins whose immense support and encouragement historically brought me where I am now. While I was still living in Turkey, they were always with me, thinking of me, supporting me emotionally, and proud of me. Their motivating and supporting words in my endeavors and warmness made me who I am as an individual. So, I am, like this thesis, product of a collective work. In fact, they were away from me throughout my studies in Canada and it was so reassuring to know that they had faith in me no matter what happened along the way. They were not quite aware of what I was studying exactly but they understood why I was doing it as they knew that I wanted to stay in academia.

I would like to extend my thanks to my professors in Turkey and France whose guidance also shaped me who I am now. Much gratitude to Sibel Kalaycıoğlu and Çağatay Topal for their teachings and humility in the department of Sociology at the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. Their motivation letters for my MA scholarship application in turn allowed me to study at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris, France. Without these letters and positive decision of the funding committee, I couldn't be where I am now. Thanks to my supervisor Hamit

Bozarslan at the École des hautes études en sciences sociales for his modesty and generosity helping me realize my MA project. It was also thanks to his letter that I was able to pursue my studies in Paris. Without his wisdom, intellectual elegance, and investment in me, I couldn't be where I am now.

Before coming to Canada, I was a doctoral student in the Ataturk Institute for Modern History at the Boğaziçi University in Istanbul. I am thankful to Şevket Pamuk, the then director of the institute, Cengiz Kırlı, and Seda Altuğ for their direction, kind words and support along the way. I had to say goodbye to this wonderful institute, my professors, and my colleagues in it, but I always felt the quality of education I had there which allowed me to gain a better insight on the late Ottoman period and modern Turkish history broadly. Indeed, it was thanks to the readings recommended by stellar professors in this institute that I began to develop an interest in the group I studied in this dissertation. I am grateful to them because understanding modern Turkish history and present day Turkey by zooming in the late Ottoman period was such an eloquent and illuminating experience.

I came to Montréal to complete my studies that I left in Istanbul. It was a difficult and risky decision to take because I had to start a new life, restart my Ph.D. in a new place, and absorb a new literature that was not familiar to me at first. For that reason, I would like to thank our head of the department, Marianne Kempeneers, for making me feel at home at the Université de Montréal. It is also thanks to her help that I found my place in the IRTG Diversity program permitting me to have financial means to realize and finalize my dissertation, meet other professors at the university and communicate with some others internationally. I owe many thanks to Fahimeh Darchinian, my mentor, colleague and friend, whose wisdom, kindness, maturity, and humanity created such a relief in times of crisis and uncertainty. Thank you for being available when times were getting tough, especially during the COVID-19 pandemic. Much gratitude to Charles Blattberg, my mentor

from the IRTG program and from the department of Political Science at the Université de Montréal, for meticulously reading and commenting on the earlier versions of my chapters. I was lucky to meet Laurence McFalls, the head of the IRTG program in the department of Political Science at the Université de Montréal, who, together with my mentors, was generous with his time to offer critical comments on the earlier versions of some of my chapters. Thank you, Laurence, for the friendly attitude, motivating words, and management of crisis skills in the program which offered a safe place to breath in and continue my research.

Many thanks to Kumru Toktamış for believing in me, listening to me patiently and carefully, and helping me when in trouble. Without your guidance, supportive words, kindness, and never-ending motivation throughout the journey, this dissertation could not have been written. I am very much grateful to you for connecting me to Dalia Kandiyoti. It was thanks to Dalia that I found some Turkish Jews living in Toronto, interview them, and despite their small numbers, included their narratives in my thesis. Thank you so much, Dalia, for your precious help and kindness! The title of this dissertation came into existence thanks to your support. None of this dissertation would have been written without the support of two important people, Jean-Claude Lasry and Arielle Sebah Lasry. They helped me find most of my North African Jewish participants living in Montréal and without their kindness, generosity, and modesty, none of this dissertation would have come to life. Thank you, Judith R. Cohen, for showing interest in my project from the beginning and, like Dalia, Jean-Claude, and Arielle, introducing me some people from the community living both in Montréal and Toronto. You are, as one of my interviewees said, a fountain of knowledge! Thank you for your help, wisdom, kindness, and warmness along the way. Finally, it was Messod Salama who put me in contact with some other interviewees living in Toronto whom I owe many thanks for this invaluable help.

I would like to extend my sincerest thanks to Morton Weinfeld and David Koffman. Thank you so much Morton for your generous welcome and friendly conversation around coffee and chocolate at McGill university in the first year of my Ph.D. at the Université de Montréal. It was wonderful to have a conversation on my project with you and chatting about issues relating to Canadian diversity. Thanks so much for listening! Thank you, David, for blending your kindness, intellect, and modesty in such an elegant way. I was also lucky enough to take the summer course of Ladino Language and Culture at the University of Washington instructed by David Bunis with an award during the first year of pandemic. No words can describe how excellent and elegant David Bunis' teaching was. Thank you for your motivating words, humility, and kindness.

Apart from my mentors, there were also some scholars who read drafts of my work, my chapter 5 specifically, within the scope of some workshops and panels I attended in international conferences. I would like to thank İpek Türeli, Yeşim Bayar, and Aslıhan Gürbüzel for their insightful comments on my draft paper in a virtual workshop at McGill University. Their encouraging words and support on my thesis writing stage created such a relief when times were getting tough again with the appearance of omicron, another variant of COVID-19. I also would like to thank Kristin Fabbe and Brahim El Guabli whom I had a chance to meet in conferences successively organized by Association for the Study of Nationalities and Middle East Studies Association. I am very much grateful to Kristin and Brahim for their critical and eye-opening comments and engagement in the earlier version of my chapter. Last but not least, I am thankful to my MA advisor, Hamit Bozarslan, for kindly reading and commenting on this same chapter.

It was nice to have my colleague and friend Gözde Böcü throughout the journey. I think we both agree with the fact that the roundtable I co-organized with her at the conference of the Canadian Sociological Association was such a success! My acknowledgments section would not be complete without expressing my gratitude to Vardit Lightstone, Susana Ponte Rivera, Michael

L. Trujillo, Eric George, Marie-Odile Magnan, Jeremy Elmerich, Alain G.-Gagnon, Sırma Bilge, Daniel Cetrà, Serkan E. Yarali, Zeynep Yokmaç, Deniz Başar, and Krystal Tennessee for their motivating words and kind wishes.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the funding I was awarded by the IRTG (2019-2022) and Fonds de recherche Société et culture (2020-2021) which covered the cost of tuition and my accommodation in Montréal as an international student. I also wish to thank the following funding units: Université de Montréal (Financial Support Scholarship 2022; Ongoing Study Fellowship 2019; Admission Grant 2017).

There is still a long list of people that this space here does not allow me to enumerate. This has been an unforgettable and unique journey! Thank you once again everyone for being part of it.

**Chapter 1**

# INTRODUCTION: LANGUAGE, RELIGION, JEWISH IDENTITY, AND BELONGING IN CANADA

This is a study of the North African and Turkish Jewish communities in Canada. I became interested in the experiences of North African and Turkish Jewish immigrants, more commonly known as Sephardic Jews, because I was intrigued by a puzzle: How are language and religion constitutive of identity, and how do the lived experiences of these communities differ in Montréal and Toronto? The North African and Turkish Jewish communities provide an interesting test case through which to understand Canadian pluralism because their lived experiences showcase the complexities, recognition, and recognition gaps in Canada that manifest at the intersection of religion and language. In contrast to hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jewish participants in Toronto, North African Jews living in Québec find themselves in a unique position in Canada, and in North America at large. Hence, to understand their belonging at the intersection of language and religion, it is crucial to look at the specificities of their unique experience during and after the Quiet Revolution in Québec.

In order to understand the place of North African and Turkish Jews in Canadian society and their particular sense of belonging, it was first important to explore their historically divergent experiences in Morocco and Turkey, as well as their relationships with other groups in Canada. I believe that this inquiry is important because it reckons with an issue of ethnocultural diversity arising from the interplay of language and religion and the recognition of minorities. I thus make a contribution to Québec/ Canadian studies, ethnic studies, sociology of religion, and political

sociology about the Québécois interculturalism and Canadian multiculturalism debates. Interculturalism and multiculturalism, two models of politics of pluralism as well as language and religion are rarely conspicuously compared in qualitative study. Of the extant studies on Sephardic Jews in Canada, few focus on francophone and anglophone contexts. The only work that I know of on the comparison of the Sephardic Jewish community living in Montréal and Toronto focuses on the residential strategies of the Moroccan Jewish immigrants from the mid-twenties to today (Cohen 2020). This comparison is useful because immigrants' divergent experiences in Toronto and Montréal can help us better understand immigrant belonging, boundary making, majority-minority relations, and inter and intra Jewish relations.

The stories I relate in this thesis demonstrate the centrality of language and religion and the role of interesting patterns of inclusion and exclusion in shaping the lived experiences of North African and Turkish Jewish immigrants in Montréal and Toronto. Given the fact that most of my interviewees were non-religious (but nevertheless strongly identified as Jews), throughout the dissertation, my focus on religion will be neither about church, synagogue, and theology nor how participants practice their faith in religious institutions. Rather, I examine the term religion through its cultural dimension which aims to understand its salience in "post-secular" age in Canada (Demerath 2000, Gauvreau 2005, Taylor 2007, Lefebvre et al. 2015). By keeping a certain distance from the teachings and authority of religious doctrines, the majority of the participants of this dissertation live their spiritual lives amongst friends and family rather than in any religious institutions. In other words, while they claim widespread skepticism about the theology and distance from the religious morality, they declare faith in God and identify with a synagogue only as a source of comfort and future need. For that reason, I define religion as a cultural identity marker that has emerged from the narratives in the processes of boundary making helping to determine ethnic identification of the participants. To this end, I show how, in the case of my

interview subjects, Jewish identity makes up an ethnic identity attached to language, rather than only to religion.

In the first section of this chapter, I discuss the nature of Jewish identity in the Canadian context that is useful when identifying the specificities of the subjects of this dissertation. It demonstrates the position of Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants in Canada, whose identity and belonging can also be examined at the intersection of language and religion. The second section discusses the literature review on Sephardic Jews in Canada helping readers better grasp the historical, temporal, linguistic, and cultural place and difference of the interviewees in the subsequent chapters. The third section provides an overview of the literature review on belonging in Canada with special attention to the dynamics of immigration in Québec and Ontario. The provincial context helps to situate the experiences of the participants, and how their divergent relationships of belonging have played out since their arrival to Canada. After stating my research questions, finally, in the fifth section, I provide a summary of the subsequent chapters.

## 1.1. Language, Religion, and Jewish Identity in Canada: A Historical Overview

In the fifteenth century, the holiness of the Iberian Peninsula (modern-day Spain and Portugal) was at the center of a major contest for religious influence. The Catholic church which was regulated by the monarchy more than any other variant of European Catholicism, expressed increasing concerns about the influence of Muslims and Jews. Jews and Muslims were declared to be "two-faced" people who pretended to be Catholic to avoid persecution (Hastings 1997, 111). The Catholic church, controlled by the Inquisition and enacted by the *limpieza de sangre* (purity of blood), became an apparatus for religious integrity against non-Christian groups or *conversos* (Kandiyoti 2020). Developed in Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century up until the nineteenth

century, the legal term *limpieza de sagre* was used to distinguish "Old Christians" of Catholic origin from *conversos*, namely people of Muslim and Jewish heritage who converted to Catholicism. Through the implementation of this law, people of Jewish heritage were not allowed to participate in many spheres of public life. They were closely monitored by church authorities who prohibited them from having sexual conduct with Old Christians. Old Christians would be protected from having an affair with conversos of Muslim and Jewish origin who were considered to be of "impure" status.

The exclusion and violent persecution of religious minorities in Europe in the early modern period created millions of refugees that shifted demographic frame of many European societies (Aktürk 2021). According to Şener Aktürk "the institutionally orchestrated stigmatization of Jews and Muslims goes further back to the Fourth Lateran Council under the leadership of Pope Innocent III in 1215, when all Jews and Muslims across Western Christendom were obligated to wear distinctive clothing and live segregated lives" (Aktürk 2020, quoted in Aktürk 2021, 8). Similarly, it was through the crusades that the mass expulsion of Jews and Muslims in the thirteenth century heralded "both sectarian and ethnonational purges of the following centuries" (Aktürk 2021, 8). The prevalent Lutheran antisemitism that existed in Germany in subsequent centuries, for example, also assumed a Christian form – yet with a nationalist frame.

Whereas in premodern times, linguistic pluralism was widespread, bestowing upon populations a sense of belonging; it is now religious pluralism that is prevalent in today's modern nations (Brubaker 2012, 2015; Safran 2008). The Ladino[2] language, for example, which was

[2] As Castilian Jews carried their Judeo-Spanish language with them to the new places they settled, over time, the language they spoke in the Ottoman Empire became infused with elements of Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Italian, French, and Hebrew due to interactions with other groups, mainly through commercial and social contacts. Ladino or Judezmo is the first sub-variety of this language which flourished in the Ottoman Empire. The second sub-variety of this language, on the other hand, is called Haketia. Unlike Haketia, Ladino "has enjoyed extensive written documentation from the 16th century into our own times" (Bunis 2016, 375). The majority of the Jews that lived in the early Republican period in Turkey spoke Ladino as their mother tongue.

spoken by the Jews in the Ottoman Empire, was not a cause of worry to the leaders since they did not interact with the masses. This situation enabled all non-Muslim groups to attach to their religious faith, run their own businesses and schools and preserve their own language. Yet, with the establishment of modern Turkey following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire when Ottoman Turkish was replaced by the Latin alphabet, religion was not entirely removed from the society. When modern France began to be associated with the French language, religious motifs were not discarded from language and culture. Both language and religion are markers of cultural identity, against which minorities in turn self-identify (Zubrzycki 2016). In Canada, however, the relationship between language and religion, becomes more intriguing when one attempts to grasp the "two solitudes" of French and English culture. Canada is as an interesting place to understand the link between the two when one looks at the history of French settlement from the beginning of European colonization. Ontario and Québec were the provinces which historically sheltered most of the Jews in Canada from 1871 to 1931 (Rosenberg 1993, 20). Thereby, in order to understand the specificity of Ashkenazi Jewish identity and later Sephardic Jewish identity in Canada, it is important to look at Québec's historical relation with the British in North America and explore the Ashkenazi Jewish identity in Ontario and Québec. I further show how Ashkenazic Jews differ from Sephardic Jews in the Canadian context, not only through religion, but through central markers of linguistic identity.

*Ontario: Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants*

It was especially in the nineteenth century that Jewish migrants, mainly Ashkenazi background carrying the Yiddish culture, came to Canada as a result of the pogroms in the Russian Empire. The word Ashkenazi comes from the Hebrew root *Ashkenazi,* meaning "Germany" and refers to progeny of the Jews from Christian-dominated Europe (Brym, Shaffir, and Weinfeld

2010). The period called "Great Migration" partly covered Eastern European Jewish immigration to North America, South America, Palestine, and Australia (Lightstone 2022, Alroey 2011).

By the passing of the British North America Act in 1867 (*l'Acte de l'Amérique du Nord britannique de 1867*), the Dominion of Canada was recognized as a semi-independent state with the British Empire. As a result of the Act, the provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Québec, and Ontario joined together. Still, because of the immense and distinct nature of its geography and socio-political history, Canada was more of a rough assemblage of regional governments than a truly unified country. Whether people lived in the same province or not, Canada's people were relocating themselves through ethnic lines by generating their own divisions and links with groups who resembled them (Hoerder 1999).

At the turn of the twentieth century in Eastern Europe, Jews were active participants in social and political organizations through their support in socialism, Zionism, and Marxism. In the late nineteenth century, pogroms in the Russian Empire created a considerable growth of Jewish involvement in revolutionary ideologies, especially after the 1905 Revolution (Polonsky 2021). Hundreds of thousands of Jews decided to leave Eastern Europe, areas under the Russian Empire, due to rise of antisemitism. Social and political unrest coupled with economic difficulties led Eastern European Jews to come to terms with oppressive conditions of antisemitic violence they were facing in the late nineteenth century (Lightstone 2022, Löwe 1993). Even though it is not possible to give a precise number of Jewish emigrants leaving Europe, it is thought that more that 1.7 million Jews fled the Russian Empire from 1899 to 1914 (Alroey 2011). Both the 1905 Russian Revolution and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) prompted consecutive pogroms giving rise to antisemitic repression (Polonsky 2021). Later, World War I, the 1917 October Revolution, and the Russian Civil War (1917-1923) triggered substantial civil turmoil. These events, together with

increasing antisemitic violence and economic depression created uncertainty for Eastern European Jews (Polonsky 2021).

Most of Ashkenazi Jewish immigration to Canada occurred between 1880s and 1900s. Most European Jews settled in Toronto, Winnipeg, and Montréal (Tulchinsky 2018). Expecting an arrival of peasant farmers, the federal minister of the interior, Clifford Sifton, launched an immigration policy in 1896 which supported groups from Eastern Europe. Jews benefited from this policy until 1919 before its laws became more prohibitive for them. By 1923, it has become very difficult for Jews to immigrate to Canada. Between 1900 and 1930, Eastern European Jewish immigrants often went to places where they had already relatives or friends in Canada through chain migration (Hoerder 1999, Troper 2001). Prior to 1926, no statistical figures display country of birth of Jewish immigrants in Canada (Rosenberg 1993, 145). From 1926 to 1938, however, it is possible to detect country of birth of Jewish immigrants in Canada. According to the statistical figures of the 1926-1938 period, Jews who were born in Poland constituted 54.93 % of the total Jewish immigrants in Canada. Jewish immigrants born in Russia followed Jews from Poland with 17.56 % during the twelve years period. Whereas Jews born in the United States formed the third largest Jewish group with 10.74 %, Jews born in Romania were in the fourth place with 5.10 %. Jews born in England and Lithuania, on the other hand, made up 3.99 % and 3.83 % of the total Jewish population successively from 1926 to 1938. There were also Jewish immigrants who were born in Australia, Finland, New Zealand, Italy, Scotland, Argentina, Africa, and Albania during the twelve years period (Ibid.).

Even with the rise of fascism and increasingly antisemitic forces gaining power in Europe the Canadian government accepted only a tiny number of Jewish refugees between 1933 to 1948. During the rise of Nazism, "while the United States accepted more than 200,000 Jewish refugees; Palestine, 125,000; embattled Britain, 70,000; Argentina, 50,000; penurious Brazil, 27,000; distant

China, 25,000; tiny Bolivia and Chile, 14,000 each, Canada found room for fewer than 5,000" (Abella and Troper 1983, x). Indeed, through the 1930s and 1940s, Canada had the "worst record for providing sanctuary to European Jewry" amongst these countries (Ibid.).

*Québec: Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants and Third Solitude*

By the 1910s, after French and English, Yiddish, the language used by Ashkenazi Jews from Europe before the Holocaust, was the most spoken language in Québec. When Ashkenazi Jews are concerned, therefore, before the second half of the twentieth century in Québec, it is important to mention a "third solitude" and their particular trajectory in the province.

Québec City and Montréal were built successively in 1608 and in 1642 following the discovery of Canada by Jacques Cartier in 1534. In the early eighteenth century, each having autonomous administrations, the territories of Nouvelle France were classified in four colonies named Canada, Newfoundland, Louisiana, and Acadia. Acadia, a small colony on the Atlantic coast (presently Nova Scotia) was established in the early seventeenth century. Following several agreements between France and Britain brokered in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Acadia finally became a British colony. In 1755, French settlers were banished by the British authorities located in Acadia and hence some of them arrived in New Brunswick, where some French settlers were already living. In the nineteenth century, 8,400 Acadians lived in New Brunswick. Economically, due to the existence of British colonies, they were on the margin, but their clergy facilitated them to build some local organizations. Some French settlers living in Nouvelle France moved to Ontario in the seventeenth century. During this time, some French fur traders settled in Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Alberta, settled with natives giving rise to Métis culture. Populated by a small number of settlers, Canada, as opposed to British colonies, was abandoned by France and missed

economic goods for investment that would make it compete with other colonial powers. When the Seven Years' War ended in 1763, Canada became a British colony. With the Treaty of Paris in the same year, Nouvelle France was ceded to Great Britain, and it started to be called "Québec." It was only after the Québec Act of 1774 that the British colony recognized and protected the rights of the Catholic Church in Canada.

From 1837 to 1959, the religious doctrine called "ultramontanism," originated in France and derived from the Latin word *ultra montes,* was a religious movement that was widespread in Québec. Meaning "beyond mountains," ultramontanism implied the Alps and dominance of the pope in Rome. Following the French Revolution, 1830 and 1848 Revolutions, and state secularism in France in the early twentieth century, a great number of ultramontane clerics settled in Québec. As conservative clerics following this movement, they did not believe in the separation of church and state and asserted the ascendancy of Catholic authority over education, politics, and social life. When they escaped from persecution in France, carrying with them conservative ideas of ultramontanism, they depicted Lower Canada "the natural extension of the 'lost paradise' of the pure, pre-revolutionary France of the ancient régime" (Rioux 1976, 77; quoted in Morrison 2019, 64). The survival of the Catholic French Canadians was considered that God was with them in a highly Protestant universe; thus, they needed to be protected (Bélanger 2000). This thinking saw French Canadians as a group of people threatened by assimilation, urbanization, and industrialization. Against British imperialists and others, French Canadians engaged in a struggle marked by a contest over language and religion. Individualism and materialism associated with Anglo-Saxon Protestantism were opposed by the French Canadians as a way of defending against the British and other groups. From the nineteenth century to the 1960s, Catholic Church constituted the core religious identity of the French Canadians in Canada. These people considered themselves as distinct from the British and other groups through both their linguistic and religious identity

markers (Gallant 2016, Zubrzycki 2016). Hence, until the second half of the twentieth century, both language and religion were significant markers of identity among French Canadians which made them unique through their interaction and contact with various groups.

Under The British North America Act, 1867 only two confessional school systems, Anglo-Protestant and Franco-Catholic, were recognized in Québec. Making no room for religious minorities and First Nations, this school structure excluded Jews as Franco-Catholic schools did not accept Jews. Jews of Ashkenazi background attended Anglo-Protestant schools due to the confessional character of the education system in Québec. Thus, Ashkenazi Jews' anglicization only accelerated by their integration into the Anglo-Protestant school system in 1903 when the provincial law allowed them be part of it (Tulchinsky 1992). Therefore, as Brown (1987) and Greenstein (1989) demonstrate, the education system only solidified the link between Ashkenazi Jews and English Canada. Due to the discriminatory aspect of the Franco-Catholic school system and their integration into the Anglo-Protestant school structure, as a religious Yiddish and English-speaking minority living in predominantly francophone Québec, they constituted the third solitude through their ambivalent relationship with both English and French (Tulchinsky 1984). Greenstein indeed shows how Canadian Ashkenazi Jewish writers were caught in a solitude driving them to grapple with marginality. For these writers, the third solitude, which was neither French nor English, forced them to seek for recognition in Québec through their own Jewish identity (Greenstein 1989).

Like Ontario, Yiddish-speaking Jews who came to Québec during the first two decades of the twentieth century were also fleeing the antisemitic violence in Eastern Europe. The vernacular language of Jews, Yiddish, due to the confessional character of the school system under The British North America Act, 1867 as stated above, led Ashkenazi Jews to abandon their mother tongue in favor of English. According to statistics gathered by Louis Rosenberg, whereas in 1931, almost

99.6 % of Jews stated Yiddish as their native language, in 1951, this percentage dropped from 53.3 % to 30.2 % in 1951 and 1961 successively (Lacasse 2020, 343). It is important to note that the creation of the State of Israel promoting the usage of Hebrew around a national project in the diaspora also engendered the marginalization of the Yiddish culture in Canada (Lacasse 2020, 341). Today, as Rebecca Margolis underlines, Yiddish "functions as a key to an immigrant or pre-Holocaust past, a facet of Jewish identity or other forms of personal identity, or as a tool for creativity or research, but is spoken by a very few" (Margolis 2020, 261, 262). In the second half of the twentieth century, the Quiet Revolution and the enactment of Bill 101 in 1977 by the Parti Québécois under the leadership of René Lévesque made English-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish population of Montréal concerned about their future in the province. Therefore, "the spectre of Quebec separatism in the mid-twentieth century, the accepting multiculturalism of Toronto as opposed to the more insular nationalism of Quebec, and the displacement of Montreal as the economic powerhouse of the country" were factors driving many but obviously not all of them to resettle in Toronto (Brown 2011, 184). As I explain in the following section, francophone Sephardic Jews who settled in Québec in the second half of the twentieth century, however, strengthened the francophone nature of this Jewry in the province. Unlike their coreligionists, they formed an intercultural belonging through language which facilitated their integration into Québec society.

### 1.2. Sephardic Jews in Canada

Following the conquest of ancient Israel (Judah or Yehuda) by the Babylonian Empire in 586 BCE, the Babylonians exiled *Yehudim* (Jews) in ancient Israel as captives into Babylon. Roughly fifty years later, the Babylonian Empire was conquered by the Persian Empire which offered the

Jews independence, allowing them to return to their homeland of Israel. In the next millennia, by the conquest of the Roman Empire, the majority of the Jewish population in ancient Israel were taken into Roman captivity and forced into slavery. Following the fall of the Roman Empire, Jewish slaves began to flee to Europe, where many settled in Spain (Sepharad) and Portugal (Khazzoom 2003, xi, xii). Jews from the Iberian Peninsula were landowners, enjoyed a wide range of legal protections, and were influential in the commercial and political life until the Inquisition (Wirth 1982, 131). Following the Inquisitions in the fifteenth century, Jews from these territories were forced to convert, killed, or expelled[3] and survived by relocating to such places as Western Europe, the Ottoman Empire, Morocco, and the Balkans.

The attribution of "Sephardic" distinguishes those Jews from their Ashkenazi coreligionists. There is also the term called Mizrahim which broadly translates to "Eastern" and generally is translated as "Oriental" (Malka 1997). According to Melanie Kaye/ Kantrowitz, the term Mizrahi is "used by and about Israelis often interchangeably with *Sephardi*" (Kaye/ Kantrowitz 2007, 74). Joseph de la Penha, a Sephardic merchant who was conceded the territory of Labrador by King William III in England in 1697, was possibly the first Jew who landed in what is today called Canada. This is the first Sephardic migration to Canada, known as the "Old" or "Western" Sephardic migration as opposed to "Eastern[4]" one. Following the Inquisitions in the Iberian Peninsula, some of the Sephardic Jews immigrated to England and the Netherlands following their expulsion. A group of Sephardic Jews from Britain settled in Montréal in 1760 (Blaustein, Esar and Miller 1970). Affiliated with the Sephardic congregation Shearith Israel of London, this group formed the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Montréal in 1768. This is the first Jewish

[3] During this time, both Jews and Muslims were persecuted and forced to convert to Christianity (Catholicism).
[4] Post-expelled Jews who migrated to the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and the Balkans rather than the Netherlands and England in the fifteenth century.

synagogue in Canada, which was founded by British families of Sephardic origin (Ibid.). The bulk of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century as well as the survivors of the Holocaust and North African Jewish immigration in the second half of the twentieth century culturally and linguistically transformed the Canadian Jewish mosaic. Moreover, the wave of North African Jewish immigration, especially Moroccan, changed both the demographic and linguistic composition of Canadian Jewry.

The 1951 census shows that nearly 205,000 individuals identified themselves as Jews in Canada many among whom were Holocaust survivors. Between 1956 and 1976, however, 6,600 North African Jews arrived in Montréal and nearly 3,000 of them settled in Toronto (Burgard 2017). It is possible to identify three waves of Sephardic immigration to Canada: the first of which having taken place between 1957 and 1965, with arrivals directly from Morocco; the second having occurred between 1966 and 1970, with emigrations from France and Israel[5]; and the third having transpired after the 1970s, mostly for family reunification and for employment reasons. In the 1980s, Moroccan Jews constituted 93 % of the total North African Jewish immigrants in Canada (Lasry 1981, 225). The number of Jews affirming French as their mother tongue increased from the number of 67 in 1931 to 3,697 in 1961 (Burgard 2017, 39). In order to facilitate their entry into Canada, many of the first wave Moroccan Jewish immigrants received help from the Jewish Immigrant Aid Society and the American Joint Jewish Distribution Committee (Lasry 1981). Immediately following their arrival, the majority of those who had French as their mother tongue—or were francophones—settled in Québec. Therefore, North African Jewish immigration to Québec in the decades that followed led to a distinctly francophone Jewish community. Because of their

[5] With respect to the second wave, it is prudent to mention social and class differences among immigrants. While community leaders preferred to go to France and stay there and the middle class and merchants tended to immigrate to the Americas, the working class remained in Israel (Fillion 1978).

francophone education acquired in the schools called the *Alliance Israelite Universelle* (A.I.U.) in Morocco, the arrival of these Jews in Québec in the decades that followed the 1950s bolstered the francophone nature of this Jewry in the province. These newly arrived North African Jewish immigrants stood apart from both the established anglophone and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews who had been living in Québec since the beginning of the twentieth century and French Canadians distinguished by their Catholicism, who are later called Franco-Québécois in post-Catholic Québec.

Unlike the established Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern, Western, and Central Europe, Sephardic Jews are a small minority of the Jewish population in Canada (Anctil 2011). The same is true of the United States (Ben-Ur 2012, Miles 2007). While there are Jews originating from the Ottoman Empire and its successor states in the United States (Naar 2015) and Canada (Cohen 1989, 2012), most of Canada's Sephardim who are born outside the country, as stated earlier, are Moroccan (see table 1 below for the case in Québec). They settled in and around Montréal and Toronto[6] during the second half of the twentieth century. The Sephardic community structure in and around Toronto, however, is different from that in Québec. In Toronto, the majority of Moroccan Jewish immigrants arrived from Tangier, the northern Morocco, and are hispanophone[7] (Cohen 1989). As I detail in the next chapters, all the Turkish Jews I interviewed in this research settled in and around Toronto in the 1960s and 1970s and are Ladino speakers, of which there remain very few representatives.

[6] There are also small groups of Sephardim in Vancouver, Ottawa, and Winnipeg.

[7] Post-expelled Castilian Jews from the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century continued to keep their medieval Judeo-Spanish language with them in the new places they settled. Derived from Maghrebi Arabic and Hebrew, Haketia is the second sub-variety of this language. It had been spoken by Jews of northern Morocco in cities such as Larache, Tangier and Tetouan in the twentieth century (Bunis 2016).

As can be observed in Table 1 below (Shahar 2015), there are Sephardim from various countries of origin living in Québec. It is also important to note that not all Sephardic Jews residing in Québec are francophone. The ones who come from Iraq and Syria, which were under the British mandate, are anglophone and integrated into the anglophone Ashkenazi Jewish community upon their arrival in Québec. Moreover, not all francophone Jews living in Québec are Sephardim. There are also some francophone Ashkenazi Jews immigrated from France and Belgium.

Figure 1[8]: Map of Sephardic Jewish settlements in northern and southern Morocco

[8] Taken from https://colonizationofmorocco.weebly.com/spanish-and-french-protectorate.html

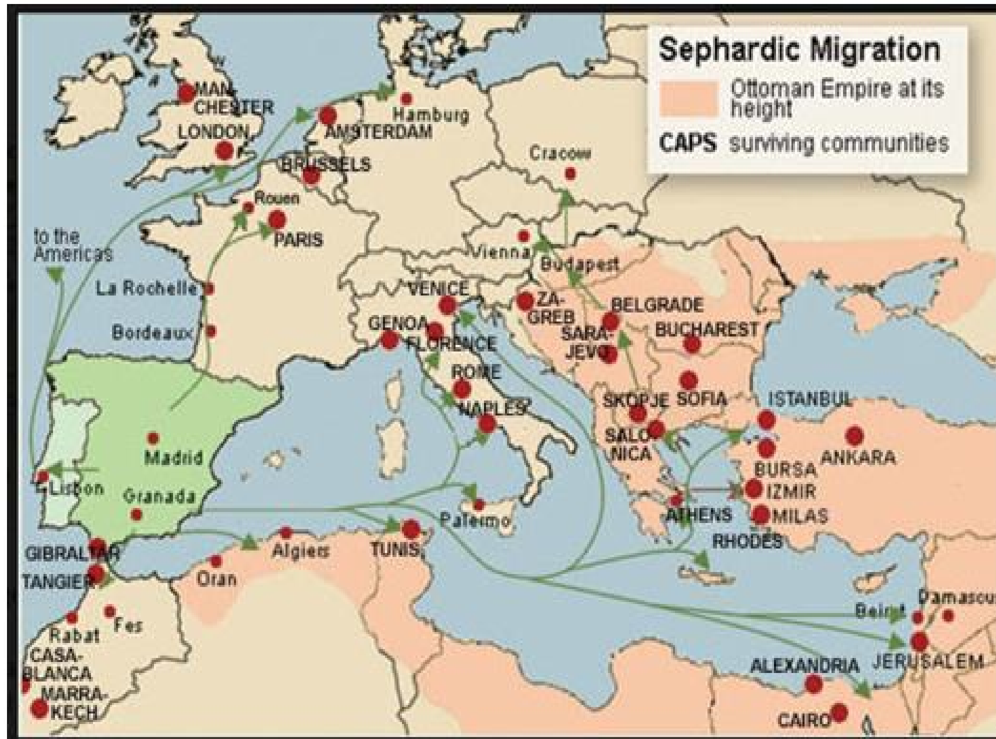


Figure 2[9]: Map of Sephardic Jewish settlements in the Ottoman Empire

Today, more than half of Jews in Canada reside in Ontario; a percentage of 57.9% (corresponding to 226,610 persons) that positions Toronto as the central and dynamic hub of Jewish life. With 93,625 Jewish residents—approximately a quarter of the total Jewish population, with a percentage of 23.9%—Québec is home to the second largest Jewish population in Canada, and in third place is British Columbia, with 35,005 Jews, or 8.9% of the total Jewish population. In terms of metropolitan regions, the Greater Toronto area remains in first position by having 188,710 Jews, 48.2% of the total Jewish population in Canada. Following Toronto, the Montréal community has 90,780 Jews, and this also translates to about a quarter of the total Jewish population in Canada,

[9] Taken from the book of a credit course.

with a percentage of 23.2%. After Montréal stands Vancouver, with a population of 26,255 or 6.7% of the total Jewish population (Shahar 2015).

Taken from the National Household Survey of 2011, table 1 highlights demographic findings and statistics concerning Sephardic population distribution in Québec but omits the rest of Canada. Even though no demographic study speaks to the number of Sephardic community other than in Québec, approximately between eight thousand and thirteen thousand Sephardic Jews, mainly Moroccan who are francophone, hispanophone and arabophone live in Toronto (Cohen 2020). According to the survey, there are 22,225 Sephardic Jews living in Montréal, representing 24.5% of the total Montreal Jewish population of 90,780. This number is higher than figures assessed in the 2001 census, where the number of Sephardic Jews was 21,215 and constituted 22.8% of the total Jewish population in Montréal. With 5,580 inhabitants, most of the Sephardic Jews in Québec live in Côte-Saint-Luc, as well as the Saint-Laurent (3,365) and Snowden (2,295) neighborhoods in 2011. Among the Sephardic Jews living in Montréal, 9,735 individuals were born in Canada and represent 43.8% of the total Sephardic community of Montréal. The other 56.2% of Sephardic Jews in Montréal was composed of immigrants born in Morocco (6,285), France (1,690), and Israel (1,415). Also, there are Sephardic Jews living in Montréal who were born in Egypt (575), Iraq (430), Western Europe, Spain, Portugal and Greece (410), Algeria/Libya/Tunisia (335), Lebanon (290), Eastern Europe- either Bulgaria or ex-Yugoslavia (230), Turkey (220), Iran (105), and Syria (35) (Lipsyc 2015).

| Place of birth | Number | % |
|---|---|---|
| Canada | 9,735 | 43.8 |
| Eastern Europe/Former Soviet Union | 230 | 1.0 |
| France | 1,690 | 7.6 |
| Western Europe (France excluded) | 410 | 1.8 |
| Morocco | 6,285 | 28.3 |
| Algeria/Libya/Tunisia | 335 | 1.5 |
| Egypt | 575 | 2.6 |
| Israel | 1,415 | 6.4 |
| Syria | 35 | 0.2 |
| Lebanon | 290 | 1.3 |
| Iraq | 430 | 1.9 |
| Iran | 105 | 0.5 |
| Turkey | 220 | 1.0 |
| South America | 55 | 0.2 |
| Other | 415 | 1.9 |
| **TOTAL** | **22,225** | **100.0** |

Table 1: Statistical figures according to the places of birth of the Sephardic community members in Québec (Shahar 2015)

The majority of scholarship on Canada's Sephardim is limited to the Moroccan Jews in Québec. This scholarship, dating to the late 1960s, focused on understanding Moroccan Jews' family life, immigration, and linguistic and economic integration into Québec society (Cohen and Schwartz 2016, Berdugo et al. 1987; Cohen et al. 2017). In the 1970s, an increasing number of Moroccan Jews began publishing academic works and disseminating knowledge about their own group and francophone identity in Québec. The period between 1950s and 1970s also witnessed

the institutionalization of the community in Québec with other Sephardim such as Iraqis and Egyptians, French language serving as a catalysis of a fusion with the Franco-Québécois culture. In subsequent scholarship, a generational analysis among younger Moroccan Jews heralding a religious return or "a more orthodox Judaism, fuelled by Ashkenazi rabbis and against the secularism of their parents" (Elbaz 1994; Cohen and Schwartz 2016, 598, 599), appears on the scene. Still, hispanophone immigrants, such as Moroccan Jewish (Cohen and Schwartz 2016, 595) as well as Turkish Jewish communities in two Canadian cities remain absent and marginal in the literature.

As soon as they arrived in the late 1950s, Moroccan Jews formed diverse cultural and linguistic associations in Québec. While navigating their ethnoreligious difference between anglophone Ashkenazi social networks that they found linguistically disconnected and Franco-Québécois, North African Jews created various institutions easing the recognition of their community. *L'Association juive nord-africaine* was launched in 1959, and later *La Fédération sépharade de langue française* was founded in 1965, later renamed *l'Association sépharade francophone* (ASF) (Cohen 2010). Francophone Jewish educational institution called *l'école Maimonide* was built in 1969. Promoting Jewish identity and cultural programs for French-speaking students, the *centre Hillel Montréal* was established in 1972. Founded in 1966, the ASF changed its name to what is today called the *Communauté sépharade unifiée du Québec* which publishes a monthly magazine called *La Voix Sépharade.* Furthermore, the *Festival Sefarad de Montréal*, which has taken place annually since 2006, is worth mentioning as it connects multiple generations of Sephardim and diverse communities in the city (Roda 2015).

There is a deficit of literature on multiculturalism that empirically compares language and religion to understand immigrant belonging. The literatures on nationalism, ethnicity, multiculturalism, and minority rights have focused on and debated the relationship between

language and religion extensively (Brubaker 2013, 2015). Yet few, if any, literature on multiculturalism has focused on the empirical comparison of the dynamics of language and religion in any sustained way rather than merely presenting a juxtaposition (Ibid.). My study attempts to fill this gap of the empirical comparison of, or, interplay between language and religion in the extant scholarship by examining the immigrant belonging of francophone North African Jews and hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jews from various generations located in two Canadian cities. It seeks to contribute to the understanding of the complex and intriguing relationship between religion and language in the Canadian context.

Studying the two sub-Jewish communities, North African and Turkish, in two Canadian cities are important because their lived experiences reveal us their sense of belonging through the symbolic boundaries they formed with language and religion giving rise to complexities, recognition, and recognition gaps. In contrast to hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jewish participants, North African Jewish participants in Québec find themselves in a unique position in Canada, and in North America at large. Therefore, the specificity of the North African Jews can only be understood in the light of socio-political and linguistic debates and North African Jews' contact with Franco-Québécois and their coreligionists during and after the Quiet Revolution in Québec. In the following section, I present the literature review I gathered on immigrant belonging in Canada and studies produced by scholars in the extant Canadian scholarship that compares two Canadian provinces (Québec and Ontario) and immigrants' position in them. I then state the questions that guided my research.

## 1.3. Belonging or Un-Belonging & Comparing Ontario with Québec

In order to understand participants' lived experiences in Montréal, it is necessary to engage with competing understandings of citizenship and belonging (Shachar et al. 2017, 5; Bloemraad, Korteweg and Yurdakul 2008). The classical modern notion of citizenship, conceptualized by Marshall (1950), centers on socio-economic concerns and class-based rights. As Marshall illustrated, citizenship is not solely defined in terms of legal status, rights, and obligations, political and other forms of participation. Coming to the relationship between citizenship and belonging, belonging is not achieved by citizenship alone and the emergence of inequality and discrimination cannot be explained around questions of accessing rights. As Yasmeen Abu-Laban stresses, the definition of belonging is nebulous because it is "more difficult to define than the typically more concrete laws governing the extension of formal citizenship" (Abu-Laban 2014, 281).

According to Nira Yuval-Davis, it is possible to think about three types of social and political belonging. She defines the first as social status (gravitating around gender, class, and ethnicity), the second alludes to individuals' identifications and emotional attachments to certain collectivities (based on narratives about who one is and where one belongs) and the third deals with "ethical and political value systems with which people judge their own and others' belonging" (Yuval-Davis 2011, 12). Indeed, one may be integrated into a society by all conventional criteria, possess a strong sense of belonging in a polity and yet still feel symbolically excluded. I am interested in the second dimension of belonging defined by Yuval-Davis as it relates to the language and religion and thus associated with cultural institutional practices, social positioning, spatial context, such as Québec and Anglo Canada, and identification, i.e., the process within which individuals identify themselves, and in turn are treated by the majority as citizens (Lister 2007). By incorporating narratives of the North African and Turkish Jewish participants into my analysis to measure their

sense of belonging, I explore immigrant belonging at the intersection of language and religion as it concurrently relates to understanding Canadian pluralism.

Informed by multidimensional—such as religious, national, transnational, ethnic, and diasporic—insights from the Canadian literature, a number of studies draw their analyses from the notion of group belonging. They derive their findings from a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods and few of them provide a compelling account of my chosen topic. Soroka, Banting, and Johnston (2007), using both the Equality, Security, and Community Survey and the 2004 Canadian Election Study, examine differences across ethnic groups within various measures of incorporation. These measures include a sense of pride and belonging in Canada, degrees of interpersonal trust, the stability between liberal and conservative values, the scale of voting, and engagement in social networks that bridge cultural cleavages. The authors stress the "integrative power of time"— the duration of time spent in Canada that frames immigrants' sense of belonging. Furthermore, using data derived from Statistics Canada's Ethnic Diversity Survey in 2002, in their study, Banting and Soroka (2012) compare the sense of belonging of first, second and third-generation immigrants in Canada, and various cities, towns, and municipalities. Yet, both these two studies quantitatively measure belonging and do not present a micro-level analysis in which one can grasp the role of language and religion as dimensions and tools of belonging.

Hardwick (2014), through data gathered from fieldwork, census records, archival resources, questionnaires, participant observation, and interviews, explores the sense of belonging of three group of immigrants from the United States residing in Montréal since the Vietnam War. Among these three groups, including African Americans, political refugees, and creative-class Americans, Hardwick shows how African Americans, despite their anglophone identification and visibility, had a greater sense of belonging in Montréal. Hardwick stresses that due to their shared racial identity with Black Montrealers who associate themselves with Blackness rather than language,

African Americans from the United States in Montréal developed a higher level of sense of belonging in a multicultural city. In Chapter 6 *Language, Religion, and North African Jewish Identification in Québec: A Complex Relation*, however, in the light of my research findings, I show how first-generation North African Jews developed a more integrated sense of belonging in Montréal through their shared linguistic identification with Franco-Québécois. Rather than shared racial or ethnic identification with the majority, I contend that these interviewees' linguistic identification became more salient than their religious identification which increased their sense of belonging in Montréal.

It appears that there are more studies drawing their analyses from the notion of belonging focusing on Muslim groups than Jews. Nagra (2017), using existing literature and empirical research with fifty in-depth interviews, examines how second-generation and well-educated Muslim Canadian youth living in Vancouver and Toronto experience national belonging, exclusion, and Islamophobia after 9/11. In her edited book, Bakht (2008), on the other hand, attempts to give voice to the diverse Muslim presence in Canada through articles written by various scholars detailing Muslim experiences of belonging and banishment through crucial concerns such as the Omar Khadr affair, mediatic (mis)representations of Muslims, challenging aspect of raising children in Muslim faith, the headscarf issue, and Islamic teachings of free will. Winter and Previsic (2019) examine how citizenship revocation for terrorism offenses committed by particular national, religious, and ethnic groups was represented in the mediatic and political discourses in Canada. In their study, focusing on Canada's 2014-2016 citizenship revocation rules for dual nationals, the authors reveal that discourses on citizenship revocation target mainly Muslims, identifying them as "less Canadian"—and that this representation indirectly "un-belongs" Muslims from Canadian citizenship through discourse. They argue that both deportation of migrants and citizenship revocation, which have been practiced by numerous countries in Western Europe and North

America for national security reasons, have, for the most part, affected Muslims and other minorities rendering them "suspect" individuals.

When examining comparative works produced by scholars focusing on two Canadian provinces (Québec and Ontario)—one will notice that the majority of them draw their analyses from residential, socio-economic/cultural and educational data (Boudarbat and Connolly 2013; Croteau 2016; Hiebert 2009, 2015; Kamanzi 2012; Kipre 2016; Mc Andrew, Garnett, Ledent and Sweet 2011). Surveying approximately one hundred and conducting in-depth interviews with about twenty people, Dadashzadeh (2003), for instance, demonstrates the socio-economic and professional integration of the first-generation Iranian population living in Toronto and Montréal. Mentioning the absence of an organized community in Québec compared to Toronto, this work, in the light of its results, shows that the degree of professional adaption of the Iranian population in Québec remains lower compared to its counterpart in Ontario. Furthermore, using census questionnaires, Shafiefar (2018) examines the migratory, familial and socio-demographic influences on the use of language that Iranian immigrants speak at home in Toronto and Montréal. Emily Laxer, on the other hand, highlights that "prior studies fail to consider the effects of integration discourses on the behaviors of detailed generational groups" (Laxer 2013, 1578). Laxer investigates the mechanisms of civic participation by linking it to integration discourses and suggests that since interculturalism in Québec encourages newcomers to participate in a shared common culture centered on Francophonie, the children of immigrants are less likely than the first generation to become members of any co-ethnic organizations. In Ontario, where multiculturalism allocates equal service to the majority and minority groups, the author maintains, both first and second-generation immigrants are more likely to pursue such memberships.

Kenedy and Nunes' (2012) research on civic identity and participation of Portuguese-Canadian youth in Québec and Ontario shows similar tendencies. After analyzing already existing

works and their research on a Civic Participation Project from a comparative perspective, the authors conclude that "it would appear that youth in Quebec may choose to identify with the Québécois identity, not only because of linguistic and religious commonalities but also because of the many parallels between the historically marginalized position of Franco-Canadians and that of their community" (Ibid., 130). Indeed, both Laxer's and Kenedy and Nunes' analyses on the effects of integration discourses on the behaviors of generational groups led me to consider and articulate interculturalism and multiculturalism as politics and ideologies of pluralism to my empirical analyses. Since I compared North African and Turkish Jews in Montréal and Toronto, delving into these two ideologies of pluralism allowed me to gain a better understanding of their belonging at the intersection of language and religion in Canada.

Finally, in contrast to the studies listed above, when it comes to belonging of various Jewish communities, David Koffman's edited book *No Better Home?: Jews, Canada, and the Sense of Belonging* is the only work that provides a compelling account of my chosen topic of study (Koffman 2020). Taking the question of whether there has ever been a better home for Jews than Canada seriously, the book explores the challenging definitions of "home" through multiplicity of belongings. Composed of articles written by preeminent Jewish and non-Jewish scholars on Canadian Jewish life, the book examines Jews' relations with non-Jews in Canada and compares Canadian Jewish life with the Jews living in other countries. Drawing on personal narratives, literary texts, and particular historical periods, it shows Canadian Jewish experience and identity with its multiplicity, around the meanings of being Canadian, Québécois, Moroccan Jewish, Ashkenazi Jewish, anglophone, francophone, Montrealer and so on. Yet, like the aforementioned studies on belonging in the Canadian literature, essays that make up the collection of Koffman's book does not examine Jewish immigrants' identifications and attachments to certain collectivities

and to their coreligionists based on narratives about who they are and where they belong through a profound analysis of language and religion.

The questions that guided this research as follows: How do North African and Turkish Jews build their sense of belonging through negotiating the interplay of language and religion in the Canadian context? How do societal particularities of the two contexts (Ontario and Québec) step in the processes of negotiation and create a complex relation between language and religion? How are inter and intra Jewish relations and relations between participants and the majority groups formed and transformed in these processes? Leaving answers to my questions in the empirical findings of the dissertation, I introduce the content of the chapters to follow after the concluding remarks of this chapter.

## 1.4. Conclusion

This chapter has showed the historical background of Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigration to Canada and life in reference to their identity centered on language and religion. The role of language and religion on identity particularly becomes evident for a diaspora like the Jewish one. Unlike Sephardic Jews, Ashkenazi Jews constitute the majority of the Jewish population in Canada, and in North America at large and are well-known for their Yiddish and English-speaking identity. Hence, it was important to discuss the very nature of Canadian Jewish identity so as to provide nuance and context when speaking about the different Jewish sub-communities in this dissertation. In the next section, I examined the literature review on Sephardic Jews in Canada and examined their historical, temporal, linguistic, cultural place, and specificity.

Using Yuval-Davis' definitions of belonging, in the third section, I mentioned my interest in her second definition of belonging, referring to individuals' identifications and emotional

attachments to certain collectivities (based on narratives about who one is and where one belongs) as it relates to language and religion through cultural institutions practices (recognition or recognition gap), spatial context (Québec and Anglo Canada), and intercommunal relations (complexity). In the following section, I now introduce the content of the chapters to follow.

## 1.5. Overview of the Dissertation

*Language, Religion, and Difference: North African and Turkish Jewish Immigrants in Canada* is divided into eight chapters. Chapter 2 presents methodology of the dissertation, detailing the number of participants, their country of origin, birth year, place of birth, gender, year of immigration, current place of settlement in Canada, and to which generation they belong. It specifies purposes of conducting qualitative research consisting of life-story interviews with thirty-five North African and Turkish Jews who live in Montréal and Toronto. I discuss my positionality as an interviewer, method of analysis of the interviews conducted and delineate how the interviews are analyzed. Chapter 3 *Language and Religion: Conceptual Approach to Belonging* presents the concepts I use to analyze the empirical findings of my research on immigrant belonging in Chapters 6 and 7 specifically. It defines belonging at the intersection of language and religion by introducing concepts of cultural religion, boundary making, i.e., boundary blurring, crossing, and shifting, linguicism, and recognition gap.

Chapter 4 *The Quiet Revolution and Afterward: Cultural Diversity, Interculturalism, and Multiculturalism as Politics of Canadian Pluralism* presents contentious issues around religious and ethnocultural diversity. It depicts multiculturalism and interculturalism as politics and ideologies of pluralism strengthening the comprehension of the place and identity formation of the interviewees in Canada. Chapter 4 focuses on the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution

periods in Canada and examines the particular trajectory of religion in Québec, and the way that it was shaped in the wake of the Quiet Revolution. It helps readers better understand the complex relationship between language and religion through the lived experiences of the participants in post-Quiet Revolution period in Québec. Chapter 5 *Jewish Memory, Nationalism, and Majority-Minority Relations in Morocco and Turkey in the 1950s and 1970s* provides the historical backdrop to my participants' countries of origin to better contextualize their narratives. It describes Jewish responses to a series of events, nationalism, education system, broader framework of forces for change pertaining to foreign policy and its impact on internal domestic politics through Zionism and decolonization in Morocco and Turkey.

In both Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, I present empirical discussions of my dissertation in Montréal and Toronto. In Chapter 6 *Language, Religion, and North African Jewish Identification in Québec: A Complex Relation,* which is divided into three parts, I first show how first-generation North African Jews formed their identity through their encounter with post-Catholic Franco-Québécois culture in Québec. Here, I contend that first-generation North African Jewish integration facilitated by language leads to clouding of boundary with the majority where their linguistic identification becomes more salient than their Jewish identification in Québec. I then discuss how Ashkenazi Jews' linguistic and religious identity throws into relief the complex evolution of identity formation of North African Jews in Québec. Because of their relation to their Ashkenazi coreligionists on the one hand, and to the Franco-Québécois, on the other, I show how first-generation North African Jews developed an ambivalent identity caught between these two actors in Québec. The third part focuses on the generational dimension of the narratives which led me to make a distinction between the Québécois interculturalism and the Montréalais multiculturalism specifically. Analyzing the generational aspect drawn from the narratives of the participants was important since, in contrast to the discussion I make in the first part of this chapter, narratives of

younger interviewees illustrate the triumph of ethnoreligious identification over and above linguistic identification.

Chapter 7 *Recognition Gap: Multiculturalism, Hispanophone Jewish Immigrants, and Difference in Toronto,* which is separated into four parts, extrapolates interesting patterns of immigrant inclusion and exclusion in Toronto. It first explores immigrants' relation with English Canadians and some Euro-descendant people through the lens of language and shows how language determined immigrants' lower level of inclusion in the early years of their settlement in Toronto. The second part examines the ethnoreligious identity of hispanophone Moroccan Jewish participants in the 1960s and post-1970s following Canada's adoption of multicultural policy. It draws on stories relating to some antisemitic events taking place and suggests that, in contrast to the antisemitic environment in post-Catholic Québec, participants do not find themselves navigating their difference between the majority and English or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim in Toronto. The third part reveals how multiculturalism strengthens ethnic attachments by solidifying the borders with other groups. Unlike first-generation North African Jews who have made a rapprochement with Franco-Québécois through language for recognition while navigating their difference between them and anglophone or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim in Montréal, in Toronto, what we see is the absence of such a linguistic rapprochement between the immigrants and the English Canadians. Finally, the fourth part examines participants' identity formation in Toronto with respect to their encounter with Ashkenazi Jews in dialogue with the identity that North African Jews reconstructed in Montréal. I study these encounters by exploring the vigorous interplay between language and religion, all of which equally pave the way for an exploration of Canadian pluralism and recognition gap of the community in Toronto.

In the concluding chapter, I highlight the key empirical and conceptual discussions made in this dissertation and close by presenting my contribution to the literature with its limitations. I thus

explain some of the limitations (that I am aware of) of my research and suggests new pathways of research.

## Chapter 2

# METHODOLOGY

This chapter outlines the methods used in this study including data collection, the recruitment of the participants, and the interview process. As I elaborate in the pages that follow, I conducted the empirical data during the COVID-19 pandemic, which presented certain obstacles to completing the interview segment as fake news, rumours, and conspiracy theories were on the air along with the virus.

As Patricia Turner and Gary Alan Fine (2001) observe, it is especially in times of crisis that rumours and misinformation spread encouraging suspicion, making populations eschew direct confrontation by "strengthening group boundaries" (Turner and Fine 2001, 65). Similarly, Marc Bloch in his book *Réflexions d'un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre* (Reflections of a Historian on the False News of the War) emphasizes throughout history, people tended to reject misinformation, accepted false news as they were without being interested in their development or peregrination, particularly during crisis episodes. Drawing on his own personal experience while serving in the French army during the World War I and some literature review, in this short book, Bloch makes some brief remarks about false war news and the problems that arise from them. In September 1917, Bloch states that when one of his chiefs in the army announced the Russian attack against Berlin, he admits finding this news seductive and vaguely absurd. Underlining the importance of doubt, rather than suspicion, as a sign of having good mental health, Bloch confesses that he would have certainly rejected this news if he would have been able to reflect on it (Bloch 1999, 45-50).

It was indeed difficult to keep calm and survive during a worldwide pandemic which seemed like a global war taking place in the twenty-first century. For that reason, I am thankful to my participants for their collaboration and solidarity, while there were a lot of rumours and misinformation on the air, like the virus, during the time I was conducting my interviews. Without their participation and stories, this dissertation could not have been written.

### 2.1. Life-Story Interviewing

The interviews were designed to better understand the lived experiences of North African and Turkish Jews in Toronto and Montréal. I was interested in interviewees' relations with other Jewish communities, and their identification in two anglophone and francophone contexts with non-Jews, Franco-Quebecois, English Canadians, and some Euro-descendant people. Life-story interviewing allowed me to examine the rich accounts of experiences that interviewees shared more deeply. My dataset consists of life-story interviews with thirty-five individuals between the ages of twenty-eight to ninety-two. These interviews permitted me to gain a generational perspective on the community's lived experiences, and how they situate themselves within the broader Canadian pluralist context.

The voice that emerges from the subjectivity, within the frame of interpretative epistemology, is a powerful tool to gain the insights of subjects who are not ordinarily heard in mainstream representations of Canada. This interpretative epistemology contributes to the understanding of the complex and heterogeneous aspect of the lived experiences of interview subjects that positivist accounts often overlook. Considering subjectivity in the understanding of the processes of formation of human experiences guided my methodological choice towards the methods developed

within the framework of sociology driven by the Weberian (hermeneutic) perspective, which seeks to accessing social structure through the point of view of social actors.

Human beings are storytelling species. Interviews "gather far more detailed and intimate knowledge than a survey observational study can uncover" (Gerson and Damaske 2020, 5). Interviewing aims to understand the process of the formation of diverse experiences of the participants and, beyond that, the world in which interviewees' subjectivities make sense. When interviewing is conducted in the life-story format, it allows for both macro, namely contextual, situational and relational characteristics of the host society, and micro, meaning individual and family characteristics, level of analyses through trajectories of the interviewees. This form of interview produces a "map" that illustrates trajectories connected to change and endurance as they appear over time. By collecting multi-layered information such as people's participation in institutions, and their relations with other groups, life-story interviews shed light on the interaction between structure and agency. They are helpful in revealing the most important experiences, matters, themes, and conditions of an individual's lifetime (Atkinson 2007). As Kathleen Gerson and Sarah Damaske point out, "regardless of the substantive focus, the key is to obtain a timeline of important events and critical turning points and then probe for the responses these events engendered" (Gerson and Damaske 2020, 12).

During my fieldwork, I gathered information about my participants' lived experiences, their relations with non-Jews, other Jews, i.e., inter and intra Jewish relations, and their identification in Canada. Rather than focusing on what an individual remembers about a particular historical issue, event, or time as oral-history interviewing does, my life-story interviewing method sought to capture the scope of a person's entire life (Gubrium and Holstein 2002). Using this method permitted me to learn about my interview subjects' family histories and the formation of their ethnic identities in Toronto and Montréal. The interviewees not only had the opportunity to harken

back to their lived experiences by sharing their stories, but they also told the interaction between them and the world through coalescing a series of historical trajectories.

Human experience is a carrier of sociological knowledge, macro- and micro-level interactions, all of which arise from the relation of individual biographies with social structures. As such, while telling stories, people refer to events, situations, actions, their loved ones, and significant individuals by attributing meanings to them (Weiss 2014). By multiplying the testimonies about an object of study and by relating these testimonies to the structures, one can grasp the social dimensions that define human experience. Through life-story interviews, one can ascertain social patterns and movements that are hidden or inadequately perceived by others who, previously, did not have the opportunity to look deeply at them. Relatedly, albeit they seem incoherent at first, contradictory comments offer an opportunity to explore socio-cultural and political conflicts illuminated in the personal accounts of the participants. Contrasting these experiences highlights the enigmas by inviting researchers to explore them in depth with all their complexity.

## 2.2. Recruitment of the Participants

After defining the characteristics of the participants related to the research objectives and obtaining the ethical certificate to conduct my interviews in May of 2020, I began recruiting the participants. The criteria I sought from participants was: (1) being of Sephardic immigrant origin; (2) having arrived in Canada (Montréal and Toronto) after 1950 (3) having been born (for first and 1.5 generations) outside of Canada or in Canada (for second generation); (4) having Canadian citizenship; and (5) being francophone, anglophone or allophone (see appendix).

I conducted life-story interviews with thirty-five individuals in total. The enrollment of the interviewees took place in three ways: (1) I used the snowball sampling technique by asking for referrals from people I already knew in the community; (2) I made a public announcement of my research on Sephardic social media groups; and (3) I asked for referrals from my interview subject. My first interviews took place over the spring and summer of 2020. I explained parameters of my research project to the participants in the recruitment email or on the phone. When individuals agreed to participate in the study, I emailed them each a consent form (see appendix), giving them seven days to agree to participate. During the initial exchanges, I sought to establish a bond of trust and mutual respect by introducing myself, my country of origin, additional background information and my interest in Canadian Jewish studies. All of the participants were informed that I am a non-Jewish and secular female who was born and raised in Turkey and studying Canada's Sephardim. I communicated that my aims were to study the lived experiences of people with immigrant backgrounds in Toronto and Montréal. Because I am also an immigrant hailing from a Muslim-majority country, I believe that participants showed added interest in being part of my research.

During my search for interview participants, I was having difficulty finding participants from the hispanophone Moroccan Jewish community in Toronto. At that time, I had already conducted my interviews with five hispanophone Turkish Jews and only one hispanophone Moroccan Jewish person had shown interest in participating in my research. Following my interview with this only hispanophone Moroccan Jewish participant in the fall of 2020, I was referred to a contact who helped me find more interviewees from the hispanophone Moroccan Jewish community in Toronto. Yet, it was especially in December 2020 that I noticed an increase in the number of people who started to show an interest in participating in my research. On December 10, 2020, a treaty called the Israel-Morocco normalization agreement was declared by the United States. By this agreement, Morocco accepted to join the Trump administration's Abraham Accords, leading to normalizing

diplomatic relations between Morocco and Israel (Kelemen 2020). Therefore, I think that this sudden increase in the numbers of participants in December 2020 might be related to the announcement of this agreement between two countries [10]. What I want to indicate here is that as a non-Jewish person originating from a Muslim majority country – though it could be more complicated than that – this agreement might have emboldened participants and have had an impact on their decision to participate in my research. I will come back to my identity and discuss my positionality in the fourth section of the chapter.

### 2.3. Corpus and Interview Process

The interviews were designed to better understand the participants sense of belonging in Canada, with special attention to issues of language and religion. The empirical saturation providing the methodological accuracy of life-stories is assessed by the criterion of diversification. In other words, it was the number of interviews and the non-homogenous features of the interviews that demonstrated the attainment of empirical saturation. When increasing the number of interviews and maximizing the internal diversification of the corpus no longer adds any new knowledge to the results, it is at this point that the interviews satisfy the saturation criterion. However, it is important to note that, since I could only conduct thirty-five interviews, I do not claim to have reached a *complete* saturation of my empirical data, only for certain elements, such as the wave of immigration, generation, and ethnic and linguistic origin of the participants.

---

[10] For an innovative analysis that focuses on the reverse effects of Abraham Accords now and in the future in the Middle East, e.g., ceasing peace, leading authoritarian regimes to increase repression, and engendering less hope for two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, see:
El Kurd, Dana. "Will Israel further normalize relations with its Arab neighbors?" *The Washington Post,* July 12, 2022. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/07/11/biden-israel-saudi-mbs-abraham-accords/

As indicated in the Table 1 of first chapter, Moroccan Jews living in Canada outnumber not only Turkish or Tunisian but other Sephardim originating from various parts of the world (e.g., Algeria, Egypt, Balkans). Therefore, deciding on how many Turkish Jews were needed in the classified group depended on knowing the empirical puzzles and gaps of my research. It was not the saturation but the factors which constituted the decision of selecting the number of Turkish Jewish interviewees.

Among the North African Jewish interviewees, with the exception of one individual who was from Tunisia, all of them originally had emigrated from Morocco. Eleven of the interviewees who immigrated to Montréal when they were adults were born in southern Morocco. Only two individuals living in Montréal were born in Tangier in northern Morocco, while only three of the participants were born in Montréal. The majority of Moroccan Jews living in Toronto were from northern Morocco, most of them hailing from Tangier[11]. Of the interview subjects in Toronto, ten were born in Tangier, one was born in southern Morocco, one was born in Israel and only one was born in Montréal but is now residing in Toronto. Of the total twenty-nine Moroccan Jewish interviewees, sixteen of were from southern Morocco, and thirteen of them from northern Morocco. The North/South divide is important to identify here because the linguistic and cultural impact of the French and Spanish Protectorate on the participants in Morocco before and after the independence was powerful. Finally, the five Turkish Jewish interviewees whom I interviewed were all from Istanbul.

With respect to generations, it is important to mention that the data collected here consists of people from first, 1,5, (Danico 2004) and second generations. First-generation refers to the

[11] As I indicated in the previous chapter, no sufficient works speak to the demographic findings of the population other than in Québec. This is indeed how most of my interviewees explained it.

interviewees who were born outside of Canada and immigrated to Canada when they were adults. Most of the first-generation participants are baby boomers who were born between 1946 and 1964, and few of them are from silent generation who were born between 1928 and 1945. I use the term 1,5 generation to designate the participants who were born outside of Canada but immigrated during their childhood, comprised of both baby boomers and generation Xers (born between 1965 and 1980). Second generation, on the other hand, points out people who were born and raised in Canada, making up both generation Xers and millennials (born between the 1980s and 1990s).

I conducted all my interviews remotely during the height of the COVID-19 epidemic, from May 2020 to February 2021. As a result, most of my participants were spending most of their time at home. For this reason, I organized Zoom meetings with each participant and listened to their life stories, beginning with childhood. A short list of questions (see appendix) guided me to ask additional questions, if needed. The duration of my interviews varied from one to four hours with a medium number of each lasting about one and a half hours. There were seven interviews conducted from the same household. Six among them consist of three couples from the first generation and one is the son of one couple. Upon the request of one participant, an interview was conducted in two sessions. I also carried out additional correspondences through email and WhatsApp to examine some narratives more thoroughly and to continue my communication with the community. While my interviews with the community in Montréal were largely conducted in French, I carried out most of my interviews with the people in Toronto in English and sometimes in French and Turkish when the participants preferred to alternate between languages. I transcribed the Zoom interviews and shared the transcripts with research participants with those who wanted them. The recruitment of thirty-five participants resulted in around 250 pages of transcribed interviews. The names of the participants have been changed to maintain confidentiality.

Participants wishing to read the research findings were assured they would receive from me a digital copy of the dissertation via email.

The meanings of Sephardic experiences are important because they can be explored in different contexts and situations, at different times and with different subjects. The collective experiences of North African and Turkish Jews in Toronto and Montréal is surely distinct from those of North African and Turkish Jews living in other parts of the world. They are not a homogenous population. For instance, as opposed to those who consider themselves secular like the participants of my research, there are also religious Moroccan or Turkish Jews, and their attitudes toward other groups, including both toward the majority and other minority groups, are not the same. My findings should only therefore be taken as a source of information rather than a truth-claim that transcends its particular context.

Since I was interested in the heterogeneity of the experiences of the participants, I adopted a comparative outlook that allowed me to define belonging through the interplay of language and religion in the Canadian context. In other words, I was inspired to explore how the linguistic and religious contexts informed their sense of belonging in Canada. My attempt was to understand how these immigrants from different generations, as a specific ethnoreligious minority group, developed their relationships with the majority groups, namely English Canadians, some Euro-descendant people, and Franco-Québécois, and other Jews, i.e., inter and intra Jewish relations. I wanted to highlight whether the experiences of majority/ minority relations had similar or different outcomes with respect to the sense of belonging.

| Name of the participant | Country of origin | Birth Year | Place of birth | Gender |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Galia | Southern Morocco | 1948 | Kenitra | Female |
| Ruth | Southern Morocco | 1954 | Casablanca | Female |
| Joseph | Southern Morocco | 1937 | Casablanca | Male |
| Gabriel | Southern Morocco | 1944 | Casablanca | Male |
| Isaac | Tunisia | 1947 | Tunis | Male |
| Albert | Southern Morocco | 1943 | Rabat | Male |
| Solomon | Southern Morocco | 1952 | Casablanca | Male |
| Roza | Southern Morocco | 1952 | Casablanca | Female |
| Daisy | Southern Morocco | 1953 | Safi | Female |
| Yasmin | Southern Morocco | 1943 | Safi | Female |
| Mike | Northern Morocco | 1945 | Tangier | Male |
| Ian | Southern Morocco | 1947 | Mogador | Male |
| Sonia | Southern Morocco | 1948 | Casablanca | Female |
| Myriam | Southern Morocco and Bulgaria | 1967 | Montréal | Female |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Renaud | Southern Morocco | 1989 | Montréal | Male |
| Levi | Morocco and Algeria | 1992 | Montréal | Male |
| Esther | Turkey and Germany | 1944 | Istanbul | Female |
| Victor | Turkey and Russia | 1944 (verify) | Istanbul | Male |
| Sarah | Turkey | 1949 | Istanbul | Female |
| Suzanne | Turkey and Greece | 1932 | Istanbul | Female |
| Nissim | Turkey | 1950 | Istanbul | Male |
| Maria | Northern Morocco | 1952 | Tangier | Female |
| Ava | Northern Morocco | 1952 | Tangier | Female |
| Pedro | Northern Morocco | 1939 | Tangier | Male |
| Manuel | Northern Morocco | 1929 | Tangier | Male |
| Julia | Northern Morocco | 1966 | Tangier | Female |
| Marco | Northern Morocco | 1951 | Tangier | Male |
| Jack | Northern Morocco | 1953 | Tangier | Male |
| Pablo | Northern Morocco | 1946 | Tangier | Male |
| David | Northern Morocco | 1947 | Tangier | Male |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yahuda | Northern and Southern Morocco | 1946 | Tangier | Male |
| Luiza | Northern Morocco | 1964 | Tangier | Female |
| Jacob | Southern Morocco | 1972 | Montréal | Male |
| Marc | Southern Morocco | 1969 | Casablanca | Male |
| Rina | Northern Morocco | 1976 | Israel | Female |

Table 2: Countries of origin, birth years, places of birth and gender of the participants

| **Name of the participant** | **Year of immigration to Canada** | **Place of settlement** | **Hispanophone / Francophone / Anglophone** | **Generation** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Galia | 1988 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Ruth | 1983 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Joseph | 1957 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Traditionalists or Silent generation) |
| Gabriel | 1968 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Traditionalists or Silent generation) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Isaac | 1969 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Albert | 1975 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Traditionalists or Silent generation) |
| Solomon | 1977 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Roza | 1980 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Daisy | 1970 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Yasmin | 1982 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Traditionalists or Silent generation) |
| Mike | 1988 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Ian | 1976 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Sonia | 1974 | Montréal | Francophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Myriam | - | Montréal | Francophone & Anglophone | Second generation (Generation X) |
| Renaud | - | Montréal | Francophone | Second generation (Millennial or Generation Y) |
| Levi | - | Montréal | Francophone & Anglophone | Second generation (Millennial or Generation Y) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Esther | 1975 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Traditionalists or Silent generation) |
| Victor | 1975 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Traditionalists or Silent generation) |
| Sarah | 1975 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Suzanne | 1968 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Traditionalist or Silent generation) |
| Nissim | 1971 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Maria | 1959 | Toronto | Hispanophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |
| Ava | 1964 | Toronto | Hispanophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |
| Pedro | 1958 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Traditionalist or Silent generation) |
| Manuel | 1963 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Traditionalist or Silent generation) |
| Julia | 1976 | Montréal | Francophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marco | 1964 | Toronto | Hispanophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |
| Jack | 1957 | Toronto | Hispanophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |
| Pablo | 1957 | Toronto | Hispanophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |
| David | 1967 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Yahuda | 1965 | Toronto | Hispanophone | First generation (Baby boomer) |
| Luiza | 1968 | Toronto | Francophone & Anglophone | 1.5 generation (Baby boomer) |
| Jacob | - | Toronto | Francophone & Anglophone | Second generation (Generation X) |
| Marc | 1982 | Toronto | Francophone | 1.5 generation (Generation X) |
| Rina | 1989 | Toronto | Anglophone | 1.5 generation (Generation X) |

Table 3: Years of immigration, places of settlement, linguistic and generational characteristics of the participants

I think that the fact that I had fled Turkey due to political reasons, as I will detail in the next section, lent itself to a fertile ground for dialogue and mutual understanding between me and the interviewees, many of whom were exiles. They facilitated my interaction with the participants and were conducive to building a relationship of trust, especially when they experienced anxiety or heightened emotions recalling events. Seeing them as "participants" in the study rather than merely as "respondents," my readiness and conversation, I think, helped them consider themselves as collaborators instead of outsiders, a relationship which is detailed by Gerson and Damaske (Gerson

and Damaske 2020). While conducting my interviews, I tried to embrace a communicative and collaborative approach that respected the knowledge each participant provided. The learning process had the power of creating a shared bond between me and the interviewees. This acknowledges that the boundary between the researcher and the research participant is in a constant state of change. While I am neither Moroccan nor Jewish, I believe I was able to establish an authentic dialogue with the participants. As Robert Weiss highlights:

> It seems like common sense that it would be better for the interviewer to be of the same race and, if possible, of the same ethnic background as the respondent. My own experience has been that here common sense is mostly wrong. Racial and ethnic differences, insofar as the respondent can infer these, may play a role in a potential respondent's initial reaction to the interviewer, but my experience has been that once an interview takes hold, these differences have little effect on the quality of the interviewing partnership (Weiss 2014, 139-140).

Still, I believe that some of them might have avoided to share more stories relating to sensitive political topics, or their relations with the majority and other groups, e.g., Muslims, in Canada, which, in my opinion, is one of the limitations of my research. Therefore, I think that Sephardic Jewish-Muslim relations or Sephardic Jews' relations with other ethnic, cultural, or national groups like Indigenous Peoples and Black people in North America (Koffman 2019, Kaufman 1995) might be an interesting and enigmatic research subject for future scholarship. To sum up, in my research, life-story interviewing became an effective tool to gather information about the social world and human experience. It enabled me to map people's trajectories over time allowing for a comprehension of the in-depth scale of the social structure and human agency. Its inquiry relied on finding answers to empirical and conceptual puzzles that have been raised in the first chapter.

## 2.4. A Note on my Positionality

My research initially intended to compare Sephardic Jews as a minority group in the Ottoman Empire & Turkey and Morocco during interwar years (1918-1939). As I settled in Canada for my doctoral studies in the department of Sociology at the Université de Montréal, the prohibitive costs of funding and archival research in Morocco turned out to be a major obstacle to completing this research. This limitation was also for political reasons, as I had to quit my doctoral studies in the Ataturk Institute for Modern Turkish History at the Boğaziçi University (BOUN) in Istanbul, Turkey in 2016 and change my previous research topic completely before deciding to work abruptly on a new one.

Having worked on Kurdish forced migration in a neighborhood in Istanbul for my MA, I signed a Peace Petition in 2016, along with many students, scholars, and professors, to prevent the government from engaging in horrendous operations against the Kurdish population in the southeastern part of Turkey. The government, for its part, reacted by declaring the petition and its signatories to be enemies of the people, supporting violence rather than peace, resulting in the dismissal of academics from the university, with some forced to leave their cities, and others the country. It gradually became clear to me that due to the inextricable set of circumstances and uncanny impasse I – among others – was confronting, from then on, my ongoing work on Kurds would be a challenging task. Amid a failed coup d'état attempt in Turkey, people were afraid to go outside and were constantly sharing the proverb that became quickly popular in social media: *Gelecek kaygısı yaşayan nesli, yaşama kaygısı sardı* (the generation suffering from anxieties about the future, is now suffering from the anxieties of survival). As I was inspired by the Ottoman and contemporary Turkish historical readings through my education at BOUN during this time, I noticed that Jews from the Ottoman lands and now living in Turkey were relatively absent in the

literature compared to other religious minorities. Thus, both my initial questions as well as socio-political events shaped my choice of research topic and perspective.

As I settled in Canada, I began to develop a particular interest in the Sephardic community in Montréal and Toronto, to understand immigrant belonging at the intersection of language and religion. My choice of where to conduct this research was dictated by two deliberations: two different linguistic and religious contexts experienced by the ethnoreligious group I chose to study; and two places characterized by very different cultural contexts. Together with these two considerations, I had a general interest, like an anthropologist, to explore the 'unknown' through an empirical study of ideas, experiences, and practices that I encountered (Paugam 2012; Lahire 2016).

Without any doubt, a non-Jewish female scholar from Turkey who ventured into a topic on Jewish studies presented some uncertainties. What could a non-Jewish immigrant and international student coming from a Muslim-majority country have to say about the Jewish community in Canada, let alone Turkey – and how would I be received by my participants? Before I elaborate my thoughts on this subject in the pages that follow, let me begin by stating that the representation of the importance of positionality, eliciting religion, ethnicity, race, and geography, should suggest the legitimacy of evaluating scholarship more on the basis of what is debated rather than who is doing the debating. I do not want to imply that who is doing the debating arguments should never exist in academia. Rather, I believe that for researchers, such as myself who does not benefit from diverse privileges that can be related to a web of North American structures and connections, it is vital to stop for a moment and think deeply. As a woman, international student, and immigrant from Turkey, I think that it is not plausible to entertain an assumption of epistemic violence or "epistemicide" (Santos 2018) which would argue that there is a clear division of the world between myself and the participants with whom I collaborated in this thesis.

This study is a collaboration, the results of a dialogue between me and my interviewees. I listened to their stories closely and genuinely heard what was being recounted to me. I locate myself as a non-Jewish international student coming from a Muslim majority country who does not represent the Turkish majority in her country of origin while studying in Canada. My interest in the Sephardic culture and language is for the most part tied to my identity and as explained in the introduction, my studies in Modern Turkish History in Istanbul. In the courses I took, I was first introduced to late Ottoman history, and it was at that moment that the position of religious minorities in the late Ottoman period caught my attention. In the final year of my studies just before quitting, I chose an independent research project on Jews in Ottoman Empire & Turkey and Morocco during interwar years and later storytelling of Sephardic Jews in the diaspora as soon as I settled in Canada for my doctoral studies.

This project has enabled me to overcome the most difficult years of my studies by connecting me to the dimensions of stories that I listened to. It gave me the opportunity to reposition myself through a common experience and empathy. Through my non-Jewish outsider identity, I considered myself as a "visitor" and "a scientific observer" who had no "expectation of going native" (Shuman 2010, 153). I do not claim the authority of personal experiences shared in this dissertation. Making the unknown worlds known is never neutral; they can only be, as James Clifford named, the "partial truths" and representations which are still significant and worth studying (Shuman 2010, 152). As Amy Shuman puts it very well "we have good reason to be suspicious of the promise to provide a voice for the voiceless or tell the untellable," whether the researcher is an insider or outsider (Ibid.). From this standpoint, I want to focus on two important units relating to complex ethical issues arising from conducting qualitative research; that are representation and reflexivity.

For the representation of life-stories, rather than discussing the sense of accuracy and objectivity of it, I want to address two key items, namely empathy and entitlement, to show the problems that might arise from it. Surely, wearing other people's shoes together with the stories collected and shared bring the debates of entitlement and empathy promises "mutual understanding" and "redemption" by building a pact between participants and experiences. As I mentioned earlier, I do not claim the authority of personal experiences shared in this dissertation. I do not claim to speak for all Jews having North African and Turkish origin. I make few if any allegorical (representative) claims and as an international student hailing from Turkey and immigrant, I can only partially claim to understand the lived experiences of participants. Detecting the roles of entitlement and empathy in stories bring discussions about stories at their limits.

In his piece "on reflexivity," inspired by the readings of George Herbert Mead, Philip Carl Salzman identifies reflexivity not as a process that takes place between the researcher and the researched. According to him, it is rather "the constant awareness, assessment, and the reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution/ influence/ shaping of intersubjective research and the consequent research findings" (Salzman 2002, 806). It gives researchers an opportunity to open themselves without turning their subjects into objects. I am well aware that my position as an outsider researcher might have limited what I could learn from life-stories in this dissertation. Hence, I sense the limitations of the substances of my empirical findings. As stated above, my accounts are partial because of my own positionality and my perception of the things that had happened to the interview subjects, especially in Morocco.

Furthermore, "ownership of experience is often a contested territory" (Shuman 2010, 155). Even researchers who claim to be insiders with all the entitlements they think they carry with them for the conduct of ethical research might critically position themselves as "outsiders" through shared ethnic commonalities with the participants. Indeed, shared ethno-racial identity with the

participants is “not a prerequisite for understanding participant realities nor does it provide an intuitive interpretational bias any more than it does for one without mutual researcher/researched reciprocity” (Ademolu 2023, 7).

Similar to what Salzman emphasizes in his piece, therefore, I think that one does not need to be the “others” through experience and shared identity to reach and understand them profoundly (Salzman 2002). For Salzman “this is an odd argument for a cultural anthropologist, but it is an old and well-worn, and disputable, argument” (Salzman 2002, 808). This kind of thinking assumes that Muslims and Jews, Turks and Greeks, Kurds and Turks, Arabs and Blacks, Arab Christians and Arab Jews can never understand one another. My own understanding, very much identical to what Salzman contends, is contrary to this kind of binary thinking. For instance, while listening to stories pertaining to participants’ relations with the majority – not in Morocco but in Turkey and Canada – I was able to empathize, notice, and acknowledge the depth of their anger without experiencing the exact events myself. It was not hard to realize their outrage due to the fact that I also experienced similar but not identical episodes through my identity, as someone, for instance, hailing from a Muslim majority country studying in North America. For Morocco, however, since I think I do not come from the country and never lived there, I admit that I had difficulty understanding complex lived experiences and some contradictory statements of the participants. Narratives of Moroccan Jews constantly reminded me of the role of Israel-Palestine conflict, colonial legacy, and Zionism on the formation of a more complex identity formation as opposed to Turkish Jewish identity. Listening to Moroccan Jewish stories also enabled me to understand and gauge what non-Jewish and Muslim responses to these events would be in Morocco.

To sum up, the idea that one must come from the same ethnoreligious, class, or racial background to understand interview subjects better “seems to doubt human capability of empathy, sympathy, and imagination” (Salzman 2002, 808). As Salzman comments, this thinking can only

be associated with "a political boundary to silence people beyond constructed boundaries" rushing to a dubious conclusion rather than "an epistemologically justified position" (Salzman 2002, 808).

## 2.5. Politics and Logics of Data Analysis

The life story interviews I conducted were grounded in qualitative and comparative approaches to sociological research. As I show in the empirical findings of my study, this allowed me to create themes highlighting similar as well as different conditions under which certain lived experiences occurred, helping to interpret and conceptualize the testimonies of the participants (Belotto 2018, Becker 1998). I employed four stages of data analysis, which are the stages of pre-coding, coding, development of themes, and comparing and crossing the themes. I outline them in the following sections.

### *Pre-coding stage*

Listening to the life-stories of the participants allowed me to ask questions about how the interplay of language and religion in a Canadian context shaped and transformed interviewees' sense of belonging and identity. Rather than testing specific hypotheses, as one does in a laboratory setting, my interview-oriented research sought for answers to empirical and conceptual puzzles and attempted to explore complex social dynamics, like the relationship between language and religion in Canada and the identity formation of a specific ethnoreligious group in a unique country.

In the first stage, I kept reading the transcripts to familiarize myself with the content of stories. I evaluated the quality of data, whether narratives were vague and inconsistent and whether I was getting the answers to my research questions. As I frequently probed my transcripts and reassessed the quality of my results, I became more familiar with the content, and thus was able to

revise and refine the interview materials. While reviewing each participant's transcript, repetition of words, the meaning units and statements that carried converging connotations were detected (Belotto 2018, 2624).

*Coding stage*

Interpretative analysis of substantial parts of text and segments of knowledge took place during the coding stage. It was through the life-stories of my interviewees that I sought to understand their past experiences, decisions, positions, and attitudes in life over time. Understanding their stories was important because they allowed me to perceive that they would not be where they are today without the journey that led them to settle in Canada. As a researcher, rather than including everything that has happened to them, I was interested in hearing the stories that covered parts of the past as they remembered them. I focused on key events, scenes, encounters, intercommunal relations, and thoughts through themes that became some of the most important happenings that they remembered in their life.

To illustrate, since my research examined in which ways the interplay of language and religion played a role in understanding immigrant belonging and looked at the particular trajectory of religion in Québec, I used labels for codes such as majority-minority relations, diversity of the lived experiences, generational difference, intercommunal relations, and Canadian pluralism. Hence, rather than using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software like Nvivo, I coded my data manually. By adding my codes in the margins of the transcripts, I underscored sections of text which helped interpret findings of my research.

*Development of themes*

Upon completion of the coding of all thirty-five transcripts, I clustered the data that were relevant to my research questions. This process led to the emergence of patterns and then identification of themes which enabled me to identify and distinguish the diverse participant experiences. I then interpreted the data by narrowing down certain themes. The following themes were central to my participants' narratives: their relationship to the majority, generational differences, and inter and intra Jewish relations. When patterns that I considered secondary appeared on the scene, issues of foreign policy and its impact on internal domestic politics and education system, I labeled them as additional themes. The secondary themes from the life-story interviewing spoke to the participants sense of belonging in Canada. I cover these themes in Chapter 5 *Jewish Memory, Nationalism, and Majority-Minority Relations in Morocco and Turkey in the 1950s and 1970s.*

*Comparing and Crossing the Themes*

In the last stage of data analysis, comparing and crossing the emerged primary themes like participants' relation to religion, majority culture in two cities, inter and intra Jewish relations, and difference across generations led to the construction of conceptual categories.

## 2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has outlined my methods of data collection, recruitment and processes for recording and interpreting interviews. I began with the life-story interviewing method and then explained the recruitment of the participants. I later showed how these life-story interviews delved into the linguistic, ethnic, generational, and geographical backgrounds of the participants. In the

fourth part, I opened a section on my positionality and addressed it through the categories of representation and self-reflexivity. In the final part, I detailed the stages of pre-coding, coding, the development of themes, and comparing and crossing the themes, and I explained how I interpreted my findings. The next chapter examines the concepts that I used to analyze the empirical findings of my research. They seek to operationalize the analysis of the role of language and religion in the processes of negotiating the difference and help define "belonging" in the Canadian context from the stories of participants in Chapters 6 and 7.

**Chapter 3**

## LANGUAGE AND RELIGION: CONCEPTUAL APPROACH TO BELONGING

Chapter 1 raised the central questions guiding this research project. How do North African and Turkish Jews build their sense of belonging through negotiating the interplay of language and religion in the Canadian context? How do societal particularities of the two contexts (Ontario and Québec) step in the processes of negotiation and create a complex relation between language and religion? And how are relations between participants and the majority groups and inter and intra Jewish relations formed and transformed in these processes? Referring to individuals' identifications and emotional attachments to certain collectivities, in Chapter 1, I showed my interest in the second definition of belonging developed by Yuval-Davis. In this respect, I mentioned how I would apply this definition of belonging to language and religion within the empirical findings of my research, e.g., through cultural institutional practices (recognition or recognition gap), spatial context (Québec and Anglo Canada), and intercommunal relations (complexity). This chapter presents the concepts that I used to analyze the empirical findings of my research and helps define "belonging" in the Canadian context from the stories of participants in Chapters 6 and 7.

Language and religion are central to my analytical framework around the process of boundary making as a way of understanding immigrant belonging. In this chapter, I draw on the concepts of Christendom, exculturation, catho-secularism *(catho-laïcité)*, and vicarious religion in order to analyse the process of boundary making in the context of religious identity. In order to examine language as a marker of identity, I employ the concepts of ethnic boundary-blurring, crossing,

shifting, linguicism, and the recognition gap. In the process, I show how religion and language interact and contribute to the process of boundary making. These analytical frameworks will help to provide a better comprehension of the particular trajectory of religion in Québec, including the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution periods. In Chapters 6 and 7, these concepts will provide a better understanding of immigrant belonging through the interplay of language and religion that emerged from my participants' narratives.

*Belonging and boundary making*

Immigrant belonging in the larger majority culture can be detected through the interplay of language and religion. These two markers of identity were commonly raised by participants. In order to make sense of them, we need to understand their parameters, including their internal-contradictions and ambiguities. Ethnic boundaries and identities can evolve in relationship to language and religion. The interplay between language and religion can give rise to distinct intercommunal immigrant identity formations. From this vantage point, particularities of the Montréal Jewish community can be understood as the product of socio-political developments and increasing Jewish contact with Franco-Québécois during and after the Quiet Revolution in Québec (Lacasse 2020).

Integration is part of a relational migratory process engendering an unequal social relation between minorities and larger groups (Fortin 2000, Schnapper 2007). The phenomenon of integration as an object of study thus needs to be examined as a relational dynamic (Emirbayer 1997). Through individuals' relations to other people, groups and places, we can grasp their religious, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic identity formations. Identities are not fixed; they can be reconstructed and changed within spatial and temporal contexts. Groups may seek to distinguish

themselves from other groups through their unique experiences by entering relational contexts, venues and situations in the society which are socio-cultural as well as structural (Ibid.). People make sense of their identities in relation to other people and form bonds through categorical boundaries (Lamont and Molnár, 2002). If the agency is "divorced from analytical relationality," its taxonomy is doomed to be unclear (Emirbayer 1997, 288). Inclusion and exclusion of groups are determined by the boundaries which can be symbolic (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki 2015). Symbolic boundaries, the means by which people differentiate themselves from other groups, can be signified by preferences, taboos, cultural codes, segregation and violence.

Émile Durkheim and Max Weber extensively discuss moral order and inequality in relation to classification systems. In *Les formes élementaires de la vie religieuse* (The Elementary Forms of Religious Life), Durkheim (1965[1911]) underscores how the unique religious experiences of individuals relationally create symbolic boundaries between the sacred and profane. In *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Economy and Society) Weber (1922/1956) discusses the role of honour and prestige in creating a symbolic boundary that produces inequality rather than solidarity. The symbolic boundary Weber studies is associated with people's fight over scarce resources and the prestige associated with them. Some groups discriminate against others on the basis of cultural, linguistic, religious, or educational variations, which in return prevent competition for these resources. These dominant groups, who develop a sense of superiority in relation to groups who have been marginalized, use their higher status and perceived honour to legitimate their control over resources.

Bourdieu builds on both Durkheim and Weber's theories of symbolic competition. In his well-known book *Distinction* (1984[1979]), Bourdieu shows how preferences, cultural practices, and ways of life (habitus) form symbolic classifications that reproduce inequality. Dominant groups employ symbolic violence by establishing a particular set of tastes as meaningful and

legitimate while obscuring the unequal and power relations behind these judgments (Lamont, Pendergrass and Pachucki 2015). In Bourdieu's view, the defining and legitimizing tastes as superior is always relational and constructed upon binaries or boundaries. By drawing boundaries, dominant groups mark themselves as having the legitimate power to exercise discrimination towards others through habitus or cultural characteristics constituting classifications. Both language and religion can demarcate symbolic boundaries through which ethnocultural differences are established.

In what follows, I flesh out the concepts pertaining to immigrant belonging in the process of boundary making at the intersection of language and religion. This serves as my conceptual toolkit that I use to analyze and interpret the narratives of my participants in Chapters 6 and 7.

### 3.1. Conceptualizing religion: "Cultural Religion" as an umbrella concept and specificities of Québec

The concept of cultural religion is necessary to understand the participants' sense of belonging in Canada. How can we discuss religion in culture and which role does religion play in belonging? Is it possible to argue that, beyond the processes of secularization and dechristianization, expression of religion in culture constitutes an influential existence in the public sphere? How can we distinguish religious Muslims, Jews, or Christians from cultural Muslims, Jews, or Christians? In order to understand the term "cultural religion," it is instructive to examine and assess the term "civil religion" developed and elaborated by American sociologist Robert N. Bellah.

In 1967 essay "Civil Religion in America," Bellah reformulates the term "civil religion," initially coined by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *The Social Contract* to examine religious dogmas, as

a way to understand religious undercurrents expressed in American political discourse through symbols, rituals, and beliefs (Bellah 1967, 4, 5). Bellah points to a presidential speech by John F. Kennedy, which makes references to the concept of God without mentioning a particular religion, prophet, or church, as an example of "American civil religion." Bellah questions why a president who believes in the separation of church and state would invoke God in his political discourse.

In reference to Kennedy's speech, Bellah concludes that "the separation of church and state has not denied the political realm a religious dimension" (Bellah 1967, 3). In other words, Bellah suggests that American society has accepted and absorbed the idea that the concept of God invokes different meanings for different people (Ibid.). Bellah points to the Founding Fathers' influence on shaping the character of civil religion in American society. He notes that early American presidents George Washington and John Adams did not explicitly name Christ or a particular church in their initial speeches but they did use the term God (Bellah 1967, 7). Therefore, Bellah suggests that while many forms of civil religion emanate from Christianity, the term is not inherently tied to Christianity itself (Ibid.).

According to Emilio Gentile, civil religion can be distinguished from what he calls "political religion." Whereas political religion refers to the sacralization of politics in totalitarian regimes under fascist and communist ideologies, civil religion implies the sacralization of politics in democratic regimes (Gentile 2005). Although there are similarities between civil religion and cultural religion, they differ in one key respect: while civil religion does not preserve any specific link to religious confession, cultural religion does (Laniel 2015, 161, 162). In contrast to the United States where God has been a central figure in the political discourse, the French *laïcité* is characterized by the absence of any references to God (Laniel 2015, 164). Unlike civil religion, cultural religion seeks to include different religious affiliations and privileges a religious confession

through denominational references (Laniel 2015, 165). The following section will introduce the concept of cultural religion as an umbrella term and explain its relevance to the Québec context.

In his essay on religion, Max Weber uses the term "cultural religion," which he distinguishes from "world religions" (Laniel 2015, Schluchter 1989). Cultural religion, according to Weber, was the first step towards the rationalization and disenchantment of the world (Schluchter 1989). In an article on the concept of cultural religion, however, N. J. Demerath III observes that in Poland there were, what he calls, "cultural Catholics" who do not attend church regularly or practice their faith but whose Catholicism constitute a cultural heritage through, for instance, family values (Demerath 2000, 130). In the context of Northern Ireland, he notes that one of the participants of his research once said to him that "when you meet a stranger here at a party or some other gathering, the first thing to be established is not your occupation but your religious identity." Another participant in Demerath's field research in Northern Ireland puts it this way: "Even if you are an atheist, you are either a Catholic or a Protestant atheist" (Demerath 2000, 131). Demerath points to these instances as examples of "cultural religion," which acts as the conceptual framework underpinning his article.

Cultural religion, according to Demerath, is demonstrated by people he interacted with both in Poland and Northern Ireland who were associated with a specific religious tradition without necessarily believing in or practicing it. Hence, the cases that he encountered indicate "a style of religion that resides 'in the culture' without compelling active belief or participation" (Demerath 2000, 136). Below, I discuss some concepts that are encapsulated in the term "cultural religion," and show how Québec is an intriguing case study of cultural religion in practice. In this dissertation, I will use Québec as a case study in order to grasp a deeper understanding of cultural religion, a concept that I will discuss further in Chapter 6 as I examine how it has shaped participants' relations with the majority culture.

Québec stands out from other Canadian provinces for its Catholic heritage and cultural influence, which is exceptional in North America. According to the inventory of worship places kept by the *Conseil du patrimoine culturel du Québec* (The Québec Religious Heritage Council), in 2004, there were 2,751 places of worship that were built before 1975 or recently closed. Among these worship places, 2,023 Catholic sites including churches, places of pilgrimage, convent chapels, and oratories take up the largest amount of room. By comparison, in Québec there are only 238 Anglican worship places, 25 synagogues, 49 Presbyterian churches, and a few buildings belonging to various other Protestant traditions (Ibid.). The Québec Religious Heritage Foundation was founded by the government in 1995. It was later renamed the Québec Religious Heritage Council in 2007, and it has since aimed to administer grants for restoration and conservation of buildings to attract interest in religious heritage (Lefebvre 2015, 80).

Cultural religion in Québec specifically refers to the omnipresent cultural expressions of Catholicism that are deeply rooted in the province's history, collective imagination, and memory. This dissemination of Catholicism in Québec's culture is so ubiquitous that it makes its particular religious traditions seem "normal" or "natural" (Lefebvre 2015, 89). In Québec, there is a particular configuration posed by religion allowing us to explore the complexities it creates in its unique landscape. Although Catholicism lost some of its power and prestige in Québec in the wake of the Quiet Revolution's modernizing influence (a topic I will explore further in the next chapter), Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme notes that the Franco-Québécois did not completely abandon "the cultural heritage of Catholicism" (Wilkins-Laflamme 2015, 115, 117). Following this brief introduction to the concept of cultural religion, I will make the case for its use as an umbrella term that encompasses four key sub-concepts: Christendom, exculturation, catho-secularism *(catho-laïcité)*, and vicarious religion.

*Christendom*

While defining the word "Christendom," Charles Taylor emphasizes the impossibility of understanding our current world by a single ideal type without taking history into consideration. Taylor defines Christendom in western societies as "a civilization where society and culture profoundly informed by Christian faith" and which "will forever remain historically informed by Christianity" (Taylor 2007, 514). Taylor argues that post-secular age does not mean that "the declines in belief and practice of the last century would have been reversed," but that it instead refers to "a time in which the hegemony of the mainstream master narrative of secularization will be more and more challenged" (Taylor 2007, 534). In this context, Taylor uses the term "Christendom" to refer to a group identity that can become more significant among non-Christians, such as Muslims, Hindus or Jews, who feel their difference from the majority religion.

*Exculturation*

The concept of exculturation, which was first introduced by Danièle Hervieu-Léger, refers to the weakening of Christianity from the social imagination of a particular group (Hervieu-Léger 2003). The nature of exculturation lies at the heart of a specific historical framework that helps us to better understand religious evolution of contemporary Québécois society (Meunier 2015). According to E.-Martin Meunier, the sociology of exculturation refers to the sociological transformation of the cultural elements of religion. Following the municipal elections on November 3, 2013, former Party Québécois (PQ)[12] minister, Lisa Payette, admitted that, although the Québécois culture is less religious now, it is still marked by certain features of Catholicism. Despite the secularization of Québécois practices and institutions during the Quiet Revolution, Payette

[12] I explain the historical position and emergence of PQ in the next chapter.

suggested that the names of streets like Saint-Joseph, Saint-Laurent, and Saint-Anne tacitly demonstrate recognition of Catholicism's heritage and influence in the province. Advocating for secularization, Payette has suggested that some street names should be changed and that, rather than solely attacking the dominance of the English in Québec, the work of decolonization should also target the other "conqueror" of the Québécois society, the Catholic church (Meunier 2015, 21, 22).

Exculturation does not necessarily imply the "end" of religion, whether it takes place through secularization or dechristianization. Rather, as Meunier argues, exculturation is characterized by a change in the relations between a culture and a dominant religion, where old cultural codes are reappropriated toward new purposes. Seen in this light, exculturation is a silent anthropological transformation underscoring the end of a specific historical moment where culture and religion comes into existence in the same project (Meunier 2015, 24). In effect, from a historical sociological perspective of exculturation, it is possible to consider the Charter of Québec Values, which I discuss in the next chapter, as an implicit sociopolitical program of cultural religion (Meunier 2015, 40). The Charter of Québec Values attempted to bring patrimonial Catholicism together with secularism, despite the neutrality of the state, leading me to introduce to the next concept of this chapter: *catho-laïcité.*

*Catho-secularism (Catho-laïcité)*

Like exculturation, *catho-laïcité* is a key concept to understanding some participants' sense of belonging in Québec. The term *catho-laïcité* designates the tendency to transform French *laïcité* into a kind of civil religion, namely into a common faith ensuring the unity of all citizens characterized by the absence of any mentions of God and references to religious confession in the

definition of a shared identity (Laniel 2015, 164). In France, like Québec, the notion of *laïcité* connotes ideological associations connected to a mystical or secular religion that still persists among many French citizens (Durand 2011, 41). Neglecting the difference in the society and remaining attached to the Catholic culture, French society contradicts the notion of *laïcité* it embraces, which claims the separation of Church and the state, on the one hand, and the strict symbolic neutrality of public sphere, on the other. According to Jean-Paul Willaime (2009), French society possesses a type of *laïcité* that can be called *catho-laïcité*, meaning the calendar, the holidays, the eating habits, and the architectural monuments represent the Catholic culture.

Indeed, as political theorist Jean-Yves Pranchère (2011, 110) states, *catho-laïcité* connotes a place of malaise and a form of perplexity linked to the French republican ideal. This type of malaise, associated with instrumentalized ideologies creating social anxieties, gave rise to the emergence of an imagined French identity combined with "Catholic" patrimony and secular convictions. Jean-Yves Pranchère asserts that this mixture of the Catholic patrimony and secularism has been turned against Islam in contemporary France (Ibid.). Muslims and Hassidic Jews, as I will explore in the following chapter, are one of the non-Christian Others who are affected by a similar mixture of Catholic patrimony and secular convictions in Québec. In this sense, it would be reasonable to assert that the *laïcité* endorsed by some citizens and political advocates in Québec is essentially the same as the *catho-laïcité* that operates in France.

*Vicarious Religion*

Vicarious religion is another term to introduce under the concept of cultural religion because it offers some explanations for the religious attachments of participants and their contact with the nominally Christian populations in Canada. In the works of British sociologist, Grace Davie,

cultural religion occupies a central role, which is primarily influenced by the socio-historical and cultural contexts in Europe, Great Britain in particular. She coins the term “vicarious religion” to emphasize a population which is neither hostile to nor fervent adherers to religion. For Davis, a population which is neither involved in organized religious activities nor consciously opposing to it underscores “the continuing attachment of large sections of the European population to their historic churches, whether or not they attended these institutions on a regular basis” (Davie 2010, 261, quoted in Laniel 2015, 156). This form of historic attachment functions as a way of contributing to the survival of religious heritage and reminds a society of its collective values. In other words, Davie argues that although religion is practiced by an active minority in contemporary European societies, larger segment of the European population nonetheless approves of what this active minority is performing (Davie 2010). For Davie, dropping out of practicing one’s own faith while at the same time stating that one belongs to some confession can be understood through the phenomenon of “believing without belonging” (Davie 1994, Taylor 2007). In the case of “believing without belonging” individuals live their spiritual life in their “immediate circle, with family and friends,” rather than in a synagogue, mosque, or church where they frequently attend its services (Taylor 2007, 534).

## 3.2. Language

Language is more than a means of communication; it structures dialogue, exchange, conversation, creativity, and thus personal and social identity. Language is not just a means of communication; a language carries a whole shared culture in it. Sociologically, culture indicates specific traits of a society like mode of life, mentality, beliefs, which constitutes a way of being, thinking, acting, conversing, and construing. Culture not only depends on the language, but it also

depends on a shared history which brings together values, norms, symbols, and institutions that designate a group (Durand 2011). In order for culture to be *shared*, it needs to have a language, history, folklore, and tradition known by each citizen, familiarity with arts, appreciation of historic figures, and respect to its essential institutions (Ibid.). It also requires respect and protection of the aforementioned factors by groups and leaders. A common culture requires mutual comprehension among individuals and a project of a joint society in a sense that there is an imaginary project shared by a group of people that allows them to assemble, celebrate together with words, rites and symbols contributing to a self-expression (Ibid.).

Like religion, language can draw a symbolic boundary through which ethnocultural differences manifest. Language can be an instrument of exercising symbolic power over groups who are in a less powerful position leading individuals and groups to experience marginalization and exclusion, such as through linguicism centered on accent (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen 2007). It can generate boundary crossing and shifting depending on the spatial aspect, e.g., where one is situated, and which generation experiences it. It can also create boundary blurring by intercommunal relations, e.g., how each group builds their relations with other groups in their surrounding places. Therefore, groups can domesticate or escape their difference and pass into the majority culture that would have an impact on their sense of belonging in a particular place (Barth 1969, Zolberg and Woon 1999).

Language has always been a central issue of Québec politics. It became an inclusive debate not only attached to the Franco-Québécois majority especially by the end of the twentieth century in Québec. Before this time, language had always been associated with the rights of French Canadians. As citizens of a minority nation, when their mother tongue faced challenges for its survival in a multinational country, they wished to see immigrants acquiring their education in francophone institutions (Juteau 2002, 452). However, as Danielle Juteau puts, language, rather

than an issue of rights and equality among Franco-Québécois, functions more as an issue of identity defined as the bearer of culture and a common goods that "must be protected by all residents" in contemporary Québec (Juteau 2002, 454). In the next section, I discuss remaining concepts of this chapter, all of which are linked to language as well religion in different processes of boundary making within the empirical findings of Chapters 6 and 7.

*Ethnic boundary blurring*

When the difference between a specific group and the majority becomes clouded or less perceptible, individuals belonging to that particular group can perform *boundary blurring.* As Richard Alba puts it "one way that boundary blurring can occur is when the mainstream culture and identity are relatively porous and allow for the incorporation of cultural elements brought by immigrant groups" (Alba 2005, 25). When Jews and Catholic Eastern and Southern European people encountered white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) majority upon their arrival in the United States in the early twentieth century, xenophobia toward these newcomers increased. However, the degree of xenophobia toward Jews was higher than toward Catholics who still shared the same Christian faith with Protestant majority in the U.S. at that time.

Both Jewish and Catholic hatred escalated as a result of the Klu Klux Klan resurgence, which was a white supremacist terrorist organization. Over time, when both Jews and Catholics became part of the American culture, the boundary that they formed with the majority became blurred. This is also the case, when we look at, for instance, nominally Catholic Mexicans currently living in the U.S. whose lived experiences seem to be similar to what southern Italians were previously experiencing in the country. According to historian Robert Orsi, the presence of "dark-skinned" Others, such as African Americans and Caribbean and their relation to Italian immigrants between

1920 and 1990 played a role in shaping Italian American identity in the U.S. (Orsi 1992, 318). Whereas the Christian faith they shared with the WASP majority explains the boundary blurring those Mexican and Italian American immigrants experienced in the U.S., for some immigrants, language, as I show in Chapters 6 and 7 with my empirical study, can become a prominent identity marker enabling clouding of their difference from the majority (Barth 1969, Zolberg and Woon 1999).

*Ethnic boundary crossing*

While comparing patterns of assimilation and exclusion mainly among second-generation immigrants in France, Germany, and the United States, Richard Alba cites Irvin Child's work (1943) on second-generation Italian Americans just before World War II. In his work, exemplifying the social burden that ethnic boundary crossing generates among immigrants, Child argues that second-generation Italian Americans during this time were showing no interest in change because they were faced with a psychological burden. According to Child, when Italian Americans wanted to assimilate, they faced the burden that they would be rejected and disdained by the WASP majority while at the same being considered disloyal to the Italian community. Loyalty to the Italian community, on the other hand, presented another set of burdens because they would have forfeited the opportunities to "abandon" their minority lower and discriminatory status through assimilation. Therefore, as Richard Alba maintains, the social burden "associated with seeking acceptance from a dominant group that discriminates, while potentially facing accusations of disloyalty from a group of origin that perceives itself as an oppressed minority," can become "intimidating" for immigrants (Alba 2005, 40). Under these circumstances, the formation of ethnic boundary crossing can take

place when immigrants gloss over the aforementioned burdens, become aware of the benefits of human capital and prioritize the values of resources in the host society.

In his study, what Richard Alba finds out is that while second-generation immigrants, e.g., Turks in Germany, Maghrebins (Muslim North Africans) in France, and Mexicans in the United States, can respond to their parents in the native language, unlike the first-generation immigrants, they opt to adapt the official language of the host society. He observes that the experiences of Maghrebins and Turks in Europe can be associated with the experiences of second-generation Italians prior to World War II in the U.S. whose educational background and mobility placed them in a higher status compared to their parents. Because of the social burden that their minority status entailed, the type of boundary that second-generation Turks in Germany and Maghrebins in France experienced was boundary-crossing (Ibid.). For Mexican Americans, however, Alba observes that "the wide study of Spanish by U.S. majority-group students would appear to create greater blurring of the native-immigrant boundary than is the case in either France or Germany" (Ibid., 37).

By gradually mastering the local dominant official language and hence linguistically assimilating themselves into the host society, immigrants can leave other differences between them and the majority unaffected by discrimination. As Aristide R. Zolberg and Long Litt Woon highlights, "the hosts expect massive boundary-crossing by newcomers, with varying doses of the carrot or the stick in bringing this about" (Zolberg and Woon 1999, 22-23). By replacing their mother tongue with the host language albeit not completely dropping it as it was spoken in the private sphere, as opposed to the religious pluralist alternative, immigrants can find themselves grouped with the assimilationist pole through language. In order to be accepted, to experience upward mobility and to be included by the dominant group, they can have no option but to replace their mother tongue with the host society in the public sphere. Like the second-generation Turks in Germany and Maghrebins in France, they can face a social burden, especially in the early years of

their settlement. Feeling disloyal to their own community by abandoning their linguistic identity, on the one hand, and by being marginalized by the majority culture through their native language in the public sphere, on the other, the boundary crossing type of assimilation can allow to be aware of their potential as immigrants who can be better off thanks to linguistic acquisition.

*Ethnic boundary shifting*

Ethnic boundary shifting illustrates the boundary in which minority groups' relations to the majority is subject to change. In other words, this is the boundary that has been reproduced by new generations and different from what has been practiced previously by older generations. In this case, younger generations who feel rejected because of their linguistic identity can develop conflicting relationships with the majority and the host society. Younger participants can reconstruct their identity in the direction of exclusion through language where ethnic boundary shifting occurs.

*Linguicism*

Groups who are marked by their ethnic and linguistic differences from the majority in a given society can experience unfair treatment when they speak in accent that differs from those of dominant groups. When members of an ethnic and linguistic group are discriminated against by the majority ethnic and linguistic group due to their accent, we can talk about the concept of linguicism. Coined by the linguist Tove Skutnabb-Kangas in the 1980s, linguicism refers to "ideologies and structures that are used to legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an unequal division of power and resources (both material and non-material) between groups which are defined on the basis of language" (Skutnabb-Kangas 1988, 13). Linguicism, like other forms of discriminations,

e.g., religious intolerance, sexism, ageism, and racism, is employed by a dominant group which perpetuates unequal relations between the majority and linguistically excluded or disenfranchised groups (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen 2007, 33).

In Canada, the Montréal metropolitan area in particular is an interesting place for linguistic minorities which is characterized by a specific linguistic ecology that sets it apart from other Canadian and North American cities. Marked by the cohabitation of several interacting linguistic communities, Montréal represents a unique case among all urban spaces both nationally and internationally. Francophone from the period of its creation, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, Montréal became home to more anglophones making it a predominantly anglophone city. It was only towards the end of the nineteenth century that it became a francophone city again (Remysen and Reinke 2014, Linteau 2007). As I show in the next chapter in detail, it was especially at the turn of the twentieth century Montréal became increasingly welcoming to immigrants. This situation concomitantly granted it a multilingual character leading it to face some challenges regarding the use of French in the public sphere. Viewed in this perspective, it is possible to argue that Montréal's linguistic particularity originated by the bilingual divide between French and English, or "double majority," transformed itself into a multilingual character thanks to the increase of allophone immigration to the city (Anctil 1984, Remysen and Reinke 2014).

According to the report of *la Commission des droits de la personne et des droits de la jeunesse* (Human Rights and Youth Rights Commission), in Québec, on the other hand, members of cultural communities, Indigenous peoples, and anglophones are underrepresented in the Québec public service. Furthermore, the 2003 results of surveys on the ethnic diversity in Canada conducted by Statistics Canada suggests that Franco-Québécois employers tend to favor candidates who share the same cultural and linguistic markers as they do. Thus, they favor candidates who are "québécois de souche" when recruiting and awarding a job promotion (Ibid., 34, 35). In Québec,

other studies show that, in civil administrations and businesses, Franco-Québécois managers often base their recruitment process through word of mouth among members of their own social network. This type of recruitment habit nevertheless limits the possibility of considering anglophone candidates, immigrants, and visible minorities. Indeed, "non-publication of available positions" is a common practice executed by public administrations as well as enterprises which put anglophone candidates, immigrants, or visible minorities at a particular disadvantage in Québec (Conseil des relations interculturelles [CRI] 1999; Barrette and Bourhis 2004, Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen 2007, 35).

Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen underscore a large pan-Canadian survey on ethnic diversity, integration and discrimination, results of which indicate that linguicism is especially experienced by francophone minorities outside Québec, by English-speaking minorities in Québec, and by allophones in Anglo-Canada as well as in Québec (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen 2007, 41, 42). In effect, linguicism appears to be one of the major sources of discrimination in Québec, an observation which approves the salience of linguistic tensions in this province. According to the results of the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey, as mentioned above, linguicism is experienced in the world of work by people who are not *québécois de souche* enlightening the very recruitment problem in the Québec public administrations (Ibid., 44, 46).

*Recognition Gap*

For Michèle Lamont, recognition gaps are "disparities in worth and cultural membership between groups in a society" and some of the acts that sociology of recognition entails is about "specifying the concepts, describing empirically the existence of recognition gaps, and analyzing some of the pathways through which these gaps develop" (Lamont 2018, 420, 421, 422). When an

ethnic group possesses a high level of institutional ability to respond to their needs through a web of linguistic institutions, it then can show that the group has a high level of group consciousness.

The absence of a formation of boundary blurring through language can lead to a recognition gap. The institutions and organizations that groups establish play a major role in decreasing the recognition gaps and unequal distribution of resources. Gaining access to the broader segment of people and cultural membership to the societies that immigrants settle can increase their sense of belonging. In other words, cultural repertoires and institutions can help immigrants respond to perceived exclusion by enabling a sense of belonging. Bourdieu (1984[1979]) has shown how these forms of exclusion produce inequality. Taking social inequality into account through cultural processes can help broaden approaching social inequality with its complex frame which is not drawn by the established sociological study on inequality. Cultural processes cover the fact of being recognized, namely being acknowledged, validated, given worth, dignity and cultural membership, as well as distribution of material and non-material resources (Lamont, Beljean and Claire, 2014). Unequal access to resources among people who have been marginalized or stigmatized, according to Lamont, can be reduced through the awareness of the concept "recognition gaps" (Lamont 2018).

With the aim of enhancing cultural membership to a larger segment of people, awareness of recognition gaps can effectively influence common well-being and quality of life among immigrants. Recognition is the affirmation in which people's credentials, qualities, and worth are acknowledged by other groups in a given society. Contrary to inclusive cultural membership, recognition gaps reproduce inequality between groups. Only institutions and cultural repertoires, as Lamont puts, "can contribute to bridging recognition gaps" (Lamont 2018, 426). Institutions and cultural repertoires thus can be the tools functioning to better groups' capabilities and to overcome challenges in the face of exclusion and inequality. They can reduce recognition gaps by narrowing the boundaries between the majority and immigrants. As I describe empirically in Chapters 6 and

7, language can play an important role in the establishment of cultural institutions giving rise to recognition and recognition gaps.

### 3.3. Conclusion

This chapter aimed to specify the concepts I use to analyze the empirical findings of my research on immigrant belonging in the process of boundary making at the intersection of language and religion in Chapters 6 and 7. For that reason, I first introduced the concept of "cultural religion" to describe how religion, even though it no longer dominates social life in Québec to the degree that did previously, remains an important marker of culture in Canadian society. Thus, Christendom, exculturation, catho-secularism *(catho-laïcité)*, and vicarious religion became the main concepts to mention under the term of "cultural religion" as they entered my analytical framework. In the second section, I presented the concepts of ethnic boundary blurring/ crossing/ shifting, linguicism, and recognition gap under the analytical framework of language, all of which also relate to religion in my empirical discussions.

The boundaries that immigrants form through the interplay between language and religion can help define their sense of belonging giving rise to complexities, recognition, and recognition gaps. In contrast to hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jewish participants, North African Jewish participants living in Québec find themselves in a unique position in Canada, and in North America at large, which I discuss in Chapter 6. In the next chapter, I focus on the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution periods in Canada which will provide a better comprehension of the conceptual frames discussed in this chapter. It presents contentious debates around religious and ethnocultural diversity and discusses multiculturalism and interculturalism as politics and ideologies of pluralism

whose socio-historical and contextual origins will strengthen the comprehension of the place and identity formation of the interviewees in Canada in Chapters 6 and 7.

## Chapter 4

# THE QUIET REVOLUTION AND AFTERWARD: CULTURAL DIVERSITY, INTERCULTURALISM, AND MULTICULTURALISM AS POLITICS OF CANADIAN PLURALISM

In order to understand immigrant belonging at the intersection of language and religion in Canada, it is necessary to examine the particular trajectory of religion, especially in Québec, and the way that it was shaped in the wake of the Quiet Revolution. This chapter focuses on the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution periods in Canada and how it shaped the experiences of the participants. I introduce the normative parameters of Canadian multiculturalism and interculturalism and the way it shaped the identity formation of Canadian North African and Turkish Jews. The lived experiences of North African Jews in Québec offer an illustration of rich conceptual explanations on religion discussed in the previous chapter, that are absent in Ontario.

The chapter is a historical prelude to Chapter 6 *Language, Religion, and North African Jewish Identification in Québec: A Complex Relation* and Chapter 7 *Recognition Gap: Multiculturalism, Hispanophone Jewish Immigrants, and Difference in Toronto*, in which I show how cultural diversity in Québec and Ontario shaped the narratives of some of the participants. I also want to draw attention to the diverse voices and complexities in discourse that inform participants' opinions about secularism in Canada. I first mention the Quiet Revolution period and then the decades followed it by discussing changes in the debates on religion in the province (Lefebvre et. al. 2015, Gauvreau 2005, Juteau 2002). Not only did these transformations pave the

way for an understanding of contentious issues with regards to the religious pluralism in the country but also for the emerging debates of multiculturalism and interculturalism as politics of pluralism.

Here, I lay out some episodes and substantial controversial affairs that took place during the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution periods in order to shed light on some issues arising from ethnocultural and religious diversity in Canada, which are more pronounced in Québec than in Ontario. These explanations help show the particular trajectory taken up by North African Jews and the enduring contradictions and complexities they face in Québec, which I detail in Chapter 6. I mainly cover the debates over "reasonable Accommodations" *(l'Accommodement raisonnable),* the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, the Hérouxville Code, the Charter of Québec Values *(Charte des valeurs québécoises)*, and the most recent the Act respecting the laicity of the State (*La Loi sur la laïcité de l'État*) or Bill 21 *(La Loi 21),* and the Sharia Debate in Ontario.

Canada is a multicultural society comprised of various national, religious, ethnic and linguistic groups. Not only in officially francophone Québec and unofficially but functionally bilingual Montréal, but also in anglophone Canada many languages are spoken other than French and English. In contrast to different ethnicities such as Portuguese and Japanese; Franco-Québecois, English Canadians and Indigenous peoples form national communities in Canada (Blattberg 2021).

According to Danielle Juteau, it is possible to talk about three main phases which display the patters of changing boundaries in Québec society since the 1960s (Juteau 2002, 442). The first phase starts with the Quiet Revolution period and finishes with the first referendum on sovereignty in 1980. The second phase, on the other hand, covers the period between 1980 and 1995, until the second referendum on sovereignty in 1995. The third phase, which is the period that still goes on, begins with the second referendum in 1995. In the 1960s, Québec had undertaken a series of reforms, which can also be called the rapid secularization period. They have to a great extent

transferred their institutional identification from the Church to the provincial state. English-speaking Canadians, Indigenous peoples, Québécois after the Quiet Revolution and ethnic, religious, racial groups, form the internal diversity in the country. Yet, within Québec, there are also Indigenous and anglophone Quebecers who either do not speak French or do not live an important part of their lives in the language and therefore are not considered to be part of Franco-Québécois nation (Blattberg 2003, 88). Subsuming internal minority nationalism(s), e.g., Québécois, English Canadian (the majority nation in Canada), and Indigenous, Canada is "best seen not as a traditional 'nation-state' but as a multinational state" (Kymlicka 2003, 127; see also Kymlicka 2000). Managing this internal diversity, as I show here, has been attempted to achieve through the ideologies of multiculturalism and interculturalism.

### 4.1. Quiet Revolution in Québec (1959-1970)

Called "the priest-ridden province" by the Protestants before the Quiet Revolution, in the 1960s, with a new generation composed of activists and political actors, French Canadians attempted to limit the place of religion in Québec society by undermining the powerful role it had previously played in the public sphere as well as in their private lives. Prior to the Quiet Revolution, the Catholic Church occupied a hegemonic role in Québec society, controlling social welfare, education, and health care. During Quiet Revolution period of rapid social and political change, French Canadians in the province began to call themselves "Québécois" and began forming a much more organized and pronounced sense of national identity. They began to question the role of religion which defined their Catholic identity against the Anglo-Protestants in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Following the death of premier Maurice Duplessis in September 1959, whose policies were marked by corruption, close relations with the Church and trade with British,

Anglo-Canadian and American business circles, Jean Lesage of the Parti libéral du Québec (PLQ) was elected as the Premier in 1960. Lesage's electoral victory effectively ended the Duplessis era and heralded a new period of deep cultural, political, social, and economic transformation building a remarkable rupture with the pre-Quiet Revolution period (Zubrzycki 2016, Morrison 2019).

The Quiet Revolution as an event of the late 1950 and early 1960s in the *longue durée* of total history cannot be thought separately from other social and political upheavals in the world, e.g., civil rights movement in the United States, student upheavals in Europe, anti-colonial mobilisations in Africa, the sexual revolution and the women's liberation movement (Appleby et al. 1995; Iggers 1997; Braudel 2013). However, Québec's transformation also involved ending the domination of the Catholic Church in social and political life, its particular demographic and economic concerns and the growth of nationalism.

Before the modernization and democratization attempts of Lesage government, French Canadians were discriminated against by the primarily anglophone Canadian (and Montréal based) political and business elite and had been deprived of professional advancement and educational opportunities. In the 1960s, however, many private electrical companies were nationalized, e.g., Hydro Quebec[13], and created job opportunities for francophone workers. The francophone representation in the fields of finance, public service, business, and leadership which had been formerly overrepresented by the anglophones increased dramatically. Anglophones made up 13% of the total population yet they formed a disproportionately large percentage in leadership positions in 1959 in Québec. Furthermore, by 1961, whereas roughly 25% of francophones held white-collar positions, approximately 50% of anglophones did. Thirty years later, francophone representation

[13] In Chapter 6, I show how Hydro-Quebec, as being a major actor in the economy in the 1960s in Québec, provided a job for one southern Moroccan Jewish interviewee, which in return facilitated his integration into the Québécois society.

in these occupations had doubled (Simard 2000). The Quiet Revolution increased long overdue employment opportunities for French-speaking workers. The French-Canadian identity, previously distinguished by linguistic and religious identity markers – essentially by the religious one – had taken up a cultural revolution transforming its identification from the linguistic and religious markers to a homogenizing linguistic one based on civic, national, and secular identity.

Whereas prior to the Quiet Revolution, Québec shared the highest birthrate among all provinces in the country, it possessed the lowest birthrate in 1972 in Canada (Christiano 2007, Morrison 2019, Zubrzycki 2016). Hence, the demographic, sociopolitical, cultural and economic transformations had been taking place so rapidly in the province that they seemed quite "revolutionary." The Québécois, as journalist and writer Pierre Vallières in the late 1960s called "white [n-word] of North America," had to be "emancipated from English Canadian colonial ascendancy and freed from the oppression of the Catholic Church by the new government's modern state and its national political project" (Zubrzycki 2016, 9).

The political landscape of the Quiet Revolution, on the other hand, composed of the elected Parti libéral du Québec (PLQ) under the leadership of Jean Lesage, Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale (RIN) which was active between 1960 and 1968, and two prominent groups like the Marxist Front de libération Populaire (FLP) and the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ), which were functioning throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. The FLQ, established in 1963 from the radical wing of the RIN, did not hesitate to use violent tactics as a means of securing Québec sovereignty. In 1970, the FLQ kidnapped Québec's vice premier Pierre Laporte and a British diplomat named James Cross. During this period, which is called the October Crisis of 1970, Pierre Laporte was murdered and the so-called War Measures Act had been invoked by the Parliament of Canada. Following these events, the FLQ disintegrated. When the RIN came to an end, the FLP was founded by the Marxist or left-wing supporters of the RIN in 1968 which later

ended in 1970. Another event that marked 1968 in Québec was the establishment of the Parti Québécois (PQ) under the direction of René Lévesque, which was composed of the other members of the RIN joining the party. Just one year before its foundation in July 1967, the president of France, Charles de Gaulle, visited Québec where he called out the crowd with the well-known phrase "Vivre le Québec libre" (*Long live a free Quebec*). According to Lévesque, the conservative view of the Church created an obstacle for the progress of the nation. He insisted that members of the nation needed to work to be the architects of this nation. In this ideological and political context, therefore, the construction of the Montréal metro, the inauguration of the 1967 International and Universal Exposition (Expo 67), and organization of *grands project* of the 1960s cannot be imagined independently from this overarching nationalist atmosphere of the period.

In 1969, the FLP, which had a short-term presence in Québec's political realm, arranged a parade called "People's March." In the pamphlet of this parade, one could read the lines which associated the destitution and exclusion of French Canadians in the labour market with a religious icon called St. Jean the Baptist and the traditional celebration of St. Jean Baptist Day on June 24 in Québec.

> "We have the lowest salaries in Canada;
> We represent 45% of the unemployed in Canada;
> We are thrown out of work like garbage . . . ;
> We, first arrived in America, are the last to be allowed to speak our language to earn a living;
> . . .
> We have our natural resources stolen by Americans;
> THAT'S WHAT WE, WHITE [N-WORD] OF AMERICA, CELEBRATE ON JUNE 24!"
> (*Journal de Montréal,* June 24, 1969, quoted in Zubrzycki 2016, 99).

During this time, other leftist activists together with members of the Marxist FLP thought that French Canadian identity, having a subservient mind set exemplified by this religious icon, needed to be eliminated. They invited people to actively engage in the national matters and wanted them

to express an objection to the parade. Peaking to 15,000 dissidents, these nationalists, grounding their opposition to the religious account of the nation, thought that the icon was archaic and backward. Thus, they began to attack St. Jean Baptist statue in 1969. The attack, reaching a climax in the beheading of the religious icon, as Geneviève Zubrzycki puts, led to "the demise of French Canadiannes and the crystallization of a new Quebecois identity" (Zubrzycki 2016, 76).

### 4.2. Québécois Nationalism of the Post-Quiet Revolution Period in Québec

By the end of 1960s, René Lévesque, former member of Parti libéral du Québec (PLQ), believed that the proper growth of the Québécois nation could only come to the fruition through political sovereignty. Leaving the PLQ, the party which devoted itself to making Québec flourish within Canada, he joined the Parti Québécois (PQ), which was established in 1968 as stated above. Composed of the leftist members of the PLQ pursuing Lévesque and of the less militant wing of the RIN, the PQ became an advocate for an independent Québec. When the PLQ lost its leftist segment, it became to be situated in the conservative realm and dedicated to engaging itself with the Canadian federal structure.

On November 15, 1976, after promising to hold a referendum about sovereignty, the PQ had won the elections. Coming to power as a secularist party, it declared June 24, St. Jean Baptist Day, as the national holiday of Québec. As I mentioned in the first chapter, religion and language had been the two identity markers that the French Canadians used to self-identify against their oppressors (anglophones and non-Catholics) in the pre-Quiet Revolution period in Québec. By the 1960s, as I equally discussed above, leftists and nationalist activists were vigorously participating in the social and political life by challenging the control of the Church and religious symbols in the public sphere. As a result of this rapid radical and ideological change and the Québécois "collective

effervescence" (Gorski 2019, 395), activities and organization of the marches by these protesters seemed, to repeat, quite "revolutionary." But why did then an elected secular party following the Quiet Revolution want to turn St. Jean Baptist Day into a "national" one without throwing its religious name away? (Zubrzycki 2016) This question is profoundly linked with immigrant belonging at the intersection of language and religion that I seek to understand in this dissertation.

The PQ indeed kept its promise after the election and held a referendum on sovereignty on May 20, 1980. In this referendum, while 40.44% of the citizens voted "yes," 59.56% voted against the independence. Following this first referendum, marking the second phase of shifting boundaries in the Québec society (Juteau 2002), the 1867 Canadian Constitution had been repatriated by the Prime Minister in 1982. While all Canadian provinces reached an agreement with the amendments, Québec did not accept all of them. In 1982, despite Québec's refusal to support the Constitution, it was approved. Many Québécois began to be worried about the extent to which Canada genuinely recognized their political and provincial power. They essentially viewed the decision taken by the prime minister as unjust. In the aftermath of this event, in order to persuade Québec to agree with the 1982 constitutional act, Brian Mulroney, the Canadian prime minister of the time, instituted negotiations in 1987 at Meech Lake in Québec. The amendments to the 1982 Constitution were assembled in what was called The Meech Lake Accord. These amendments, which mostly focused on giving more power to the provinces, increasing decentralization and acknowledging Québec's status as a distinct society, were submitted to be reviewed. In the end, they had been accepted by the ten provinces. In order put the accord into force, an agreement by all provinces was requisite for promulgating the changes in the Constitution. In 1990, the provincial premiers of Newfoundland and Manitoba objected to the accord by rejecting Québec's status as a distinct society (Banting et al. 2007). Consequently, many Québécois began to be worried about federal government's omission of their specific culture and history after the failed recognition of Québec's

distinctiveness in the Constitution. This refusal in return triggered claims for independence in Québec.

The second referendum on sovereignty took place in 1995 that resulted in having 49.42% "yes" votes in opposition to 50.58% "no" votes. Following the results of these two referenda on sovereignty, independence retreated in the provincial affairs. Yet, the "Québécois" issue did not completely fade away in the provincial and political debates in the following decades in the country. The Canadian House of Commons finally declared the recognition of the province by affirming that the Québécois constitutes a nation in the country on November 27, 2006 (House passes motion, 2006).

### 4.3. Cultural Diversity, Language and Religion after the Quiet Revolution in Canada

As I will demonstrate in Chapter 6, immigrant belonging at the intersection of language and religion in Québec, particularly as it applies to the North African Jewish community, is complex. In this section, I want to discuss some laws enacted by the province relating to these two markers of identity. Even though Québécois nationalism of the 1960s formed itself in opposition to the Catholicism and adopted a secular identity entrenched in language and territory, religion did not disappear entirely from the Franco-Québécois culture in the decades that followed. Hence, before I move forward, I want to mention cultural origins of the Quiet Revolution which will help a better comprehension of the place and identity formation of the North African Jews in Chapter 6.

The modernization attempts of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s operationalized through the process of deconfessionalization of public institutions and linguistic regulations led to the birth of a new national community constituted by the French Canadians of Québec. As mentioned formerly, they have, to a great extent, transferred their institutional identification from the Church

to the provincial state. In fact, while delving into the origins of Quiet Revolution in Québec, Michael Gauvreau asks whether "the Quiet Revolution itself can be understood, not as a project by which political elites sought a mutually-exclusive juxtaposition of secular and religious identities […] but as […] a transformation […] whose categories were in reality shaped to a considerable degree by religious ideologies and institutions" (Gauvreau 2005, 4-5). Emphasizing the neglect of Roman Catholicism and Catholic values in the explanations of Quiet Revolution, Gauvreau critically engages with the salience of secularization theory in the accounts of the modernization of Québec which claims "that modernization- generally defined as industrialization, urbanization, and the expansion of the capitalist market economy- necessarily diminishes the significance of religion" (Gauvreau 2005, 6).

For Gauvreau, it is indeed the *cultural* rather than the *political* realm which explains a specific genre of Catholicism attached to the Quiet Revolution in Québec. What Gauvreau states is that it was especially after the 1930s that there had been diverse ideological trends within the church in Québec. Among these currents, he asserts, one was distinguished by its ideology which accentuated the more democratic dimensions of religion (Gauvreau 2005, 9). A group of working-class people, youth, and women belonging to Catholic Action who had been marginal in the society emphasized a type of Catholicism merged with modernity (Gauvreau 2005, 12). As discussed in the previous chapter, this type of ideology is indeed quite similar to the conceptual frame of cultural religion used in this dissertation.

When the PQ came to power under the leadership of René Lévesque, the francisation of immigrants took place under the framework of Bill 101 (*Charte de la langue française*) in 1977. It was through this bill that French became "the official language of Quebec" (Sancton 1985, 84). Within the scope of Bill 101, each child had to be educated in French except for those whose parents had been educated in English in Canada. Most importantly, sending their children to

French-speaking schools was made mandatory for both francophone and English-speaking immigrants. Since French has been devoted to being the language of public education, Bill 101 therefore limits access to the English schools for the children of allophone immigrants. Finally, laws requiring signs to be bilingual (with the French signage being more prominent) were instituted.

According to 2021 census figures, 75% of the total population consists of English-speaking people and only 21 % of the total population is made up of French-speakers. In Québec, 82 % of the total population is French-speaking and 13 % of the population is English-speaking (2021 Census: Language, 2022). In Montréal, even though its official language is French, Montréal acts as a de facto bilingual city which remains, as a result, a unique metropolitan place compared to other Canadian cities. Statistics Canada's figures from 2016 census show that French-English bilinguals constitute 55.1 % of the total population in the city. Furthermore, figures indicate that Montréal is the most trilingual city in Canada. In contrast to 11 % of Torontonians and 10 % people located in Vancouver, more than 21 % of Montrealers can speak at least three languages. Finally, more than 40 % of trilingual Montrealers are immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2016).

In 2021, whereas 71 % of the total population in Montréal speak French as their first language, 20.4 % declare English as their primary language. Speakers of both English and French make up 6.7 % of the population and 1.6 % of people use another language in the city (Distribution of people, 2022). Furthermore, approximately one among five people are found trilingual in large urban spaces of Montréal (Statistics Canada, 2021). From the same 2021 census, nearly 1.68 million women and 1.23 million men living in Montréal are French-English bilinguals (Number of people living in Montréal, 2022). In Toronto, the 2021 census shows that 42.5% of the total population constitute individuals whose mother tongue is neither French nor English, delineating a slight decline compared to the 2016 census figures of 43.9%.

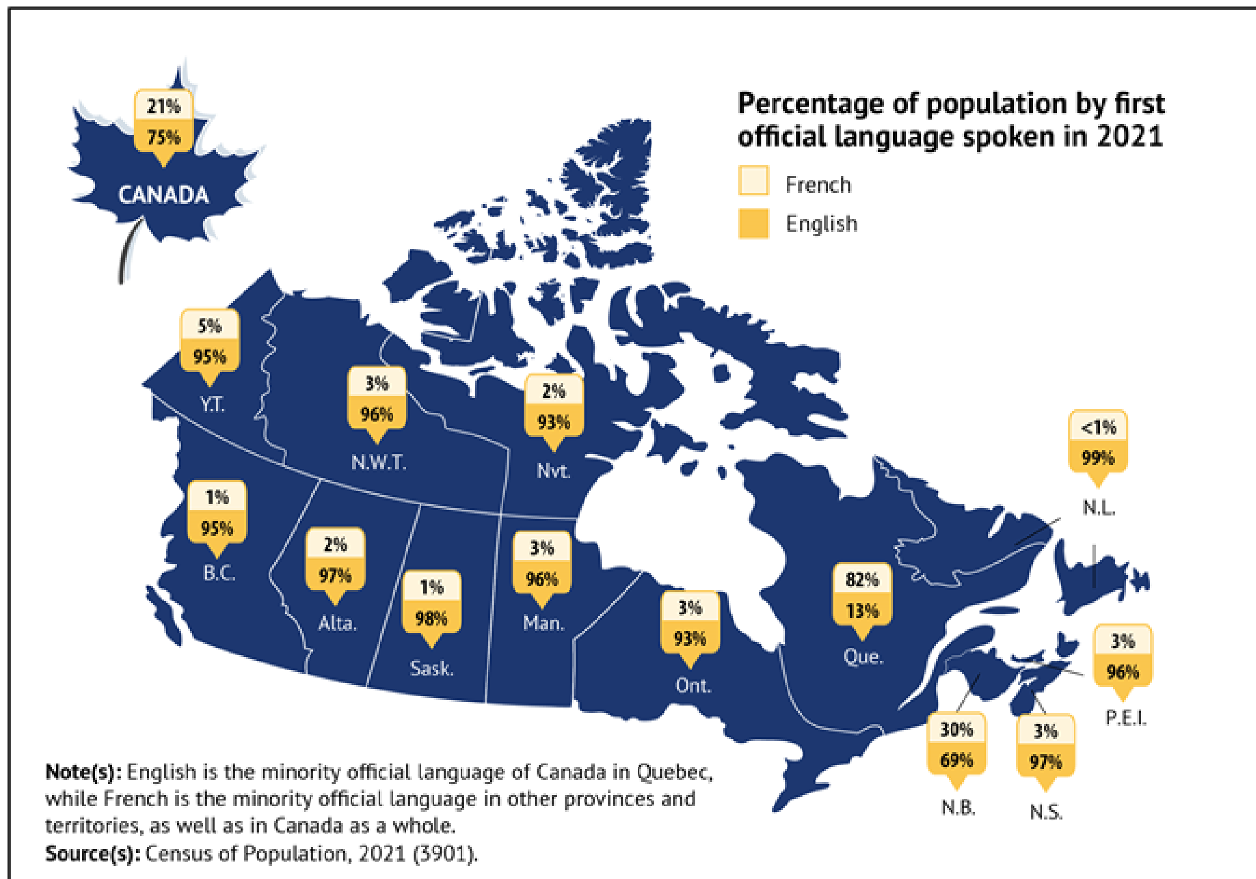


Figure 3[14]: Map of Official Languages in Canada

According to the 2021 Statistics Canada figures, Christianity forms the largest religion (63.2%) in the country, comprising two-thirds of the total population. While over one million individuals identify themselves as Muslims, some 3.7% of the total population, nearly 329,500 people self-identify as Jewish representing 1.0% of the total population. In Québec, however, as the province is marked by a wide majority of people who are ostensibly Catholic, survey data from

[14] Taken from https://www.todocanada.ca/these-are-the-languages-spoken-in-canada-according-to-2021-census/

2017 to 2019 shows that large majority of people self-identify Catholic but there is high level of non-participation (54% among the youngest cohort) in group or individual religious activities. Classical Protestant churches declined even more than Catholic ones in terms of attendance; moreover, religious attendance in all religions tends to be less in Québec than elsewhere in Canada. Therefore, Québec distinguishes itself from elsewhere in Canada with this low rate of participation in religious activities. While Franco-Québécois maintain a rapport with Catholicism, they give a restricted place to religion in their quotidian life. Also, if one compares the figures with the former years, it is possible to observe significant changes over the decades about the post-Catholic Québécois participation in religious activities in the province. In 1985, 48% of the total Québec population aged 15 and older attended religious activities at least once a month. While this amount was 51% among Catholics, 42% of the non-Catholics from other religious affiliations participated in monthly group religious activities. From 2017 to 2019, however, whereas 14% of the post-Catholics reported monthly participation in religious activities, this rate was 26% among people having a religious attachment other than Catholicism. It is also important to note that "the share of Catholics among the population aged 15 and older declined from 87% to 62%; at the same time, the proportion of people with a religious affiliation other than Catholic doubled, from 9% in 1985 to 18% for the 2017-to-2019 period" (Statistics Canada, 2021).

In addition, with regards to the figures of religious affiliation and importance of religious or spiritual beliefs from 2017-to-2019 period, Québec reports that 30% of the population born between 1980 and 1999 has no religious affiliation. While this rate is 13% among those born between 1960 and 1979, among the eldest population born between 1940 and 1959, 7% of them reveal that they have no religious affiliation. Whereas there is a high religious affiliation among Québécois who self-identify Catholics, there is low degree of participation in religious activities, especially among the youngest cohort.

It is vital to note the decrease in the birthrate that has accompanied secularization. When the role of religion had started to decrease following the sexual revolution and educational attainment of people, there had been an abrupt drop in the fertility rates in Québec. In the decades following the Quiet Revolution, Québec represented the lowest birthrate among all provinces in Canada. As a result, Québec's linguistic future and its position within Canada became to be the major concerns among the Québécois, whose national identity had already been shaken by this very demographic decrease and two referenda, which are failed according to Québécois separatists, and succeeded according to Québécois federalists. As the feeling of uncertainty around the survival of this civic, territorial, and secular identity based on language had begun to increase, provincial representatives sought to endorse francophone immigration. Hence, the issue of the "Francophonie" future of the territory sharing authority over immigration to its land like the federal government thanks to Cullen-Couture Agreement of 1978 has been solved through the immigration of other francophone newcomers. Yet, these newcomers, who have been distinguished by their non-Catholic identity after immigration, have rendered the re-emergence of Catholicism in the Franco-Québécois which was formerly embedded in French-Canadian identity.

As discussed in the previous chapter through the concept of "cultural religion," the traditional heritage emanating from its churches and memorials is still omnipresent in the province. In our present situation, it is possible to see that, Franco-Québécois identity has in fact maintained their traditional heritage despite the national and secular identity attributed to it, through the encounter with their non-Christian "Others" who appeared sometimes more religious than themselves. Due to this newly arising shift in the ethnic and religious demographic frame of Québec, the Franco-Québécois has started to contemplate the conundrum created by this shift allowing them to appraise the place of secularism and religion in the society. Hence, when these non-Christian newcomers,

especially Muslims, arrived in both Ontario and in a perceptibly "post-Catholic" province, a new social and political debate has appeared on the scene. I now introduce some of these debates below.

*The Reasonable Accommodation (l'Accommodement raisonnable)*

As a province whose historical position and minority status has generated debates around language (French) and religion (Catholicism) within Canada for centuries, recent debates have shifted to the accommodation of religious "Others" in Québec. As a result of the increasing francophone non-Christian immigration, the challenges posed by these religious newcomers has led the Québécois to discuss openly their national and secular identity. The initial public expressions of anxiety on the religious diversity in Québec after the Quiet Revolution took place in the 1980s, which correspond to the second stage of shifting boundaries in the Québec society classified by Danielle Juteau (Juteau 2002). Although the Catholic religion retains a presence in Québec, however understated, politicians and media have clearly centered on the problem of the visibility of *other religions.* The visibility of religion in the public sphere culminated in a heated debate between the Québécois and their religious "Other" in 2006 and 2007, in the ongoing phase of changing boundaries due to some other controversial events taking place successively (Ibid.). Before mentioning the debates of the twenty first century, I want to briefly highlight some controversies that had occurred in the late twentieth century in Québec.

In 1988, although it was the Christian Arabs who requested the creation of Arabic language classes for their children at Henri-Bourassa High School, some parents of the students in the school raised their voice against the establishment of the Arabic courses who associated Arabic language with the wider forces of Islamization. For these parents, "the teaching of Arabic is only the first step in a larger strategy, the next will be the Quran" (Helly 2005, quoted in Morrison 2019, 120).

The second controversy occurred when female teachers were required to wear the hijab in some Muslim private schools in 1992. In 1995, after people's insistence and the decision taken by the *Commission des droits de la personne* (CDP) (Human Rights Commission), the demand of wearing hijab for female teachers was made nonmandatory.

In 1994, on the other hand, a teenage girl named Émilie Ouimet wearing hijab attended classes in Montréal. When she refused to take off her headscarf, the principal of the school, who equated the headscarf with "neo-Nazi" clothing, expelled her. Coming to the early twenty first century, one can observe that a controversy on the appearance of religious "Other" had emerged when the Supreme Court of Canada endorsed the 2002 decision allowing Sikh students to wear kirpan in Québécois schools in 2006. This decision, provoking a backlash by Québec population, resulted in Gurbaj Singh Multani, a student at École Sainte-Catherine-Labouré to encounter individuals shouting at him "Go home, Paki[15]" when he returned to school (Fine 2013).

Other controversial incidents centering on Québec secularism concerned the Hassidic Jewish community and Muslims which took place in the same year. In one of them, in the YMCA located on the Parc Avenue in Montréal, windows had been obscured with frosted glass after the request of Hassidic (ultra-Orthodox) Jewish community. The community basically wished not to see women working out at the gym so that the younger members of the community would avoid from the temptations caused by the sight of women exercising. In another episode, on the other hand, due to the discomfort caused by the presence of fathers participating in their children's swimming class, some Muslim women requested not to see the fathers in the pool place at the YMCA in downtown Montréal. These enumerated contentious incidents linked to the quandary that religious pluralism poses in Québec led the municipal council of Hérouxville, located in the region of

[15] Paki is a slur used in the United Kingdom and Canada that denotes people of Pakistani and South Asian origin.

Mauricie having 1,338 population, to institute the Code of life in January 2007. Although it has been a region predominantly populated by white, francophone and nominally Catholic people lacking any Muslim immigrants in its niche, the submitted code covered mostly religious minorities, especially Muslims. It subsumed prohibition of veiling face, holding guns in schools, stoning or burning women alive, and other barbaric and Islamic practices that are hostile to women (Morrison 2019, 163; Zubrzycki 2016, 151).

All these controversies concerning religious pluralism of the province have brought the "accommodation" debate on the table as a way of questioning deeply about cultural difference as well as national, civic, and secular Québécois identity. In February 2007, the Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences, also known as "the Bouchard-Taylor Commission," co-directed by Gérard Bouchard and Charles Taylor, had been promulgated by Jean Charest, the premier of the time from the PLQ. Representing Montréal's cultural and religious minorities, Muslims and Jews in particular, the Bouchard-Taylor report was welcomed by some, but not all, people from the communities of these religious minorities. The majority of the proposals covered "reinforcing the measures already in place to integrate the immigrants and fight against all forms of discrimination" (Anctil 2011, 13). They attempted to explore and clarify the signification and application of Québécois secularism being threatened by the various immigrant populations. On December 14, 2007, the forums of Bouchard-Taylor Commission ended and later the report called *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation* had been announced.

Accentuating the intercultural model for the accommodation of cultural diversity, as I elaborate in the subsequent pages of this chapter by comparing it with the multicultural model, the report delineated the subordination of the respect of religious pluralism as a prerequisite for the preservation of the francophone identity of Québec (Bouchard and Taylor 2008). In the report, the successful inclusion of immigrants was aimed to achieve for the future of the nation. As such, the

idea of "open secularism (*laïcité ouverte*)," rather than the acquisition of the French republican pluralism that focuses on assimilationism had been advocated by the commission. It referred to "a system whereby institutions and their representatives maintain religious neutrality, but ordinary citizens have the right to practice their religion and request special accommodations insofar as these do not create undue hardship for institutions" (Zubrzycki 2016, 154).

However, according to some critics, e.g., the PQ and workers' unions, who especially addressed issues around laïcité and women's rights, the report presented a problem with respect to the treatment of women. They mainly argued that the recommendations would "perpetuate a situation where religious minorities use each item of human rights legislation available to advance their agenda" (Anctil 2011, 13). Later in 2012, the PQ, in the election campaign guaranteed that, if elected, it would instigate its own form of secularism. The charter of secularism it promoted was centered on the removal of ostentatious religious symbols and activities among the representatives of the state, much of which was already in the Bouchard-Taylor report.

*The Charter of Québec Values (Charte des valeurs québécoises)*

Following its coming into power, on September 10, 2013, the PQ kept its promise again and introduced the Charter of Values, in other words, as the proponents of it call *Charte de la laïcité* (Charter of Secularism) or Bill 60. Officially proposed to the National Assembly in November 2013 by Bernard Drainville, the minister of democratic institutions with the legislation entitled the *Charter Affirming the Values of State Secularism and Religious Neutrality and the Equality between Women and Men, and Providing a Framework for Accommodation Requests,* it prioritized gender equality, secularism, and the French language over religious pluralism in Québec.

Furthermore, workers in all provincial institutions and state officials were prohibited from wearing ostentatious religious symbols in the working place.

The critics from both left and right, however, argued that while the charter prohibited the overt display of religious symbols in the public sphere, it intrinsically favored Catholicism (Morrison 2019, 123). For instance, in contrast to the report of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, the Charter of Values did not mention any measures that would remove the crucifix from the National Assembly. The justification of this act came from Drainville who, rather than seeing it as an ostentatious symbol, contended that the crucifix, as being part of cultural heritage, had historically played a crucial role in the Franco-Québécois identity. As such, this cultural rather than religious symbol needed to be preserved for the public gaze.

Founded under the leadership of François Legault in 2011, The Coalition Avenir Quebec (CAQ) formed a government by winning the majority of seats in the National Assembly in 2018. Legault formerly served as the PQ cabinet minister but left the party in 2009. While the PQ continued to support referendum on sovereignty, the CAQ was composed of both *indépendantistes* and federalist members who claimed to search for more autonomy rather than sovereignty in Québécois politics.

Figure 4: Québec Charter of Values allowing and banning religious symbols and accessories poster[17]

Figure 5: On Bill 21 by Fernanda Muciño[16]

On June 16, 2019, The Act respecting the laicity of the State (*La Loi sur la laïcité de l'État*), or Bill/ Law 21 (*La loi 21*) was adopted by the National Assembly of Québec. The in-effect law prohibits employees in a position of authority, such as teachers in public elementary and secondary schools, from displaying religious symbols while performing their duties. The debate around this law intensified in December 2021 when a teacher named Fatemeh Anvari was fired from her job in a Outaouais region school located in Québec, which is around ten kilometres away from Ottawa. Faced with the controversy caused by the removal of the teacher, the Premier of Québec, François Legault, declared that the authorities of the school board should have never hired Anvari in the first

[16] Taken from https://www.delitfrancais.com/2019/11/12/panel-sur-la-loi-21/
[17] Taken from https://www.canadianatheist.com/2017/09/religious-accessories-bans-are-not-secularism/quebec-charter-of-values-banned-religious-accessories-poster/

place. The report of the Bouchard-Taylor Commission, the Hérouxville Code, the Charter of Values, and The Act respecting the laicity of the State demonstrate that they all aimed to define a Québécois identity through secularism, gender equality, and human rights, without paying attention to the particularities arising from an increasingly diverse immigrant population.

*A Debate on Religion in Ontario: The Sharia Law*

In Ontario, by contrast, controversies around religious diversity are arguably less controversial than in Québec in the post-Quiet Revolution period. In this section, I focus on the well-known Sharia debate in Ontario to illustrate the emergence of a heated debate on religion. By the 1991 Arbitration Act, both religious and non-religious arbitration in matters such as family and business had been approved. For some Muslim communities who were the proponents of it, this act heralded the establishment of Sharia-based tribunals (Korteweg 2006). Despite the heated discussions around the act in the public sphere, basing foundations of their perspectives from a multicultural group right approach, the editorial board of *the Globe and Mail* advocated the establishment of sharia-based tribunals in Canada. According to the board of this newspaper, Sharia tribunals would facilitate the integration of Muslims into the Canadian society and hence could allow them to feel who they are freely (Ibid). From this right-based point of view, therefore, Sharia tribunals would function as “external protection” mechanisms for some Muslim groups living in Canada (Korteweg 2006, 51).

In 2003, Syed Mumtaz Ali from the Islamic Institute of Civil Justice (IICJ) stated that the IICJ “would start offering arbitration in family disputes in accordance with both Islamic legal principles and Ontario’s Arbitration Act, 1991” (Korteweg 2006, 50). For him, instituting sharia-based arbitration was equivalent to doing a religious duty rather than claiming religious rights.

Given the fact that Islamic law required Muslim people to pursue local law, according to Mumtaz Ali, Muslims could then handle the issues with regards to family law like inheritance and divorce thanks to the Ontario Arbitration Act (Ibid.).

However, similar to the debates emerged from the promulgation of Bouchard-Taylor Report in Québec, for some people in Ontario, the Sharia law posed a problem with respect to Muslim women's rights. Opponents of the establishment of sharia-based tribunals in Ontario, concerned with gender equality, were composed of religious and secular Muslim men and women, non-Muslim individuals, and organizations. They argued that with the establishment of sharia-based tribunals, government would engender the structural depreciation of women's rights. As Korteweg puts it, rather than a debate on law, the Ontario Sharia debate evolved into a public criticism of Islam and strengthened the clichés about Islam. As we have seen around the debates of cultural diversity in Québec, it "reinforced the notion that Islam and gender equality are inherently incompatible and that liberal rights and freedoms depend on secularism" (Korteweg 2006, 51).

### 4.4. Multiculturalism and Interculturalism

Various effects of World War II entailed that a different approach to minority rights was necessary for the reorganization of the old global order. Many liberals believed that an emphasis on "human rights" would eliminate clashes that minority groups face; hence, it is in this historical context that pluralism as a philosophy has expanded in multicultural countries (Kymlicka 2013; Bouchard 2015; Soysal 2007). As in most liberal societies, in Canada equally, "the impact of diversity on social cohesion is a source of concern" (Papillon 2012, 30). Canada is not a single nation state and, historically speaking, it has never been so. Canada is a multiculturalist state in which, according to the official discourse, newcomers are welcomed and difference is celebrated.

Québec, on the other hand, as a stateless civic and political community (Blattberg 2003, 2021), affirms its specificity through a fabric of respect and tolerance (Gagnon et al. 2008; Kymlicka 2004). As Alain-G. Gagnon and Raffaele Iacovino put it "most of the literature on national models take it for granted that Canada consists of two host societies with two centers of allegiance" (Gagnon and Iacovino 2007, 17). As a multinational state, Canada seems to be a fitting case study to debate questions of nation-building, belonging, identity, and federalism.

While Canadian borders remained closed to the Jewish survivors during the Holocaust (Abella and Troper 1983), by taking economic, diplomatic, human rights concerns into account, Canada adopted a humanitarian policy that became more open to migrants and refugees in the aftermath of World War II. In 1952, while the Immigration and Naturalization Act enacted an immigration policy built on a system of selection by skills, in 1962, it removed the old criteria of racial selection and made skill as the primary criteria for deciding eligibility of the immigrants. In 1967, on the other hand, a point system or merit-based immigration[18] was introduced which set the scene for economic immigration, family reunification, and welcoming refugees (Elrick 2020).

In 1964, the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was established in response to the Québécois dissatisfaction about their position in Canada. In 1969, English and French was proclaimed as the two official languages in Canada through Canada's the *Official Languages Act*. This policy of official bilingualism, put into effect by the federal government, especially through the initiative of the prime minister, Pierre Trudeau, was later applied to Canadian multiculturalism policy in 1971. The *Official Languages Act* in 1969 broadened language rights, significant components of which were anchored in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. This Charter was then revisited in the Canadian Multiculturalism Act of 1988

[18] Indeed, Jennifer Elrick argues that for non-white immigrants, "Canada's merit-based immigration policy […] was not designed to be 'race free' but to manage racial diversity along class lines" (Elrick 2020, 3).

(Bashir and Kymlicka 2012). The Liberal Trudeau government, which was active in the late 1960s and throughout the 1970s and 1980s, promulgated a policy of multiculturalism aimed at finding, as discussed above, "reasonable accommodations" for many cultural and religious minorities that constituted the Canadian diversity.

*Multiculturalism*

Adopted officially as a model of diversity management policy through the initiative of prime minister Pierre Trudeau in 1971, multiculturalism is based on the recognition and enhancement of cultural pluralism. It was later strengthened by both the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982 and the Canadian Multiculturalism Act in 1988. Linguistic and cultural rights, and combatting exclusion and discrimination were the focus in the policies enacted in the 1980s.

According to May, there are three competing definitions of multiculturalism (May 2016). The first one, which is defined from a sociological perspective, recognizes it through cultural, ethnic and religious pluralism existing in the societies that are open to immigration. The second, which is philosophical in nature, responds to the contentious issues created by the cultural and religious heterogeneity in the public sphere by holding a democratic perspective. In other words, this second definition of multiculturalism embraces the expressions of minority cultures and particularisms within pluralism as a way of enhancing and contributing to the deepening of the social justice. By rejecting assimilationism like the French Republican model advocates, multiculturalism refers to a normative ideal that accepts the membership of ethnocultural minorities by facilitating integration without the requirement of assimilation to the majority. As such, it promotes juxtaposed cultural groups, respects ethnic diversity and bestows individuals freedom to choose how to express their identity. The last definition of multiculturalism, on the other hand, is

institutional which is concerned with organizing public policy principles and the manners in which the government formally acknowledges its cultural pluralism. To put it differently, there is a politics of recognition, which means accepting the authenticity of rights guaranteed by the adaptation of regulations and ascription of particular liberties. Therefore, the institutional form of multiculturalism enforces the genuine equality between ethnocultural groups in a pluralistic society through their differences and recognition of cultural pluralism by the public organizations (Carpentier 2020).

According to Nagra, Cesari, and Kymlicka, multiculturalism adopts in principle a "cultural rights-based approach" ascribing to groups some specific cultural attributions and limiting dialogue among people of different origins. It marginalizes and segregates minorities from mainstream society and misrecognizes them as cultural citizens (Nagra 2017). For Kymlicka (2003, 156) there is a lack of intergroup interaction between the majority and minority groups in the multicultural policy since "most citizens are ignorant of, and indifferent to, the internal life of other groups." Kymlicka indeed states that individuals are more willing to interact with the people coming from different ethnicities, races, cultures, and religions when they travel than they are with their citizens from different origins. Or, as Cesari (2007, 83, 84) puts it, multiculturalism hides a social hierarchy that places whiteness at the top of the social ladder. According to these authors, that type of social distribution hampers equality among groups, which is the expected principle of democratic societies. Furthermore, as May (2021, 14) underlines, multiculturalism has been criticized by a certain academic literature which labels it as forming "ghettos" and generating "social fragmentation." In fact, "multiculturalism would consist of a naïve and superficial celebration of diversity, exemplified by the costumes worn by Justin Trudeau during his visits to different cultural communities" (May 2021, 16). Thobani (2007, 154), on the other hand, asserts that after the explosion of the colonial world, multiculturalism emerged as a solution in response to the crisis of

whiteness in the post-war period. For Thobani, Canadian multiculturalism defines the nation as essentially bilingual and bicultural and reproduces "the racialized constructs of the British and French as its real subjects" (Thobani 2007, 145).

If one attempts to understand multiculturalism from the Québécois perspective, on the other hand, it should be noted that the rejection of Québec's status as a political unit, the assumption that French Canadians outside Québec form distinct regional-ethnic communities and concern that taking a multicultural approach that overemphasizes individuals' rights, inter alia, has led many of them to oppose multiculturalism. Consequently, as articulated in 1990 by the Liberal Party of Québec, "the idea of interculturalism is born of the rejection of multiculturalism and the desire to develop a model that is more suited to the needs of Quebec society, in particular, the need to better protect the characteristics of francophone Quebec" (Bouchard 2015, 61).

*Interculturalism*

With the aim of fostering cultural communities' integration into the Franco-Québécois, the National Assembly of Québec founded *Conseil des communautés culturelles et de l'Immigration* (CCCI) (Council for Cultural Communities and Immigration) in 1984. As Danielle Juteau stresses "the fostering of a rapprochement between the Québécois majority and other residents of Quebec became the major goal" of the second phase of shifting boundaries in Québec, covering the period between 1980 and 1995 (Juteau 2002, 444). Therefore, it was during this stage that the existence of cultural groups began to be recognized by official documents and "interculturalism was presented as a desirable and specifically Québécois form of pluralism" (Ibid.).

Considered in between the assimilationist and multiculturalist immigrant integration models (Carpentier 2020), interculturalism, unlike multiculturalism, does not have an official definition

(Rocher and White 2014). Like multiculturalism, interculturalism values cultural pluralism. Unlike the assimilationist French Republican model, it does not expect from newcomers an ultimate assimilation to the host society. Here, I want to emphasize two major criticisms made by the Franco-Québécois towards multiculturalism. The first criticism of multiculturalism is from adherents of the sovereigntist movement, who believe that it has been enforced by the federal government in 1982, when the constitution was repatriated. Since the constitution of 1982 was signed by all provincial premiers without the ratification of the Québécois representatives, majority of the Québécois view multiculturalism as a refusal of their distinct identity. For the Québécois of French-Canadian descent, therefore, multiculturalism that has been promoted in the Canadian Charter of rights accentuates diversity without accepting Québec's unique historical and cultural identity. Last but not least, due to their "double status" of being a majority in Québec and a minority within Canada since the Quiet Revolution, the Québécois have developed a convoluted relation to the pluralism they have and multicultural immigrant incorporation model.

For the Québécois activists and political elites, interculturalism provides a useful toolkit to manage the interethnic relations in Québec. According to the thinkers of these circles (Buchard 2015, Gagnon and Iacovino 2007), interculturalism asserts that there is a reciprocal effort, a "moral contract," between the host society and cultural groups for the integration of the latter into the former. As such, it refers to a model in which effective contributions of diverse communities to the receiving society are encouraged (Kymlicka 2003, 154-157). In that case, the French language, the common language of public life, functions as establishing a model centered on the creation of collective identity and a "fusion of horizons" through dialogue (Gagnon and Iacovino 2007, 99, 101). Explaining it by the term "social receptivity," meaning intercultural relations and the attitudes of Franco-Québécois population toward immigration in the province, for Victor Piché, the results

of certain surveys indeed indicate that there are some improvements with regards to social receptivity in Québec (Piché 2004, 16, 17).

In the Bouchard-Taylor report, interculturalism is depicted as a model which attempts, first and foremost, to conserve the francophone culture in the province (2008). Whereas multiculturalism guarantees bilingualism, interculturalism is structured around the idea of French unilingualism. Consequently, interculturalism acknowledges the legitimacy of the Québécois government in its intervention to ensure the maintenance and recognition of a French-speaking nation in North America (Taylor, 1994). The justification for the pursuit of this collective and normative purpose comes from its minority status and the threat engendered by the wide influence of anglophone culture.

Unlike multiculturalism, interculturalism pays heed to the interaction between the nominally Catholic and francophone Québécois majority and the cultural communities who are invited to participate in the public life through French language. While multiculturalism recognizes cultural rights, interculturalism addresses barriers that hamper dialogue and conversation (Zapata-Barrero 2016). Although it respects cultural pluralism, interculturalism recognizes the existence of a majority culture, namely the Québécois of French-Canadian descendants, with whom cultural groups' relations must center on dialogue. In contrast to both multiculturalism and republican assimilationism, it offers a lifeline out the peril of conflict by accentuating the significance of dialogue, contact, and conversation among groups (Ibid.). The driving force behind its legitimation is that it insists on the need for cultural difference rather than sameness by addressing the shortcomings of the multiculturalism. Therefore, it can be argued that interculturalism functions as a strategy for bridging differences and promoting contact zones, interaction, prejudice reduction, and community-building among the populations. Yet, this contact must call for equal status and "co-operation" among people rather than an existence of intergroup interaction which is

"competitive." Instead of recognizing cultural rights asserted by multiculturalism, interculturalism addresses barriers that hamper dialogue and conversation, such as racism and xenophobia in the political discourse that can be reduced (Ibid.).

As described earlier by Georg Simmel and then elaborated upon in the works of urban sociologists of the Chicago School, a sense of belongingness is created by encounters and interactions. However, from the political point of view, an "intercultural" sense of belonging refers to interpersonal contact which can pave the way for the reduction of prejudice and stereotypes projected onto others. It enables the construction of "mutual understanding, reciprocal identification, societal trust and solidarity" (Loobuyck 2016, 230). As can be seen from the discussions I referenced concerning their politics of pluralism, multiculturalism and interculturalism present distinctively unique views on the idea of ethnocultural diversity. Whereas "multiculturalism can be thought of as a vertical, top-down policy between the state and minority groups […] interculturalism is rather a horizontal issue of everyday engagements between citizens or groups within the society" (Ibid., 232).

However, like multiculturalism, intercultural-diversity management has been subject to crucial criticisms, which remains hard to distinguish from multiculturalism in practice (Taylor 2012). As discussed by Salée (2007, 2010), Gagnon and St-Louis (2016), and Danielle Juteau (2002), Québec's diversity management remains problematic since it does not question Eurocentric norms and the hierarchy existing between Euro-descendants and minority groups. In Québec, hence, accommodating linguistic and religious minorities (Breton 2015), as illustrated above, is an arduous task to achieve. The sense of intergroup solidarity between Québécois and minorities asserted within intercultural model, which is something fundamental for the fulfillment of Québec citizenship, is dysfunctional (Juteau 2002).

The two politics of the national immigrant integration models, the Québécois interculturalism on the one hand, and Canadian multiculturalism, on the other, allows for an understanding of the evolution of ethnocultural pluralism and sociopolitical projects of national groups on the diversity within Canada. These two forms of national models, conceived sometimes as rivals, represent a discourse on identity formation informing to what extent immigrants develop a sense of belonging to the English Canadian and Québécois political and national groups.

For the first-generation North African Jews in Montréal, as I will touch upon in detail in chapter 6, interculturalism functioned as a successful integration model for these immigrants as opposed to others in the subsequent years of immigration. The wave of North African Jewish immigration to Québec, coinciding with Quiet Revolution, indicates that the host society has been recognized through language by these newcomers. From the beginning of their settlement in Québec, these newly arrived immigrants actively participated in public life and were able to institutionalize their own community while navigating their difference between the Franco-Québécois and their Ashkenazi coreligionists. Yet even though French language they spoke facilitated process of this operationalization through establishment of educational and cultural organizations, religion that existed in a post-Catholic environment also played a role for the development of their identity reconstruction. The encounter with their coreligionists, anglophone Ashkenazi Jews, to whom they were connected as Jews yet linguistically distant, fashioned their complex identity formation in Québec. The convoluted relation between language and religion through the lived experiences of the North African Jewish participants in Québec will be discussed in Chapter 6.

## 4.5. Conclusion

Without taking the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution periods in Québec into account, the particular position of North African Jews and their belonging at the intersection of language and religion cannot be understood. This chapter mainly argued that the contextual elements pertaining to the socio-historical events in the two provinces evolved differently in relation to language and religion. These two provinces have specific histories and maintain unique relationships towards their minorities like the participants of my research. Therefore, this chapter allows us to better understand the narratives of my participants in Chapters 6 and 7 in relation to the links they forge with their respective host cities: Montréal and Toronto. The next chapter focuses on the period between 1950 and 1970 in Morocco and Turkey as told by the interviewees. It describes participants' responses to a series of events and allows us to better understand their greater sense of belonging in Canada.

**Chapter 5**

## JEWISH MEMORY, NATIONALISM AND MAJORITY-MINORITY RELATIONS IN MOROCCO AND TURKEY IN THE 1950s AND 1970s

In this chapter, I describe Jewish responses to nationalism, education system, broader framework of forces for change pertaining to foreign policy and its impact on internal domestic politics through Zionism and decolonization in Morocco and Turkey. These responses, which emerged as secondary or additional themes of my research, show how they came to inform interviewees' sense of belonging in Canada. Thirty interview-based evidence in two cases brought me to the colonial legacy and differences in two countries. As such, it is important to foreground the interview passages by stating from the outset that the Moroccan Jews living in Canada that I interviewed have deep reservations about the legitimacy of the Moroccan independence movement. In a way, this is entirely predictable – as many of them fled from a sense of persecution. These reservations are manifested in many of the responses of my participants.

In 1948, some 265,000 Jews lived in Morocco. Following Morocco's declaration of independence from colonial rule in 1956, many Jews chose to flee Morocco and their numbers fell to 130,000. These numbers continued to decline after the foundation of the state of Israel and Arab-Israeli Wars throughout the 1960s and 1970s as more departed for Israel, France, and North America (Sirles 1985). Today, there are less than 2,500 Jews comprising a mere 0.06% of the total

Moroccan population of 35,200,000. In Turkey, there are fewer than 15,000 Jews, constituting just 0.18% of the total population of 81,300,000[19] (DellaPergola 2020, 332-33).

The majority of Moroccan and Turkish Jews who immigrated to Canada did so in the period 1950-1970. Even though my participants shared this experience in common, their experiences of immigration differed considerably. Which factors distinguish Moroccan Jewish experiences from Turkish Jewish experiences? How do those immigrants' narratives inform different majority-minority relations and nation-building projects of the two countries of origin? Which political actors and historical events played a major role in shaping their identity formation? Turkey's Ottoman history and its majority-minority relations put the country in a unique position compared to the colonial history and nation-building of Morocco. In 1956, Morocco declared independence, ending forty-four years of French and Spanish colonial rules in the country. Jews of Tangier who participated in this research emphasized how difficult it would be for them to consider Tangier as Spanish Morocco even though Spanish troops occupied the city in 1940 and didn't leave until 1945 (after the end of World War II). Tangier had become an international zone in 1923 and had been known as such decades before the arrival of the Spanish troops (Calderwood 2018). Furthermore, the Spanish zone harbored a much smaller Jewish community compared to the Jewish population located in the French zone (Wyrtzen 2015).

Turkey's decolonization followed its own distinctive path. Unlike Morocco, the formation of the Turkish state was precipitated by the collapse of the Ottoman Empire in the wake of World War I. For the Jewish segment of the population who spoke Ladino, this meant facing Atatürk's regime's linguistic assimilationist policies. All minorities in Turkey including Armenians, Kurds,

[19] While their presence in this paper subsumes the 1950s and 1970s, it is important to mention a series of bombs attacking Jewish centres in subsequent decades in two countries, such as attacks on Neve Shalom Synagogue in Istanbul in 1986, 1992 and 2003, and Casablanca bombings of May 2003, which played a major role in their decisions to emigrate.

Greeks, and Circassians were forced to abandon their respective mother tongues and adopt Turkish, the language of the Turkish nation-state.

This chapter provides the historical backdrop to my participants' countries of origin to better contextualize their experiences of immigrating to Canada, and how they formed their sense of belonging in the country. Amongst my interviewees Arab nationalism, Zionism and French assimilationism through the education system were dominant subjects of discussion. Turkish nationalism appears as a less prevalent theme in the stories compared to Moroccan nationalism and thus allowing us to rethink two different forms of nation-building and majority-minority relations in Morocco and Turkey between the 1950s and 1970s.

## 5.1. Historical Background

### *Morocco*

Prior to the Sephardic expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula in the fifteenth century, a significant population of non-Sephardic or "indigenous" Jews lived in Morocco[20]. During the period of Roman Empire, Jews were called *toshavim* (dwellers) and were regarded as different from the post-expelled Castilian Jews from the Iberian Peninsula, who were designated as *megurashim* (expelled ones)[21]. Whereas *toshavim* were in the urban and rural areas, *megurashim,* or post-expelled Castilian Jews, were mainly living in the urban centers next to the Muslims from Al-Andalus. Some Jews who lived in the countryside also integrated into the Tamazight and Berber-speaking communities. Most Berbers/Amazigh people lived in the mountainous and isolated regions as a

[20] According to some accounts, Jewish life in Morocco goes back to the period of King Solomon in the tenth century BCE and to the time when Israelites settled with Phoenician merchants in the seventh century BCE (Wyrtzen 2015).
[21] Also, in Tunisia, they were called *twansa* (Jews from Tunis) who were different from *Grana,* post-expelled Jews who came to Tunis from Livorno (Parks 2017).

result of Arab conquest in the seventh century, which had already Arabized urban areas through the bodies of administration and schools by the fourteenth century (Sirles 1985).

Before the imposition of the French Protectorate in 1912, Moroccan Jews living in this Muslim-majority region had a *dhimmi,* namely, a *protégé* (protected) status. By law, the lives, goods, and religious liberties of these second-class citizens were protected in exchange for recognition of Muslim supremacy and the payment of a specific tax, which is called the *jizia*. In the Jewish neighbourhoods, known as *mellah* in Morocco and *harah* in Tunisia, they were permitted to follow their own religious laws and traditions. With the establishment of A.I.U. schools, the introduction of French public schools as well as French Protectorate led to a drastic change, transforming Jewish life as it had existed for centuries. Founded in 1860 in Paris, the A.I.U. opened its first department in Tetouan, Morocco, in 1862. These schools aimed to safeguard Jewish human rights and dignity and promote the French language and culture among Jews residing in North Africa and the Near East. They combined secular, scientific, and religious subjects in their curricula and attempted to secularize many parts of Jewish life. Beyond merely being Jewish educational institutions, the A.I.U. schools sought to "emancipate" Jews, i.e., Westernize them and encouraged so-called "moral progress." Modern curriculum in the French language was instructed and assimilation into French culture was advocated (Laskier 1983).

From 1912 to 1956, when France's control over Morocco was still strong, the French language replaced Arabic, Amazigh/Berber and Hebrew and was declared to be the official language of all governmental affairs. Since monolingual French nationals almost monopolized nearly all the skilled professions during this time, personal business and some interpersonal communications were all conducted in French. With the exception of the mosques, French had a functional monopoly over the public sphere including financial organizations, the education system, the central bureaucracies, the courts, and local businesses (Sirles 1999). Using French

language as a tool, French colonial philosophy also sought to disseminate Western "rationality" and assimilationist policy through the French colonial *mission civilatrice* (civilizing mission). The cornerstone of reaching civilization was through imitation of the resident colonial authorities. As *évolués*, meaning those local residents who had acquired a level of French education, Jews acted as intermediaries for industrial development, transport and communications, serving the French government in its North-African colonies.

Prior to independence, Moroccan Jews' identification with colonial authority and the political sphere was changing due to the rise of Zionist activity in the 1920s and 1930s. Following the emergence of political Zionism in the 1890s, Zionist organizations had already been involved in their efforts to reinforce bonds between North African Jews and Palestine and later accelerate Jewish emigration to Israel. Prior to independence in 1956, Moroccan nationalists established Arabization as a fundamental cornerstone of political independence. This involved the Sultan and the leaders of the nationalist movement organizing to raise awareness of the status of the Arabic language in opposition to the colonial language. The use of Arabic proliferated as a result. In 1943, the Moroccan Independence Party, *Istiqlal,* was founded, issuing a direct challenge to French colonial rule.

Upon France's entry into World War II most of the Moroccan nationalists were suspicious of the Vichy government's antisemitism. In one nationalist newspaper, *Takaddoum,* editors notified that Hitler could target Muslims and be their enemy too following the anti-Jewish measures led by him. Furthermore, some nationalist leaders like Abdelkhaleq Torres, highlighted "the contradictions of French rule that offered protection and even naturalisation to Jews and then resorted to restriction and persecution" between 1940 and 1942 (Kenbib 2014, 548). Moroccan Jews, who were formally regarded as "subjects" of the sultan, were protected by Mohammad V during this time. Still, despite they expressed their gratitude to the sultan for his efforts to protect

them from some antisemitic legislations, “many remained skeptical about throwing their lot in completely with the Moroccan nationalists” (Wyrtzen 2015, 217)[22].

Following the World War II and establishment of the state of Israel in 1948, Moroccan Jews, constituting the largest francophone segment of the society together with French colonialists, began to leave Morocco for Israel. As a result of Jewish distrust of France and the anti-colonial struggle, an independent Moroccan wing of the Zionist Federation was established. Zionists in Morocco increasingly began to call for Jewish emigration to Israel. Moroccan nationalists associated with Istiqlal, on the other hand, initiated an anti-Zionist campaign in response. Asserting their sympathies with the Palestinian Arabs who were being dispossessed of their land, members of Istiqlal banned Jewish and European trade that supported the Zionist movement. Even though the French authorities worked against rousing anti-Jewish sentiment in the country, boycott on Jewish-owned entertainment industries, companies and pharmacies continued, intensifying after Morocco’s declaration of independence and its participation in the Arab-Israeli Wars through the 1960s and 1970s. These shared experiences coloured the accounts of all of my Moroccan Jewish participants who had lived through the period. Therefore, it is important to draw attention to complexities and tensions in their narratives. Last but not least, when Morocco declared independence in 1956, it instituted an official campaign of Arabization in the school system and bureaucracy.[23] In the 1960s, Arabic became the language of government and the main language of instruction in schools.

[22] For a unique and innovative account of Moroccan Jewish activists participating in the nationalist struggle, see: Heckman, Alma Rachel. 2020. *The Sultan’s Communists: Moroccan Jews and the Politics of Belonging,* Stanford University Press.
[23] In contrast to Algeria, “which received the heaviest dose of French linguistic and cultural influence during the colonial period,” Morocco and Tunisia had experienced a much lower success in Arabization. Indeed, cultural and linguistic colonialism was weakest in Morocco and strongest in Algeria (Sirles 1999, 116, 119).

Jewish existence in Turkey dates back to the Byzantine and the Ottoman Empires. As in Morocco, there were "indigenous" Jews before the expulsion of Sephardic Jews from the Iberian Peninsula to the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century. During this time, approximately 50,000 Jews expelled from the Iberian Peninsula immigrated to the Ottoman state (Gerber 1982). However, unlike the Moroccan Jews, some Ashkenazi Jews from Central and Eastern Europe also immigrated to Turkey in the following centuries. Moreover, Turkey accepted some German Jewish architects, intellectuals and scholars fleeing Nazi Germany in the 1930s (Bozdoğan and Akcan 2012).

*Turkey*

In the Ottoman Empire, Jews, together with other non-Muslim minorities, lived under the *millet system* which enabled religious minorities to rule themselves through their regionally administered courts. However, with the establishment of modern Turkey following the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, a new minority right was granted to the Greeks, Armenians, and Jews. These groups, namely the three major non-Muslim communities in the newly founded Republic of Turkey, were granted minority status within the legal framework of the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne.

Articles 37-45 of the Lausanne Treaty allowed the three non-Muslim groups to establish their own temples and educational institutions. For Jews, however, the early Republican (Single-Party) period ending in 1946 was a period of pressure due to the nation-building project and Turkification policies. The infamous "Citizen Speak Turkish!" campaign with its top-down nationalistic and populist agenda was one of the instruments of this policy. This campaign affected Jews more than other non-Muslim minorities during the early Republican period (Aslan 2007). Aiming to homogenize its citizens, the new government constructed after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire

expected Jews to adopt Turkishness including abandoning their Judeo-Spanish (Ladino)[24] language in favour of Turkish. Led by a group of university students in the 1930s, the "Citizen Speak Turkish!" campaign quickly appealed to the masses through the press. This repeated mantra created a backlash against Jews for their linguistic difference as a non-Muslim minority group (Çağaptay 2005, Tunçay 1981).

Violent attacks against Jews began intensifying in 1934, during the formation of the early Republic. When the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933, the 1934 Thrace pogroms followed in the cities of Edirne, Tekirdağ, Kırklareli and Çanakkale (Toktaş 2006). At that time, there were antisemitic cartoons published in several far-right publications depicting Jews as rich merchants and money-grubbing people living in Istanbul. These publications portrayed Jews as a group of people speaking Turkish with a heavy accent and as traitorous citizens of the nation (Mallet 1996). Another Turkification policy during the early Republican period was instrumentalized through the enforcement of the *Varlık Vergisi* (Wealth Tax) in 1942. Although Turkey stayed neutral during World War II, it levied a specific tax on its religious minorities. Its main objective involved economic measures during wartime (Keyman and İçduygu 1998). It was a heavy tax that sought to supply resources for the nation's treasury and the relocation of non-Muslims' goods to the Muslim bourgeoisie (Toktaş 2006, Ökte 1987). The non-Muslims thus had to pay more taxes than Muslims.

Based on annual personal revenues, while the tax rate issued for Muslims was only 5 percent, it was 179 percent for Jews; 232 percent for Armenians and 156 percent for Greeks (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000). In order to pay the exorbitant Wealth tax, these three major non-Muslim groups

[24] As I mentioned in the first chapter, following their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula, Castilian Jews carried their medieval Judeo-Spanish with them in the new places they settled. Ladino or Judezmo is the first sub-variety of this language which prospered in the lands of the former Ottoman Empire. Unlike Haketia, Ladino "has enjoyed extensive written documentation from the 16th century into our own times" (Bunis 2016, 375). The majority of the Jews that lived in the early Republican period in Turkey spoke Ladino as their mother tongue.

had no choice but to sell their properties and leave the country[25]. The 1927 census estimated that, among a total population of 13.5 million, there were 82,000 Jews, 110,000 Greeks and 77,000 Armenians (İçduygu, Toktaş and Soner 2008, 363). Over time, these numbers decreased significantly. By the time of the founding of the modern state of Israel, there was a substantial wave of Jewish emigration to Israel from Turkey (between 1948 and 1951). Belonging largely to the lower classes, around 35,000 Turkish Jews left for Israel during this time as the newly emerged Jewish state began to actively attract them (Toktaş 2006, 511). Among these immigrants, there were also those who were impoverished due to heavy tax rates administered to them in 1942 under Turkey's Wealth Tax legislation.

Examining the Jewish presence during the Multi-Party period (Bali 2014), which began in 1945 and ended in 1980, it is possible to argue that, compared to the Single-Party Republican period discussed above, a more tolerant environment existed for Jews. As mentioned in Chapter 2 on methodology, in contrast to North African Jews, Turkish Jews constitute a small number of those interviewed and all of them immigrated to Canada during the 1960s and 1970s. Many Jews continued to live in Turkey through the tenure of the Democrat Party (DP), the party that came into power following the Single-Party regime. This may partly be explained by the fact that some of the party leaders of the DP were marginalized members of the previous Single-Party period. They were opposed to the authoritarian tendencies of the Single-Party regime and gave leeway to religious expression[26] (Sunar 1983). Yet, there were also continuities in the party politics that it inherited from the Single-Party regime with respect to the secular state. For example, there was a

[25] It is important to note that Jews did not face overt racism during World War II in Turkey as in Europe. Antisemitic discourse existed and still exists among extreme right- and left-wing political movements as well as Islamo-nationalist press and social media (Toktaş 2006).

[26] For instance, the number of religious schools and the construction of mosques increased during the DP rule. However, along with those drives, the party maintained an unwavering opposition to any anti-secular discourse that could emerge in the public sphere (Zürcher 2004).

law enacted by the DP which required punitive measures against anyone insulting Atatürk, the founding father of modern Turkey, and his memory (Zürcher 2004, 339-41). When Atatürk's house was burned down in 1955 in Thessaloniki, his city of birth, the Istanbul pogrom orchestrated by the DP against Greeks in Turkey escalated into an anti-minority riot. The anti-Greek upheaval in the city became uncontrollable and rapidly spread to Jewish-owned businesses, both in Istanbul and Izmir, from September 6–7, 1955. In the 1960s, these events further drove non-Muslim emigration. Whereas Greeks decided to immigrate to Greece, Jews predominantly departed for Israel (Toktaş 2005).[27]

With a relatively more tolerant ideology under the 1961 Constitution compared to former years of the Republic, the years following the DP rule saw the enactment of civil rights, freedom of the press and a liberal understanding of citizenship. However, due to growing tensions between leftists and right-wing groups throughout the country, the safeguarding of these rights in the 1970s was limited. Although the imposition of Turkification on the Jewish community diminished during the Multi-Party period, the increasing social unease of the 1970s gave rise to much Jewish emigration to Israel (Toktaş 2005, 2006). Unlike the poorer Jewish emigrants of the period between 1948-51, Turkish Jews who emigrated to Israel in the post-1950s belonged, for the most part, to the middle and upper-middle classes (Toktaş 2008). In the late 1960s, there were also young Turkish Jews who emigrated to Israel for educational purposes.

[27] Turkey did not only witness non-Muslim immigration to Greece and Israel during the 1950s and 1960s, but also a high rate of rural migration from the eastern part of the country to its western coast. Through Marshall Aid obtained after World War II, the mechanization in agriculture negatively impacted agricultural workers. So, by migrating, these workers sought to have a prosperous life in urban centres, replacing the non-Muslim population who left the cities (Karpat 1976, Pamuk 2014).

## 5.2. "It's Time to Leave and Get out of the Woods": Moroccan Jews, Arab Nationalism, Decolonization, Zionism, and Education

With the exception of three individuals, all of the francophone interviewees living in Montréal were from French Morocco. The stories shared by these interviewees gravitated upon four themes, i.e., colonialism (1), Arab nationalism (2), Zionism (3), and education (4). These four themes, Zionism, colonial legacy, feelings of insecurity and fear provoked by the Arab nationalism that followed Morocco's independence and education, like the hispanophone Jews of northern Morocco, underline southern Moroccan Jews' conflicting relationship to their past.

One interviewee, Joseph, stated that Moroccan Jews, were literate in Hebrew and French, just as the upper-class Muslims[28] were literate in Arabic. Joseph became particularly emotional at a certain moment during the interview, recounting the following story which took place a few years before Morocco gained its independence:

> I must have been sixteen or seventeen. I remember that at that time I was reading a lot and I was very interested. There was an American library in Casablanca, just a library . . . And I was going to borrow books from American culture. . . Hemingway… I don't remember because it was a long time ago . . . but I was reading all these books about American culture in French, of course, translated into French because I didn't read in English at that time. I learned English in secondary school. . . One day, I'm in the library and I hear an explosion. It was a library on a small street… And I arrive . . . and there was a bomb which exploded. . . It exploded while a bus was passing by. . . I arrived there and there were 500 people, 1000 people who heard the explosion. And I saw the blood running down the sidewalk and the street (cries) . . . And so, there were demonstrations . . . Muslims who wanted independence. And I remember when there were these demonstrations… we were on the first floor. I had panic attacks. And there was a demonstration, let's say, every month, every two months. I was becoming paralyzed. It was not rational, quite irrational. (My translation.)

[28] It is important to mention the link between the class difference among Moroccan Muslims and Arabization policy. Most of the early leaders of the country from upper-class background indeed obtained their higher education in France right before the independence. When they returned to Morocco after their education, they became the new francophone Moroccan elites. Following the independence, they preferred to send their offspring to the reputable schools of the French Universal Cultural Mission. Therefore, it is possible to argue that Arabization policy was something planned for the middle and lower classes rather than upper classes. While the new francophone elites of education ministry staff tended to send their children to the schools where the teaching was instructed in the French language, they continued to architect and accelerate Arabization policies for the masses and for the nation (Sirles 1985, 1999).

Sonia, who left Morocco with her family in 1961 when she was thirteen, shared the story of her mother's detention by the Moroccan police and later imprisonment. This was because when the police asked the names of her neighbours, she did not know them, which led them to suspect her. Once King Hassan II took power in 1961, she explained that the teaching of Arabic in schools become compulsory. Ruth remembered how thirteen- and fourteen-year-old children were arrested after the Six-Day War simply because they wore blue and white coloured clothing, the colours of the Israeli flag.

Albert recounted his feelings towards the ramifications of Arab nationalism that led to him fleeing the country with his family in the 1970s through "three psychoses," making him lose contact with reality. He recalled that during the 1967 Six-Day War, King Hassan II encouraged an invasion of Israel and wanted to send his garrisons so that Morocco could assist the Muslims in Palestine. Albert asserted that through this rhetoric, which was quite prevalent at that time, some nationalist crowds were assembled in certain Casablanca neighbourhoods, provoking his first "psychosis." In fact, it is important to note that Hassan II embraced an ambivalent stance towards the Israel/Palestine conflict during his rule. As Brahim El Guabli underlines, "declaring Palestine as a sacred issue for Moroccans, while in the meantime serving as a negotiator between Israelis and Palestinians," Hassan II embodied "very tricky nature of the negotiations between external solidarities and internal interests" (El Guabli 2020, 165, 167). Therefore, he did not hesitate to arrest his opponents and sentence them to jail when they requested the removal of Moroccan Jews from Moroccan administration and, at the same time, called for the boycott of Jewish businesses following the Six-Day War. Albert's second "psychosis," on the other hand, occurred during the Skhirat coup d'état attempt of 1971. And his third arose during the 1972 attempted coup d'état when air force pilots attacked the Boeing airplane of which Hassan II was one of the passengers.

In addition to these three, the Yom Kippur War was also a significant factor in his decision to leave. Following it, he stated, Jews in Morocco started to be perceived differently and the national press became more aggressive than ever towards Israel. All these events led him to exclaim the Spanish expression "Basta!" and provoked his emigration from Morocco with his wife and children in 1975.

Daisy, who is from the small city Safi, located in western Morocco, explained how it became disconcerting and frightening to go to school following the Six-Day War. She remembered how hatred toward Jews was broadcast via radio throughout the country, hatred especially aimed at Jews living in Israel. Israel's victory in the war added another layer to this hatred and increased feelings of hostility against Morocco's Jewish population, leading to policies of imprisonment and persecution:

> We were kept cloistered in our homes, like how we are confined now because of Covid (laughs). We didn't go out for a month but then it was July, the beginning of July. After the war, we went out, a month later, we went to the beach . . . And there . . . we were told that in the cafe there was a person who had a gun . . . Because there was a lot of anger, because they accused us for having celebrated Israel's victory of the Six-Day War. So, the police came with submachine guns and arrested us . . . We spent ten days in prison . . . and in prison, we were threatened . . . There was an 18-year-old young man, his last name was "Israel" . . . he was badly treated . . . The children . . . accused us of being spies from Israel . . . that was absolutely nonsense. (My translation.)

When she recalled the Jews from lower-class background, like herself, living in poverty and suffering from malnutrition following the rise of Arab nationalism in Morocco, Daisy remarked how Zionism represented a hope for their survival. Yet, as she told me, their parents had lived in Morocco where they had been rooted for several centuries. They loved Morocco; they had a genuine love for the land. Their mother tongue was Arabic. At home, there were blessings to Sultan Mohammed V because they believed that he protected Jews from Vichy France when antisemitism was on the rise. Therefore, their confidence in the French Protectorate historically was shaken following the Vichy government's policies on them taking away most of their rights. However,

when the streets abruptly became threatening for them with the eruption of the Arab-Israeli Wars, they became skeptical about working in allyship with nationalists. The Moroccan nationalist movement aligned with the Pan-Arab movement under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt and expressed by an Arab and Muslim identity could not truly make them equal members in the society. They felt that they would never be equals under such a regime, especially in the aftermath of the Six-Day War. As a result, they began to believe that they couldn't continue to stay in Morocco any longer. For Daisy's father, leaving was not a choice and Canada meant "liberation." In 1970, they left Morocco. Sonia narrated family- and neighbourhood-filled memories, of children playing together, of familiar places and shops her family used to frequent. Julia recalled that despite being forced to come home early accompanied by a driver when the political situation in Israel was intensifying, she valued the extraordinary quality of life they had in Tangier before their immigration to Québec in 1976. As she explained, they used to go to the beach often, for example, and so they did not feel the need to travel anywhere else. There was also a mutual aid between the populations in Tangier, she commented.

Francophone interviewees who immigrated to Québec as young adults all grew up in an environment replete with French culture through the A.I.U. or French public schools they had attended. Educated in the A.I.U. system from the age of six, Ruth underscored how she had the chance to mix with a Moroccan Jewish milieu outside of school which concomitantly reinforced her Jewish identity, something which she did not necessarily experience at home. All of the first-generation interviewees from French Morocco learned French, Hebrew and Arabic in these schools and maintained their French network and culture when they arrived in Québec, a natural choice of province for their immigration.

Most of the Jews of northern Morocco living in Toronto hail from Tangier. Unlike the Beni Ider quarter in the Tangier-Tetouan-Al Hoceima region which hosted more affluent Jews, an

official *mellah* did not exist in Tangier. Unlike in other cities, "to outside observers, Jews were indistinguishable from other inhabitants by their dress" in Tangier (Gilson-Miller 2013, Wyrtzen 2015, 187). In their stories, the participants place importance on Tangier's international, multicultural status with its diverse population of people of different nationalities and their respective schools. Most of these interviewees, like the Jews of French Morocco, speak French and Hebrew. However, having Spanish as their mother tongue, some of them also speak yet another language," Haketia[29]." Both Spanish and Haketia, however, did not enjoy the status that the French language acquired during the colonial period. Therefore, their role in fashioning the linguistic identity of contemporary Morocco has been restricted. Moreover, their usage has diminished during the post-independence period (Sirles 1985).

When Morocco declared its independence in the 1956, Tangier's international mosaic had been subject to a major change, as had the cities of southern Morocco. According to Manuel, an hispanophone Jewish interviewee from Tangier, the Arab League almost obliged Morocco's participation in the Arab-Israeli War. As a result, anytime there was conflict between Israelis and Palestinians or Egyptians, his community was afraid to go outside their homes for fear of appearing as Israeli sympathizers. David, another Tangier Jew, recalled when Moroccan nationalism became intractable in the decades following its independence:

> By the 60s . . . Morocco was already ruling Tangier, but as far as trade, as far as status, it was international. No taxes . . . By the early 60s already, people that were not Muslim Moroccan began to seek new opportunities because they could see already that the days were counted. People had been living for generations in Tangier. They would not be able to keep their business unless they had a Moroccan Muslim partner . . . If you're a Moroccan Jew, you have the same right as [a] Moroccan Muslim and that has been the case up to now. Under the law, if you have a business, it's your business as a Moroccan Jew, as well as vis-à-vis Muslims, it's their business. But for many foreigners, residents, residents for generations that were

[29] As mentioned in the first chapter, derived from Maghrebi Arabic and Hebrew, Haketia is one sub-variety of medieval Judeo-Spanish language. It had been spoken by Jews of northern Morocco in cities such as Larache, Tangier and Tetouan in the twentieth century (Bunis 2016).

> not Moroccan, their situation was different . . . By the mid to late 60s, early 70s, that's when the big exodus began. In the case of the Moroccan Jews, the Six Day War; it was what triggered the mass exodus from Tangier. There was insecurity . . . and it was 1967, I was studying in France, my last year of high school. Upon returning to Tangier, my dad, just because everyone was doing it, applied for [a] Canadian visa. It was approved very quickly. Maybe [in] four, five, six months . . . So, when I came back at the end of my academic year in France, in June, I believe, my dad said we received immigration for Canada, what do you think? I said, "I'm going. I'm, I'm, I'm going." (laughs). My sister said, "Oh, if he's going, I'm going." So, we left one day with four suitcases; the business stayed open.

Educated in the A.I.U. system, Marco, whose wife I also interviewed, remembered the good life they had in Tangier. The generation of his parents especially enjoyed it with the "fullest of the fullest of the fun," he described. He underlined that unlike southern Morocco, it was the "Spanish flavour" that dominated life in Tangier, despite its international climate. But from 1961 to 1964, Marco contended that life became dangerous for Jews and they began to panic as a result. For instance, he told me how the chief rabbi of Tangier was once stabbed in the neck. He continued with the following story about his aunt:

> We love Morocco. I love Morocco to be honest. It's a great destination. So, I had, for example, my aunt, who passed away a few years ago, who was 92. And she was very much involved in one of the places, it was like a hospital. It was very, very famous. I mean, if you needed anything, just go to Rachel, Rachel will handle everything. If you needed a passport, and it was very hard to get a passport . . . Naturally, to get a passport is not like in Canada, you just go and fill out a form and boom and in two or three weeks, you get the passport. In Morocco, you have to bribe. So, my aunt was so much involved with the police and . . . one of her colleagues at work went to the police secretly and told them that my aunt was a Zionist spy. When the police came to her and started to ask questions, and thank God that one of the policemen that she knew, and he really liked my aunt, told her, "Listen, they're trying to tell [the] government that you're a spy. So, you better start moving." And that's why she came to Toronto.

Ava, Marco's wife, remembered how people were secretly leaving Tangier after the 1960s to avoid entanglements with Moroccan security. When she started noticing the absence of her friends in class, the teacher would say, "Oh, they're not coming back anymore. They went to Canada. They left the country." She also recalled witnessing people disappearing from neighbourhoods.

Sometimes, they did not know where those people went and dared not question their disappearance. When her grandparents left Morocco for Israel, Ava and her family couldn't phone them because the Moroccan government prohibited making calls to Israel. Instead of saying "Israel," they would say "Haaretz." It was very difficult for her mother to contact her parents who were living in Israel during this time. One Hanukkah, Ava's father, who belonged to a union, organized a demonstration in support of bank workers in Tangier. However, lamenting her father having been jailed following a demonstration, Ava told how painful it was to spend that Hanukkah night waiting for him to return home. Daniel described these times in the following way:

> Jobs were actually decreasing. The Jews were seeing that there were problems. After all, the Jews were in a good position in the sense that they were always the translators. That's how they were in [a] good position because they spoke all sorts of languages, German and Dutch and so on and so forth. So, they were able to translate for the Arab officials. And again, that started to disappear. There were Jews that were doing very well. Not everybody. There [was] a lot of poverty among Arabs, among Jews. The community supported them by providing food and clothing. My father, he used to work for a bank and then it had become independent, he opened up a cabinet as an accountant. He did very well. He had very good customers like private banks. Major companies . . . and all these . . . actually disappeared. They left . . . There were a lot of Israeli agents pressing the Jews to leave and American organizations as well pressing the Jews to leave because they were concerned [about them] being in a country that Israel had problems with Palestinians and so on. They did not know what the future could be. Before that, we had a fantastic relationship with everybody. Christians, Arabs, [and] so on. I mean, extremely tolerant community; I can say that, extremely. Something [that] even doesn't exist in Toronto. They were so well together, all of those. We were invited to Christian events, Arab events and so on. It was nice, yet we had our own religion and that was ok.

In A.I.U. schools, one could find not only Jews but also Spaniards and Arabs taking the same courses side by side. Still, one needed to be cautious, "You did trust your Arabic friend in school but you had to be careful in the street," Ava added. Together with friction and fear, there had been a love for the country, which, according to her husband, is still alive even now. Even though her family spoke Spanish at home, they learned French and Hebrew as well as Arabic in the A.I.U. schools. They used to live in harmony with amicable relations. Ava explained how exceptional was

the education she received in Tangier. For her, the most amazing part of being in Tangier was living with diverse people speaking different languages, of various religious backgrounds. Manuel, whose best friend was a Moroccan Muslim, stressed some religious customs that Jews and Arabs have in common, such as fasting and abstaining from pork. People were learning their differences and at the same time, without being assimilated, they were respecting their traditions, Ava told. There were Arabs and Christians and they all learned Hebrew in schools. Recalling her childhood for a moment, she told the following story:

> The girls did not go to synagogues on Sabbath in Morocco. My father would have come from the synagogue. We would have lunch. Then he would give us allowance on Saturday and we would all go to [the] theatre, to the movies and then we would have money left to buy ice-cream and . . . that's what Saturdays were like in Morocco. And for the high holidays we would go to synagogue. We would be going crazy, my mom buying us clothes, these things. And going to synagogue with all of our friends. We had the street of synagogues. You would play with all your friends. I had great memories of that . . . I remember New Year's and Christmas . . . because everybody would celebrate so. My older brothers who were then fourteen and fifteen would go out with Christian friends and would have [a] tambourine, singing all these songs.

Within the frame of secondary or additional themes emerged from life-story interviews, participants flesh out their past life in Morocco through these four themes, i.e., colonialism, Arab nationalism, Zionism, and education. Yet, the main takeaway of these stories are the tensions created by the co-emergent rise of Zionism, Arab nationalism, and the ensuing breakdown of relations. In other words, the interviewees' perspective is primarily coloured by experiences of persecution, although they have mixed feelings about their attachment to their past in Morocco. The plethora of stories around these four themes open up to complex thinking. Edgar Morin contends that the inability to imagine the complexity of anthropo-social reality with its individual level (micro-dimension) as well as planetary level (macro-dimension-encompassing humanity), has led to countless tragedies in history. This failure of imagination continues to engender the utmost global tragedy in the world (Morin 2005, 20). This brings us back to accepting, embracing

and welcoming complexity with other possibilities in the wholeness of events. In the stories, Moroccan Jews have a conflicting relation to Arab nationalism which is in tension with French colonial rule, Zionism and the Arab-Israeli Wars. Their shared Moroccan identity and rootedness analyzed within the theme of education, on the other hand, reflect a solidary and harmonious frame of mind that excludes friction.

5.3. *Kayades*: Turkish Jews, Nationalism, and Forces of Change

Prior to their immigration to Canada in the 1970s, three of the Turkish Jewish interviewees first emigrated to Israel in the post-1950s period. Two of the Turkish Jewish interviewees are indeed half-Ashkenazi and half-Sephardi, one of their parents coming from Russia and Germany. All of the Turkish Jews I interviewed immigrated to Canada in the 1960s and 1970s. Turkish authorities' diplomatic relations with Israel, its secular foundation, as well as silences in the narratives are important to keep in mind when analyzing Turkish Jewish trajectory in Turkey. One caveat I would like to add here is that given the fact that there are fewer stories collected in the Turkish case than Moroccan, my findings should be taken as possibilities running up against some historical inaccuracies.

Being the first Muslim country, which recognized the Jewish state in 1949, perhaps similar to Hassan II's external and internal policy pertaining to Israel/Palestine conflict, Turkey could balance its diplomatic relations with both Israel and the Arab states during this time. It is important to note that the origins of the Jewish state go back to late Ottoman times when Palestine was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire. Israel's first leader, David Ben-Gurion, studied law in Istanbul and some Jewish people served in the Ottoman army during the WWI, such as Moshe Sharett, the second prime minister of Israel. The collapse of the Ottoman Empire was something unexpected

for both Palestinians and Jews and it was hard them to imagine the British rule in Palestine in 1917-1918 (Fishman 2013, 2020).

In the 1950s, when David Ben-Gurion visited Turkey, he, as Louis Fishman claims, most probably spoke Turkish to the prime minister of Turkey of the time, Adnan Menderes (Fishman 2013, 35). Viewed in this perspective, the leaders of Turkey and Israel had geographical, historical, and cultural commonalities making them major trade partners "with Turkey quickly becoming the third largest importer of Israeli goods; likewise, Israel was also dependent on imports from Turkey, especially for wheat" (Ibid.). Coming to 1970s, however, Israel became a domestic concern in Turkey due to the rise of anti-colonial movements, political Islam, and Marxist ideological groups. Sympathizing with the Palestinian cause, the radical leftist movement protested Turkey's influential ties with North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the United States. Moreover, some leftists kidnapped and killed Israeli consul general Efraim Elrom in 1971. Last but not least, with the establishment of National Order Party in 1970, anti-Israel sentiments increased with the antisemitic discourse of its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, in the public sphere. Consequently, Turkey's relations with Israel were challenged resulting in positioning Turkey closer to Arab states in the 1970s (Ibid.). Nissim, who received a scholarship from the Israeli government, recounted his life in Turkey before he left for Israel in 1968:

> So I was born in 1950 in a very Jewish area of Istanbul. It was like [the] Saint-Urbain of Istanbul or [the] Kensington market area in Toronto. The genesis of the community, at least when I was born, quite a bit before that in the Ottoman history, Jews had been concentrated around the Golden Horn of Istanbul. My parents both were born either in Balat or near Balat in Hasköy, which is again around the Golden Horn. So I grew up in the heart of the Jewish community. I do very vaguely remember Balat because . . . my family . . . kept moving differently, migration routes of Jews within Istanbul, of course. So I finished high school there in the Jewish high school. We were instructed in Hebrew. I mean, it was a Turkish curriculum. We didn't learn Ladino or anything like this. It was all Turkish. We went to Israel at the same time to study [with his brother]. We all left Turkey in 1968. I was 18, he was 20. The key is that the Six-Day War was an important event, not just for Israeli history; it was a seminal moment, both for Israeli and Jewish history . .

> . *Kayador*… [a] Ladino word . . . "keep quiet" . . . against the Muslim Turks . . . You know, do not show who you are. Do not get into politics. Do not give them a reason to come after you. You will lose every time so *kayades* (silence) at the time I was born was commonplace. There's a reaction to it now. But that's decades later . . . We went to good schools; the parents took care of us in many instances, took us [to] nice places, gave us car[s] . . . It was like an upper-middle class, you know, what a life! And I talk[ed] with friends, you know, we all agree that we had a happy childhood.

Behaving one way in public sphere and in another way at home is a type of repression that can be analyzed through the boundaries of tolerance. This tolerance, which was contingent on a certain set of *act as if* directed behaviors, such as passive compliance, required them "to act *as if* they do, and by so acting, to live "within the lie"" (Wedeen 1998, 513). Nissim also depicted life in Israel as a young person. To elaborate, they were exposed to meeting Jews coming from all parts of the world and they all learned Hebrew before attending university. Alluding to North African countries for a moment, he explained that Turkey was still a more developed country than the North African countries in the 1950s and 1960s. They were perhaps more educated than other Jews in Israel because they were quite well-off in Turkey, he said. He agreed with the comments he heard about them being "spoiled brats" in Israel; since "we were like born with a silver spoon in our mouths," he commented, as he recalled his life in Istanbul. Yet, there were two separate identities in Turkey: Jewish for home-life and another for when outside the home, when interacting with Muslim Turks. Despite the fact that he does not find this dual-identity formation unusual for the average Jew living in Turkey, Nissim was driven to leave Turkey at a younger age as a result.

As indicated previously, two of the Turkish Jewish interviewees presented here are half-Ashkenazi and half-Sephardi. Victor's grandfather, who lived in Tashkent (the Soviet Union) as a cotton trader until the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, crossed the Azerbaijan-Ottoman border three years after the Revolution and arrived in the city of Adana. When his family settled in the Çukurova region, which is a significant centre for cotton production, his grandfather and his father opened a

cotton factory. Unfortunately, they were subjected to the Wealth Tax of the early Republican period. The Turkish government demanded a huge amount of money from his grandfather compelling him to sell the factory and still go into debt. Following this event, they moved to Istanbul. There, Victor met his wife, Esther, whose father is an Ashkenazi Jew from Germany and whose mother is a Sephardi Jew. Before their emigration to Israel, Victor and his wife lived in Kilis where Victor did his military service. Rather than a prevalent antisemitism or Turkish nationalism, the reasons for their emigration to Israel in 1970 was provoked by the high rate of smuggling in Kilis. They had good relations with their neighbours, and Esther said she still misses Burgazada.[30] Although life in Israel was not difficult, various political controversies greatly influenced their decision to leave. So, in 1975 they left Israel for Canada. Sarah, who immigrated to Toronto from Istanbul with her husband in 1975, defines her Turkish childhood as follows (and uses a few Turkish words here and there):

> When I left Turkey, I left my family, I left my friends. I have wonderful memories about Turkey. Incidentally, last week on Facebook I saw a website about my primary school. I wrote a little article remembering my teachers and at the end I said these are my teachers: *Hala onları sevgi ve saygı ile anarım çünkü onlar bilgi tohumlarının gerçeğini beynimize ve kalbimize işlediler* (I still remember them with love and respect because they injected the reality of seeds of knowledge into our brains and hearts). After that, I started to get comments about some of my classmates and they requested to be friends with me. So, *kısacası* (shortly), I found three friends from my primary school and they remembered me . . . So, 60 years later, we got connected. And I have beautiful memories about Turkey. I had a very large group of friends and I didn't even know what the difference between religions was. Armenian, Greek, Turkish friends. We were all together. We had something in common to be together, to be friends, to have one heart. That was about it.

Suzanne, who describes herself as an "admirer of Atatürk,"[31] left Istanbul for Canada in 1968. Although the Single-Party regime, due to the imposition of Turkification, constitutes the most

[30] An island in the Sea of Marmara.
[31] Supporting Atatürk is highly linked with advocating the principles of secularism. In a similar vein, some francophone Moroccan Jewish participants of this research, as I demonstrate in Chapter 6, embrace secularism in Québec.

painful period for Jews in Turkey, they recognize that they were not the only religious group, like the Christians as well as Muslims, affected by the policy of secularism.[32] With the prohibition of religious symbols in the public sphere, the secularization of Judaism resulted in a concealment and limited practice of Judaism among Jews in Turkey.

### 5.4. An Overview of the Two Cases

Modern Turkey was founded in 1923, prior to Morocco's declaration of independence from French and Spanish imperial rules. Both Turkey and Morocco are Muslim-majority countries, but Turkey is unique in so far as its constitution is republican.[33] Some parts of it are in Europe while most of its territories lie in Asia. Unlike Morocco, it had never been subject to official colonial subjugation by a foreign power. In Morocco, the four themes, i.e., colonial state, A.I.U. schools that wanted to assimilate them, Zionist associations which tried to help them emigrate to Israel, and nationalist movement, shaped Morocco's Jews' complex identity formation. Consequently, Jews in Morocco had an ambiguous position caught between three competing identity claims associated with the French linguistic and cultural assimilationism, Zionism, and Moroccan nationalism (Wyrtzen 2015).

[32] In the early twentieth century before the establishment of modern Turkey, a core group of nationalists, the Young Turks, advocated for a thoroughgoing transformation of Ottoman society. They were influenced by the secular outlook of the French Third Republic. Imported European ideas of nationalism were made to serve the dynamics of the Ottoman Empire. In the transition from Ottoman patriotism to Turkish nationalism, the imposition of Turkification, emphasizing assimilation as an indispensable objective, warranted the construction of a homogeneous Turkish core state, with the Ottoman loss of power and authority being the required catalyst (Toprak 2012). Viewed in this way, Turkish secularism has some commonalities with the secularism of Republican France.

[33] Similarly, as it can be understood from Nissim's story, Jews who emigrated to Israel from Turkey do not identify themselves completely with other groups in Israel. Seeing themselves as neither European like the Ashkenazi Jews nor Middle Eastern like the Arab or Mizrahi Jews, they are 'in between' the two. Nevertheless, some Turkish Jews now living in Israel believe that Israeli society perceives them as belonging to the Middle Eastern or Oriental category (Toktaş 2008, 522-23).

While, as mentioned, Jews in Morocco were educated in French through the A.I.U. system and the French public schools they attended, Turkey's A.I.U. schools were closed by the early Republican regime. In contrast to Turkey, Moroccan Jews continued their education in these schools which created a remarkable influence on their culture. Yet, their religious "Otherness" had been marginalized through the inclusion and exclusion of Moroccan Pan-Arabic ideology which led to their emigration to Israel, France, and North America in the post-independence period that this chapter focused on. As mentioned earlier, Jews in Turkey were subject to a high level of discrimination during the early Republican period. In Morocco, stories relate that there was a widespread antisemitism and Arab nationalism predating and following the Moroccan independence of 1956. Due to the continual Arab-Israeli Wars in the decades that followed, Arab nationalism, Zionist activities which encouraged "fleeing," and antisemitic attitudes intensified, resulting in large numbers of Jews leaving Morocco. In Turkey, to be included in secular society and to continue conducting their businesses freely, Jews had no option but to adopt Turkish names. They also had to avoid discussions of political topics so as to remain inconspicuous. In the stories of the Moroccan Jewish interviewees, however, the impact of the Israel-Palestine conflict and Zionism are notable concern that helps us understand their decisions to emigrate. Findings from the stories collected within the four themes suggest that, as residents of a majority-Arab country, Moroccan Jews were more severely affected by antisemitism than Jews in Turkey due to the Arab-Israeli Wars and attitudes to Zionist activities during the 1950s and throughout the 1970s which resulted in their massive wave of emigration from the country.

Turkey had an observer status rather than an official one in the Arab league due to political, cultural, and linguistic differences and historically it had not lived under an official colonial rule. Last but not least, its foundation was secular. Therefore, attitudes to Zionism and Arab-Israeli Wars aggravated relations in Morocco more than Turkey. This does not necessarily mean that concerns

about Zionism were absent from the Turkish political dialogue in the period that I focused on here. Yet, top-down nationalizing reforms in the absence of colonialism creates different, and perhaps less repressive, sets of outcomes because of this entangled space in emergent nationalism and anti-colonial movement. As such, for Jews of Turkey, it is possible to argue that secularism meant protection of their religion and ethnic identity and so their perseverance in a Muslim-majority country in the periods discussed in this chapter.

## 5.5. Conclusion

From thirty interview-based evidence in two cases, this chapter provided the historical backdrop to my participants' countries of origin and described Jewish responses to a series of events. A recurring set of themes expressed by my participants were nationalism, education system, broader framework of forces for change pertaining to foreign policy and its impact on internal domestic politics through Zionism and decolonization. These four themes brought me to the colonial legacy and differences in two countries. Therefore, this chapter argued that top-down nationalizing reforms in the absence of colonialism creates different, and perhaps less repressive, sets of outcomes because of this entangled space in emergent nationalism and anti-colonial movement. After visiting the stories of the participants in their country of origin, in the next chapter, I focus on the complex relationship between language and religion through the narratives of the nineteen North African Jews whom I interviewed in Montréal.

**Chapter 6**

# LANGUAGE, RELIGION AND NORTH AFRICAN JEWISH IDENTIFICATION IN QUÉBEC: A COMPLEX RELATION

This chapter examines the complex relationship between language and religion through the narratives of the nineteen North African Jews (first, 1,5 and second generation) whom I interviewed in Montréal. Throughout the chapter, rather than simply denoting participants' faith, i.e., the way in which interviewees practice their faith in synagogues or other religious institutions, my focus on religion will be connected to its "post" phrase, meaning after the Quiet Revolution period in Québec amidst a period of rapid secularization. Since most of my participants and the Franco-Québécois that they interacted with following the Quiet Revolution in the province are secular, I should emphasize the fact that interviewees' relation to Catholicism in its "post" phrase, rather than how they practice their faith, is what I will take into account here.

As explained in Chapter 3 *Language and Religion: Conceptual Approach to Belonging*, the concept of cultural religion offers a compelling account to understand participants' relation with the majority culture in Québec, a term which is deeply rooted in history, collective imagination, and memory (Lefebvre 2015, 89). The concept of "believing without belonging" (Davie 1994), emphasizes that individuals live their spiritual life in their "immediate circle, with family and friends," rather than in a synagogue attending services (Taylor 2007, 534). This is very much the case with the participants of this study. While they are skeptical about theology and distant from the religious morality, they declare faith in God and identify with a synagogue as a source of comfort and future need. For that reason, I define religion as an identity marker that has emerged

from the narratives in the processes of boundary making helping to determine ethnic identification of the participants. To this end, I show how, in the case of my interview subjects, Jewish identity makes up an ethnic identity attached to language, rather than only religious one (Guhin 2014). In Québec, the same is largely true of Catholic identity.

The chapter is divided into three parts. In the first part, I show how first-generation North African Jews formed their identity through their encounter with post-Catholic Franco-Québécois culture. Drawing on the concept of *ethnic boundary blurring,* I contend that first-generation North African Jewish integration was facilitated by language (Ülgen 2022). Yet, this linguistic fusion between these two cultures, remaining more notable in the narratives among first-generation participants as opposed to the narratives among younger generation participants, did not prevent first-generation North African Jews from asserting their ethnoreligious boundaries. For this reason, even though language occupies a more prominent place than religion in the narratives and that the first-generation interviewees negotiate their religious difference through language, the post-Catholic environment and its attitude toward Judaism do not disappear completely in their narratives.

In the second part, I discuss how Ashkenazi Jews' linguistic and religious identity throws into relief the complex evolution of identity formation of North African Jews in Québec. In contrast to their Ashkenazi coreligionists, first-generation North African Jews in Québec share a common language with the Franco-Québécois majority. Although they share the same religion with the Ashkenazim, first-generation North African Jews remained linguistically disconnected to them in Québec, especially in the early years of immigration. As such, their position had been shaped through the encounters of Franco-Québécois and Ashkenazi Jews (Miles 2007). This complex identity formation is similar to the one that they had in their country of origin. As demonstrated in Chapter 5, francophone Moroccan Jews developed a complex identity formation fashioned by three

competing identity claims in Morocco. There were Zionist organizations that encouraged them to emigrate to Israel in the face of danger, Moroccan nationalists with whom they remained hesitant to form performative allyship, and the influence of French colonialists and A.I.U. schools that they culturally aligned with (Wyrtzen 2015). In Québec, however, in contrast to the United States and Anglo-Canada within North America, the in-betweenness of North African Jews is uniquely intriguing due to this complex interplay between language and religion. In other words, because of their relation to the Ashkenazim on the one hand, and to the Franco-Québécois, on the other, I show how first-generation North African Jews developed an ambivalent identity caught between these two actors in Québec. Therefore, I suggest that this complex North African identity reconstruction can be thought as a continuation that had been shaped by new religious as well as linguistic actors appearing on the scene after their immigration to Québec. My interviewees' responses showcase the formation of a contentious identity which helps us grasp the particular makeup of Canadian pluralism.

The third part focuses on the generational dimension of the narratives which led me to make a distinction between the Québécois interculturalism and the Montréalais multiculturalism specifically. Analyzing the generational aspect drawn from narratives of the participants was important since, in contrast to the discussion I make in the first part, from the data I gathered, the experience of 1,5 and second-generation interviewees illustrates the importance of religious identification over and above linguistic identification. As opposed to baby boomers and the silent generation, younger interviewees, who tend to be more conversant in English than their parents and who are mostly generation Xers and millennials, are more outspoken about their feeling of exclusion in Québec based on their ethnicity, religion and language (accent). In this case, religious identification does in fact trump linguistic identification for these interviewees.

| Identity Markers | Québec/ Montréal *Pluralism*<br>Interculturalism / Multiculturalism<br>***Recognition*** |
|---|---|
| **Language** | North African Jews<br>- Francophone (ethnic boundary blurring/ first-generation majority)<br>- More anglophone than francophone (ethnic boundary shifting/ second and 1,5 generations) |
| **Religion** | Difference (Inequality / Complexity)<br>- Catholicism / post-Catholicism – Judaism<br>- Inter-Jewish relations (language, culture, tradition) |

Table 4: North African Jewish Identity Formation in Québec

Table 4 above is important not only because it differentiates between linguistic and religious markers of identity, but it also demonstrates another nuance that, as explained in the first chapter, is usually overlooked by studies comparing religion and language; namely, the comparison of the two in a sustained way rather than merely presenting a juxtaposition with an empirical focus in a multicultural society like Canada.

## 6.1. Linguistic Commonality, Religious Difference: First-generation North African Jews in Québec

In Québec, as I empirically focus on in this first part by analyzing the narratives of first-generation North African Jews, I show how language is strongly tied to ethnicity. The link between language and ethnicity is evident when we think of immigrants like the first-generation North African Jews, whose mother tongue was French, the language that they shared with the Franco-Quebecois as soon as they arrived in Québec. One must not be surprised when some francophone

immigrants declare a common position with Franco-Québécois not only through language but also through a shared minority status. I explained historical minority status of French Canadians, the Quiet Revolution and the post-Quiet Revolution periods and religious Others in the previous chapters. Franco-Québécois indeed claims a minority status that is open to external as well as internal threats both within and outside their territory, which made however more sense in the mid-70s than it does now. Whereas external threats constitute its position as a francophone province located in predominantly English-speaking Canada and the rest of Anglo North America, internal threats, as I showed in Chapter 4 *The Quiet Revolution and Afterward: Cultural Diversity, Interculturalism, and Multiculturalism as Politics of Canadian Pluralism*, subsume ethnocultural and religious diversity within the province after the Quiet Revolution period.

Before turning to the North African Jewish immigration and identification in Québec during and following the Quiet Revolution periods, I want to first highlight the cultural diversity within Québec from the late nineteenth century up until the 1930s through the Ashkenazi Jewish representation. I want to bring up this historical period here in order to show how French Canadians were positioned concerning the question of cultural diversity before the decline of religion in the province. Depicting this period is significant when analyzing North African Jewish identification in Québec because it reveals continuities and ruptures with the post-Quiet Revolution period when immigrants, especially where religious Others are concerned. Therefore, it is vital to visit the pre-Quiet Revolution period because we can draw parallels with today's multicultural landscape informed by history.

Unlike their Ashkenazi coreligionists who settled elsewhere in North America, i.e., in the United States and Anglo Canada, Ashkenazi Jews who immigrated to Québec in the nineteenth century found themselves at the heart of the tension between francophones and anglophones. Representing the "third solitude", their difference became more pronounced especially in the 1930s

due to linguistic and religious identity markers of French Canadians based on the French language and the Catholic religion associated with the rural life of French Canadians (Brown 1987, Troper 2010). As I shall elaborate below, Ashkenazi Jewish difference was met with intense antisemitism among some clerical and nationalist elites, which were widely publicized by a number of newspapers in the interwar period.

From the 1870s to 1880s, the existence of ultramontanism discourse in Québec that I mentioned in the first chapter led to the appearance of first antisemitic expression in which Jews were cast as impious and immoral. Coming to the early twentieth century, it is possible to mention three infamous antisemitic incidents taking place in the public sphere (Bouchard 2000, 16). Among these three, the first one, which is called Plamondon case, happened on March 30, 1910, when the Québec City notary Jacques-Édouard Plamondon pronounced Jewish dwellers in the province as parasitic, morally corrupt, and a menace to Christians (Backhouse 2010). The second major case became the center of controversy when a French Canadian federal deputy named Samuel Gobeil disparaged Jews in his 1934 campaign. The third one, subsequently known as "Days of Shame," took place when the interns of *l'Hôpital Notre-Dame* protested the recruitment of a Jewish student, Samuel Rabinovitch, in June 1934 for four days at the hospital. The strike of interns ended when Rabinovitch, who had been qualified by the faculty of medicine at the *Université de Montréal,* resigned from his position at the hospital. Later, the Days of Shame as well as other series of antisemitic incidents taking place previously prompted the Jewish community in Québec to build their own hospital, the Jewish General Hospital, in the same year. Moreover, in the 1910s and 1920s, Jewish workers were rejected from catholic syndicates and the cooperation between Catholic and Jewish workers in the same construction sites severed the relations. This was all underscored by the general climate of antisemitism, as Jewish children were vilified by Catholic school clergy (Bouchard 2000, 17, 18).

In the same vein, both explicit and implicit antisemitic expressions between 1933 and 1944 were motivated by ideological campaigns appearing in some conservative journals like *le Devoir, l'Action nationale, le Nationaliste, la Gazette de campagnes, le Journal, l'Action catholique, la semaine religieuse* etc. Apart from that, we see the antisemitic discourse expressed in some movements carried out by organizations such as *la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste, Jeune-Canada,* and *l'Association Catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (Bouchard 2000, 17). In the book *Antijudaïsme et influence nazie au Québec: Le cas du journal L'Action catholique (1931-1939),* Pierre Anctil (2021) aims to understand historical cultural and religious diversity in Québec. Examining different issues of the periodical *L'action catholique* (Catholic Action) published in the 1930s, Pierre Anctil shows how French Canadians reacted to the big wave of immigration that entered Canada in the beginning of the twentieth century. Anctil argues that the arrival of new immigrants of different ethnic origin led to increasing suspicion in Québec in the 1930s. French Canadian society developed forms of systematic hostility towards non-Christians which became evident in the columns of the journal *L'Action catholique.* French Canadians did not welcome new migrants, viewing them as people creating problems rather than bringing richness and benefits to the places they settled. During this period, religion, rather than language, was the focus of these attacks. French Canadians began to be more suspicious of non-Christians, Ashkenazi Jews in particular, than people of different ethnicities like Polish, Irish, and Slavs who still shared the same Catholic faith with French Canadians.

Did the decline of Catholicism fundamentally alter relations between Franco-Québécois and religious minorities in the aftermath of the Quiet Revolution? Did Franco-Québécois, like French Canadians of the 1930s, continue to be suspicious of non-Christians? Even though Catholicism "migrated from the public arena to the sphere of private conscience," can we think of Catholicism as a ghost which is "still conspicuously located in the public sphere and informs the national

culture" that haunts in the post-Quiet Revolution period in Québec? (Couture, Nielsen and Seymour et al. 1996, 614; quoted in Safran 2008, 187).

As I showed in Chapter 4, despite the decline of religion by the Quiet Revolution, Franco-Québécois continued to be suspicious of non-Christians, and Muslims in particular, in the post-Quiet Revolution period. Today Muslims arguably face much more discrimination than Jews in Québec. Yet, relatedly, Hassidic Jews are one of the non-Christian Others who are also the targets of discrimination along with Muslims, Muslim women in particular, in Québec. But unlike Muslims of the post-Quiet Revolution period and Ashkenazi Jews of the 1930s, can we witness withdrawal of religion and salience of language in the lived experiences of immigrants, like North African Jews, who settled in Québec in the second half of the twentieth century?

In settler societies, religious or ethnic minorities who are not regarded as genuine members of the nation, a shared language and religion can become "the major markers of collective identity" whose memory and narratives constitute a substantial ethnic identification outside their country of origin, even if they remain secular. For instance, as the Armenian diaspora in the Americas carry the memory of the genocide of 1915, Jews hold the memory of the Holocaust or can develop an ambivalent memory and relation with their past like my interviewees (Safran 2008, 184, 185). For the ethnic groups and societies distinguished by language and religion, William Safran asserts that "the triumph of language over religion remains incomplete" (Safran 2008, 188). Here, I disagree because the narratives of my first-generation North African Jewish interviewees located in Québec offer this specific possibility. As I discovered through my interviews, North African Jews who immigrated to Québec as adults came to assert their ethnicity by emphasizing their linguistic commonality alongside the post-Catholic Franco-Québécois majority, despite their religious differences. As such, they instituted an ethnic boundary blurring creating a situation in which first-generation interviewees domesticated or escaped their religious difference and thus, passed into

the Franco-Québécois (Barth 1969, Zolberg and Woon 1999). Even though we see triumph of linguistic identification over religious identification through the practice of ethnic boundary blurring, participants' relationship to Judaism remained present in their narratives. In the course of my research, I found out that historical events that, in some cases, are concurrently linked to the religious identity of the participants suggest how they also limit first-generation North African Jewish belonging in Québec.

From the thirteen life-story interviews which were conducted in French, the mother tongue of most of my first-generation interviewees, it is evident that they remain, through the institutions they have built in Montréal, more organized and institutionalized compared to the Moroccan and Turkish Jewish community in and around Toronto, which I focus on in the next chapter. Upon their arrival in the 1950s, North African Jews formed various associations to meet their cultural and linguistic needs in Québec through their cultural repertoires (Lamont 2018, Cohen 2010). The institutions and organizations they established played a major role in decreasing the recognition gaps and unequal distribution of resources of the community in Québec. Possessing a high level of group consciousness and institutional ability to respond to their needs through a web of francophone institutions, North African Jews developed a strong sense of belonging in Québec. Therefore, the historical foundation of educational and cultural institutions they formed reinforces the idea that there exists an overriding institutional component that bestows upon the community a sense of belonging alongside the Franco-Québécois. However, it should be noted that it is the linguistic commonality that they share with the Franco-Québécois majority population that helped this community institutionalization and facilitated the celebration of their francophone identity in Québec (Chevalier-Caron and Cohen 2019).

Gabriel, who was born in Casablanca in 1944 and who immigrated to Québec from France in 1968 during the Quiet Revolution, shared three distinct life-stories about his life in Morocco,

France and Québec. When comparing the three, he concluded that his experience in Québec has been the best. Gabriel attributed his emotional affinity with the Franco-Québécois during the first few years to his first job with Hydro-Québec. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the state-owned company Hydro-Québec which played a major role in the national economy offered employment for francophone workers in Québec in the 1960s. He further stated:

> I read the newspapers; I understand their accent . . . I see all my friends on my street buying houses in Florida and spending their winters in Florida. But I am not amenable to a long winter in Florida because, essentially, what I like about Québec is the francophone identity . . . I have a mental block about the United States and yet I am attracted to it at the same time. It's a country with everything . . . but language, the francophone culture, are fundamental for me. (My translation.) (quoted in Ülgen 2021a).

Ruth, who was born in Casablanca in 1954 and who arrived in Québec's from France in the 1980s, explained:

> I am very attached to my language (French). So, it's important to me. I don't like feeling like the Sephardim are considered second-class. So, it becomes a problem concerning my integration. I was completely involved in the Sephardic community through volunteering, which helped me a lot to integrate fully into Québécois society and the Jewish community. My integration was quick but very difficult, too . . . The culture is not the same, but if one speaks French . . . I feel Québécois by solidarity. . . Am I a *pure-laine* Québécois? I never am! I am always an immigrant until the end of my days. I am distinguished by my accent already. It's not the language that separates us! . . . Not the accent that separates us, it's just a vector, a transmission . . . I can't have the Québécois accent, just as I can't have the Marseillaise accent, I didn't have the Parisian accent. I am me; I am me with who I am. (My translation.)

A Tangier interviewee who immigrated to Canada in the 1970s, expressed his feeling of inclusion in Québécois society through linguistic commonality in the following way:

> For me, language was a factor for integration. It is very easy for me as a francophone to integrate myself into Québécois society . . . I think I am very well integrated into the majority French-speaking Québécois society and also into my Sephardic community because I find life habits and tradition, too. . . It's a plural community here, not a monolithic one. We all have various propensities, whether religious or political. Not all people think in the same way and that is a very good thing. This diversity of opinion is very good . . . it's favourable, you could say, for creating more harmonious human relations. (My translation.)

In the narratives, linguistic commonality merged with participation in the public sphere through voluntary work and community activities underscores an intercultural politics of pluralism unique to Québec due to the creation of francophone identity, as discussed in Chapter 4. Most of my interviewees expressed a strong sense of belonging to the Franco-Québécois political community which they attributed to their engagement, work, and participation in public life. This appeared to be a rewarding phenomenon since, in return, life in Québec offered them more opportunities like employment, security, and human rights, something they lacked in Morocco and to a certain extent, in France. Galia, who immigrated to Québec from France in 1978, explained her connection to the Québécois political community as follows:

> I was involved in a lot of things . . . I worked from 1989 to 2016. So, this was really the place that allowed me to develop, to belong . . . a place of belonging. For me, this is very important because since I left Morocco, I had not found any places where I could say that I could live my entire life. Maybe I'll die here. I was in France, I was in several cities, I was in Québec . . . I left; I came back . . . I could say that here is where I want to die. (My translation.)

Daisy, who immigrated to Québec in 1970, recounted the following story:

> It's a difficult process in fact to forge to an identity, in a new society, to find your place at the level of your Jewish identity with Quebecers, Canadians and all that . . . But in the end, we can be proud to say maybe that we have contributed to Québec a lot, which, in return, has given us a lot. The possibility of studying, of having physical and emotional security. I did not have all that in Morocco. So, Québec gave me full security and civil rights. . . here, we have the same rights . . . We contribute a lot, we contribute because we work hard, because we pay our taxes . . . we are very proud to be Canadian. (My translation.)

Moreover, Albert, who arrived in Québec from Casablanca in the 1970s, expressed his sense of belonging:

> The Québécois identity means a warm community belonging to me. A community, how would I put it, a Latin spirit, this Latin warmth, and very close to the culture I had, to the Latin culture. Immediately, we become friends . . . we discuss, etc. We immediately talk to each other. (My translation.)

Born in Mogador in 1947, Ian, on the other hand, who immigrated to Québec from Israel in the 1970s said:

> I have a lot of respect for Franco-Québécois who have lived through a past that was not necessarily the most equitable . . . I very much understand Québec's linguistic demands. But at the same time, I also have a lot of admiration for the Canadian vision, which is a bilingual country. I have been part of a lot of government, federal etc… There's a nice balance in Canada despite all the claims that we see. (My translation.)

Born in Tunisia in 1947 and having lived in Israel and France consecutively before immigrating to Québec, Isaac, similar to most of the first-generation interviewees, mentioned the ease of his integration, facilitated through language. Like Ruth, even though he felt distinguished by his accent after settling, language made him feel almost identical with the Franco-Québécois by creating a rapprochement and establishing of a human contact:

> I came from France. I have a French accent. So, there was the traditional expression of the French word but at the same time, there was the contact of the language despite everything, even if there were differences in the current popular spoken language . . . We still had a common language. So, for me, I considered it easier than people who came from countries like South America for example or other countries . . . People from these countries had to learn the language. I knew the language, it was easier . . . integrating is a path that must be bilateral . . . We need human contact; we need to bring it back to a human dimension. . . That's how I learned hospitality. I discovered magnificent things, talents . . . I discovered a lot of absolutely fascinating things in this community. I even ended up seeing like them, certain characters that were closer to the French (laughs) . . . I found myself in their eyes and I looked at myself through their eyes. It is an interesting phenomenon. (My translation.)

Whereas in the narratives linguistic commonality shared with the majority population evinces the performance of interculturalism, it appears that there are also limits to it, due to religious identity of participants. Prior to the deconfessionalization of public institutions with their linguistic and religious isomorphism, North African Jews were not allowed to attend Catholic francophone

schools[34] (Levy and Cohen 1998). Many of my interviewees agree that this prompted their anglicization.

In 1961, the *Commission royale d'enquête sur l'enseignement dans la province de Québec* (Royal Commission of Inquiry into Education in the Province of Québec) was established by the Liberal Party of Québec under the leadership of Jean Lesage. The organization of this new education system led to the massive anglicization of immigrant children in Montréal. *La Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal* (CÉCM) (Montreal Catholic School Commission) refused to enroll non-Catholics in their schools; thus, the vast majority of immigrant children enrolled in the Anglo-Protestant school system during the period 1961-1966. The commissioners suggested some reasons that could explain the decision taken by these immigrants. According to commissioners, these immigrants wanted to enroll their children in anglophone schools because of dominant socioeconomic status of the English language; to avoid the confessional aspect of francophone Catholic schools, and the suspicion on immigrants that existed in Catholic schools (Rocher and White 2014, 11). It is important to note that, composed of two sectors; one is francophone and the other is anglophone, the CÉCM also systematically directed children of non-francophone Catholic immigrants, especially Irish people, to its English-speaking sector during this time (Carpentier 2020).

Daisy, who immigrated to Montréal in 1970 and hence exempt from the period that prohibited North African Jews from studying in francophone Catholic schools because of their religion, told me that she first attended the Collège Saint-Viateur d'Outremont. Being the first Jewish person in the school, she explained her integration into the francophone environment through her education in Québec:

---

[34] This is one of the reasons for the establishment of the francophone Jewish Institution *l'École Maimonide.*

> I wanted to try a Québécois school. Indeed, it was a very good choice because it was much easier . . . The teachers were much more interesting . . . Among the Québécois, I was amazed by the kindness, the openness, the generosity . . . The teachers explained mathematics, explained everything . . . It was really a paradise for me. It was truly the most beautiful thing I have ever experienced in my life. One of the nicest things, yes. (My translation.)

Only as a result of the enactment of Bill 101 in 1977 by the Parti Québécois under the leadership of René Lévesque, were immigrants not only admitted to but compelled to attend schools in French. It was through this bill that French became the "official language of Quebec" and thus a central pillar of interculturalism (Sancton 1985, 84). Galia, elucidated these historical moments:

> Québec was very Catholic. . . and so the Jews, even if they were francophones, could not go to French-language schools because these schools were Catholic. . . So, Sephardic Jews who arrived in those years became anglophones. . . In fact, those who remained francophones were Jews, like me, who arrived later, after the introduction of Bill 101, which required people to speak French. But the people who arrived in the 60s all became anglophones. (My translation.)

Yasmin, who immigrated to Québec in 1982 through family reunification, on the other hand, recounted the impact that Bill 101 had on her grandchildren. In this narrative, it can be seen how the French language was used by state authorities to lay the groundwork for interculturalism:

> My two children, one of whom spoke French very well and the other English very well, were able to integrate. The problem occurred with my grandchildren who, despite having a Scottish father and English being their mother tongue, had no choice but to attend French-language schools because of Bill 101. (My translation.)

As discussed in Chapter 3, Mexican and Italian immigrants, like the White Anglo Saxon majority they encountered in the United States, were Christian. This shared religion explained the boundary blurring that they experienced historically. For first-generation North African Jewish immigrants in Québec, however, it was language that enabled them to conceal their differences from the Franco-Québécois. After introducing linguistic integration of the first-generation participants

through boundary blurring, their recognition of Franco-Québécois nation, and discrimination that North African Jewish immigrant children faced between 1961 and 1966 due to the legislation implemented by the CÉCM, I now want to continue with other historical events recounted by the interviewees to further illustrate how their Judaism shaped their identification in Québec.

During her education in the Québécois school in the 1970s, Daisy mentioned her best friend who once said to her "Jews killed Jesus." For her, this was an antisemitic expression transmitted to her friend from the parents. It was the first time she met a Christian who said something like this to her, as she commented, since she never heard an expression like this from the Christians in the school in Morocco. Thus, this became another reality that she had to face and manage after immigration:

> It is an expression of "I am superior to you." And it is a pity that in the West . . . it is not something that is legally reprimanded. The parents of a six-year-old child who still tell today "Jews killed Jesus" in order to restore a sense of superiority, in order to continue spreading hatred of Jews? It's not a positive goal. It's absolutely the most pathological, the most heinous goal, to cultivate hatred for the other! (My translation.)

Born in Casablanca in 1948 and having immigrated to Québec from Paris in 1974, Sonia recounted the following story which took place in the late 1970s while she was working as a psychologist at a hospital:

> I was in a group therapy. I was conducting a group therapy at the hospital. It was at the veteran's hospital, veterans who suffered a lot . . . intellectually and culturally. One of them told the group that he had been on the rue Saint-Laurent to make purchases and he had entered a store where there was a person who didn't want to give him the services he wanted . . . he looked for something . . . he said "so the Jew who was there was not very nice" . . . "The Jew who was there." I remember that word . . . And I asked him what is bothering him in this situation . . . "is it the fact that you (referring to the veteran) are Jewish or is it the fact that he didn't give you the service you wanted?" . . . I asked if he (the veteran) would be Catholic, would he (the seller) say the same thing? So, antisemitism was implicit and people like me felt it. (My translation.)

Furthermore, Sonia reflected on the introduction of Bill 60 (*le projet de loi 60*), the Charter of Quebec Values (*Charte des valeurs québécoises*) on reasonable accommodation by the Parti Québécois in 2013. With this law, "the hijab and niqab that some Muslim women wear were a specific target, as well as the Jewish kippa, while the Christian cross was notably excepted" (Howard 2019, 7). According to Zolberg and Woon (1999, 14) in liberal multicultural societies "negotiations within the religious sphere lead to a range of settlements that might be termed *attenuated pluralism*." In other words, whereas religion of the majority "benefits from default recognition," the religion of newcomers appears "in an attenuated form" (Zolberg and Woon 1999, 15). In a similar vein, as Raffaele Iacovino (2015) points out, the introduction of the Charter of Québec Values, supported by state secularism, meant that interculturalism could limit the accommodation practices of all citizens. Viewed in this perspective, interculturalism can act as an obstacle for inclusion by limiting political participation and preventing the development of a sense of belonging among the generations who are also born in the country (Lister 2007). Sonia recalled an event related to the debate on reasonable accommodation reflecting this limitation and convincingly evoking the notion of "Catho-secularism (*catho-laïcité*)," as elucidated in Chapter 3 (Pranchère 2011):

> I attended a seminar, two years ago, I believe, on reasonable accommodation . . . A really "pure laine" Quebecker, relatively young, probably in his early forties, I think . . . had a strong opinion. He spoke of this reasonable accommodation very broadly and it seemed like he was in favor of it . . . and . . . I told him . . . last year there was a scheduling conflict, or a work meeting was set up without the consultation of various members of the city council . . . And, among other things, the town councilors who were Jewish could not come to this meeting because it was taking place on the evening of a Jewish holiday. And there were people in the city council who were virulently opposed to changing the date, saying that if one starts to deal with religious holidays for Jews, one must also consider Chinese, Muslims, Catholics, etc., and so I told him, "City council would never have chosen to schedule a working event on Christmas Eve." It was at this point when this man showed his true colours. (My translation.)

In Sonia's storytelling, how she connects with post-Catholic Québec is prefigured by the fabric for remembering within which the Québec province tells the story of itself. Her story becomes the bearer of witnessing and seeking to restore identity as an asset engaged with reducing the feeling of intolerance. It appears that putting the freedom of worship into practice rather than rendering it merely a theory is difficult to achieve when some immigrants state that they are being forced to conform to the post-Catholic majority or Catholicism in the post-Quiet Revolution period in Québec.

As I pointed out in Chapter 4, another historical event appeared in the narratives of first-generation North African was the controversial law 21 (*La loi* 21). The first-generation North African Jews I interviewed expressed three kinds of opinions about this law. The first category belongs to the ones who embrace secularism and who do not have any complains to make about the existing secularism in Québec. The second category subsumes the ones who object it and only care about it when the Orthodox Jewish community is concerned. The third category includes the participants who reject law 21 when all religious communities are involved in the controversies, including Muslims, Jews, and the Sikh community. Isaac, who is against the law, touched upon the importance of collaboration among people, implying that this was something his community lacked in the places they were living previously:

> I am deeply against the very principle of this law . . . I am really against this law . . . There is never a problem of collaboration between Muslims, Arabs and Jews here. I think one of the things that is more important to notice among people who have immigrated here, that I am part of, that we always know, for the most part, we became attached to not to reproduce the model that we had elsewhere . . . If we reproduce the same model, we reproduce the same consequence. And so, you have to be careful not to reproduce this same model. (My translation.)

Albert, who is completely in favor of the law stated:

> Look, for people holding authority, I agree. We must respect a certain discretion; we must not show our belonging . . . At home, we do what we want. But in the street, you have to be a judge, you have to be a

> policeman, you have to be a magistrate . . .  You still have to keep a certain restriction on what you do . . . teaching with a yarmulke on his head, a chador or a crucifix . . . you can't. You have to know how to respect, and I agree. I am for secularism absolutely. (My translation.)

This diversity of opinions on law 21 seemed to be especially charged given the participants memories of persecution in their countries of origin. Because of persecution, the impact of Arab-Israeli Wars, prevalent antisemitism in Morocco, and contemporary political Islam, I suggest that some interviewees are in favor of law 21. Some French-speaking Québécois Jews share with Franco-Québécois the need to protect *laïcité* and thus completely advocate neutrality of the public sphere on questions of religion. For them, neutrality of the public sphere and thus secularism refer to their perseverance in a multicultural place where everyone could be treated as equal. Yet, some of them oppose to the Law 21 when it only concerns their own community. For others, like Isaac, law 21 undermines feelings of solidarity among people.

I have shown how the interviewees who immigrated to Québec during adulthood and who officially adopted Québécois citizenship passed into the Franco-Québécois identity and for the most part, underscored their linguistic commonality with the majority culture. By accentuating the linguistic commonality and mutual recognition between them and the Franco-Québécois majority, institutionalization and public recognition of their community in Québec through cultural associations, the *Festival Seferad de Montréal* (music festival) and their active participation in public life, ethnic boundary blurring performed by these immigrants indicate how ethnic and linguistic or national boundaries become not so clear-cut despite the religious discrimination they experienced. Consequently, within the empirical findings of my research, among the first-generation North African Jews living in Québec, linguistic identification triumphs over religious identification.

## 6.2. North African Jews, Ashkenazi Jews, and Franco-Québécois: An Ambivalent Relation

The arrival of North African Jews in Québec in the 1950s, Moroccan in particular, changed the demographical Jewish structure in the province and renewed the relation between the French Canadians, who are later called Franco-Québécois following the Quiet Revolution, and the Jews. In contrast to their coreligionist Ashkenazi Jews, who had been living in the province decades before the North African Jewish arrival, North African Jews shared a common language with French Canadians upon their arrival in Québec. According to Jean-Philippe Croteau, for French-speaking Jews in Québec, French culture and Judaism remained and still remain two essential features of their identity. Abandoning one, even to save the other, would entail an absolute loss of identity (Croteau 2000, 3). As I showed in the first part within the empirical findings of my research, although their linguistic identification is stronger than their religious identification in Québec, participants' Judaism does not vanish entirely in the narratives.

In analyzing the texts written between 1954 and 1968 in *le Bulletin du Cercle Juif* (the Bulletin of the Jewish Circle), Croteau suggests that, throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Bulletin aimed at culturally integrating French-speaking Jews into French Canadians and then later into the Franco-Québécois society. Through its unique way of approaching the social, cultural and political phenomena of the Quiet Revolution, Croteau stresses that the Bulletin witnessed different perceptions among francophone Jews and anglophone Jews in the province. Moreover, it showed the hardships that francophone Jews experienced, hampering their ethnoreligious, linguistic, and cultural reconciliation to the context existed in Québec after immigration.

Upon their arrival, Québécois nationalism was on the rise, characterized by economic and social interventionism of the state. The Bulletin, therefore, offered an exceptional source to examine the nature of relations between francophone Jews once they immigrated to Canada and

French Canadians, and later Franco-Québécois throughout the 1950s and 1960s. The contributors of the Bulletin attempted to promote French culture to English-speaking Jews and to speak on behalf of French-speaking Jews who had recently settled in Québec. Its main objective had been to create strong links between francophone Jews and the French Canadians with whom they shared a common language.

Before World War II, the relationship between anglophone Ashkenazi Jews and French Canadians was tense. In the aftermath of the Holocaust, the Canadian Jewish Congress noticed the efforts taken by the French Canadians and English Canadians to reassess their antisemitic attitudes towards Jews in Québec and Anglo Canada. Some decades later, the Congress began to take an interest in French culture and started to recruit francophone Jews. Therefore, French-speaking Jews and anglophone Ashkenazi Jews attempted to construct connections and dialogue with Catholic French Canadians and francophone Jews who had recently immigrated to Québec during this time. Although the target of its audience included Jewish and non-Jewish people, it nonetheless reached out, as Croteau underscores, to the elites of French Canadians of the province (Croteau 2000, 21).

The reason that the Bulletin continued to publish stemmed from its willingness to make francophone Jews integrate into the Franco-Québécois society in double terms. It strove to avert the anglicization of the community within majoritarian anglophone Ashkenazim and isolation of French-speaking Jews from the Franco-Québécois. The Bulletin announced that French-speaking Jews in Québec could live their religious faith among the anglophone Ashkenazi Jewish community while simultaneously associating with the French culture of the Franco-Québécois. Reconciling these two demands – linguistic and religious – according to the Bulletin, entailed a "dual integration" of the French-speaking Jews in Québec (Croteau 2000, 145). The notion of dual integration; therefore, subsumed religious integration into the anglophone Ashkenazim and cultural and linguistic inclusion in the Franco-Québécois.

In the second half of 1960s, with the appearance of francophone Jewish community institutions, and with the rise of Franco-Québécois nationalism, integration of North African Jews into the Franco-Québécois majority in double terms became more difficult compared to previous decades. According to Mikhaël Elbaz (1989), the structure of the dualistic French and English Canadian societies as well as pluralistic mosaic of Québec (1), the distant relations between North African Jews and their coreligionist Ashkenazi Jews (2) and the tensional relations[35] between Sephardim and Ashkenazim in Israel (3) led to the emergence of francophone Sephardic Jewish institutionalization in Québec. As such, linguistic difference from their coreligionists and specific cultural heritage that Sephardic Jewish elites claimed helped them build this community structure in Québec (Elbaz 1989). Yet, as Croteau maintains, in the mid 1960s, the French-speaking Sephardic Jews' willingness to have an institutional autonomy was seen as a threat by some anglophone Jews. In other words, the established Ashkenazi Jewish community began to perceive the North African Jews' desire for autonomy as detrimental to their religious integration into the wider Jewish community. Moreover, North African Jews began to perceive territorial nationalism applauded by Franco-Québécois during the Quiet Revolution as exclusionary and as a threat to their cultural integration into the Franco-Québécois.

Prior to the Quiet Revolution, on the other hand, the Bulletin did not oppose French Canadian nationalism but instead favored a cultural, rather than a religious, nationalism. Instead of advocating nationalist, territorial and interventionalist side of the Quiet Revolution, contributors of

[35] Daniel J. Elazar, avoiding using the term "Arab Jew," asserts that during the establishment of modern state of Israel, Ashkenazi Jews used the pejorative "oriental" as a derogatory term and cultural insult for the Jews who emigrated from non-European countries (1989, 187-188). Orith Bashkin (2017), on the other hand, in her book on Iraqi Jews, argues that the newly established elites of Israel identified Iraqi Jewish migrants with their Palestinian and Arab rivals and created a dichotomy in which European civilization was considered to be ascendant compared to Eastern culture. Aziza Khazzoom describes this process as "dichotomization" and "ethnic formation" of non-European Jews, namely Mizrahim in Israel (2008, 4). The French documentary *20 ans après* (After 20 years), directed by Jacques Bensimon in 1977, also projects the impact of relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Israel on the intercommunal relations in Québec.

the Bulletin promoted a reform in mentalities (Croteau 2000, 15). To put it differently, the Bulletin endorsed a Franco-Québécois nationalism which is cultural but not religious with the aim of seeking to construct bridges with other ethnic groups. Yet, during the Quiet Revolution, it became concerned about the political will claimed by the Franco-Québécois centered on independence, nationalism, and territorialism which, according to the Bulletin, created hardships for minority groups, including French-speaking Jewish immigrants. As such, since minority groups did not share the same ethnicity with Franco-Québécois, even if they spoke the language, francophone Jews assumed that they would also be excluded from the nationalistic project embodied throughout the Quiet Revolution. Criticizing this type of nationalism due to its omission of elaborating the definition of all those who do not belong to the Franco-Québécois national community, French-speaking immigrants in particular, the Bulletin discussed how individuals from other ethnic origins found themselves excluded from the provincial territorial project. Therefore, contributors of the Bulletin suggested that the establishment of a shared space among different groups within the province could only be possible if Franco-Québécois adopt a universal culture attainable to all francophones who do not share the same ethnicity with them (Croteau 2000, 31).

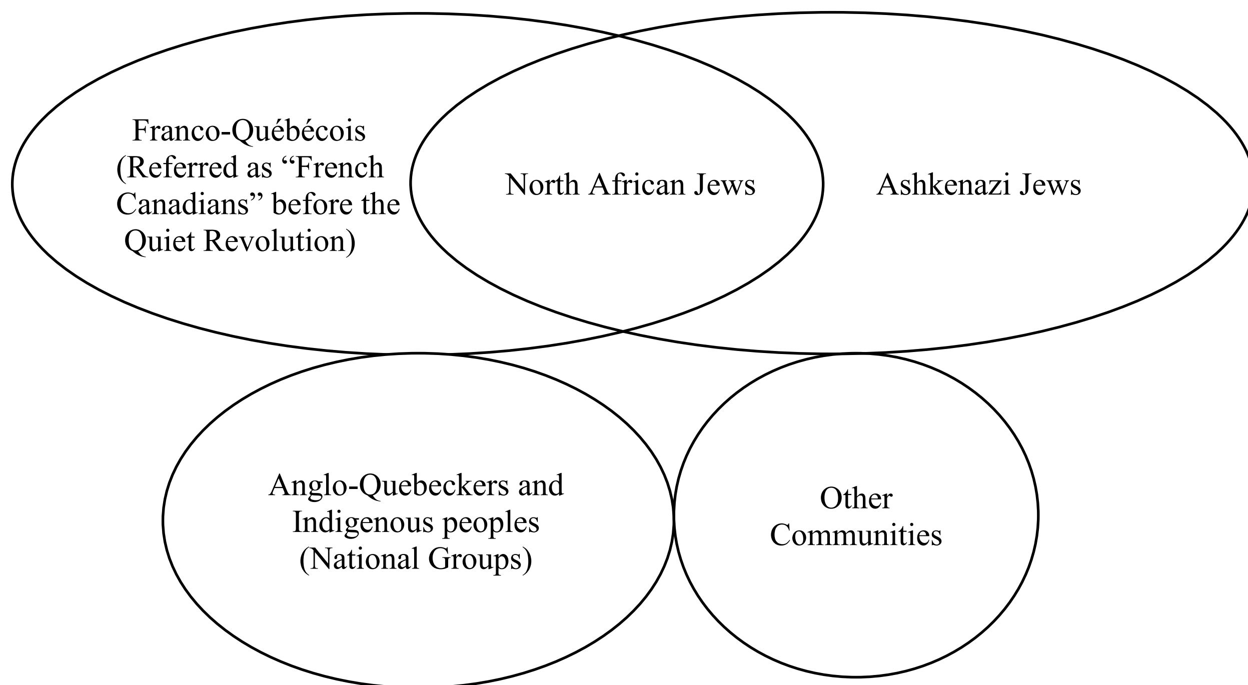


Figure 6: North African Jewish identification in Québec

In contrast to the Sephardic Jewry living in the United States (Ben-Ur 2012) and Anglo Canada who live "as a minority people, both among majoritarian gentile anglophones and majoritarian Jewish Ashkenazim," North African Jews living in Québec have a unique position (Miles 2007, 52). The linguistic (French) dimension associated with Sephardim puts them in an exceptional and complex position in Québec — leading them to have negotiations as well as tensions. As normatively illustrated above through the subjects discussed in the Bulletin, first-generation North African Jewish participants of my research are likewise in a position of navigating their difference between Ashkenazim to whom they are connected as Jews yet linguistically foreign, and Franco-Quebecois – secular or Catholic – to whom they are linguistically linked yet religiously alien. They

negotiate as well as enter into tense relationships with the two parties, to varying degrees according to their individual experiences.

Joseph, who immigrated to Québec from Casablanca in the 1950s, claimed that he never felt he had been discriminated against by Franco-Québécois. However, he did feel he had been excluded by the English-speaking Ashkenazim in Québec. Remembering an event on Judaism that he attended in 1967 during the early years of the foundation of *l'Association sépharade francophone* (ASF), Joseph told me how North African Jews were badly treated and dismissed as "Arabs" by the Ashkenazim. Mentioning the Jewish community organization called "Neighborhood House" situated in the Darlington Street in Montréal, he also expressed how North African Jews made themselves recognized in its highly Ashkenazi populated structure in the 1960s. When he immigrated to Québec in 1969, Isaac shared the following story:

> The great Jewish family of Montréal is an Ashkenazi family . . . there was this first difference . . . Another element, of course, came and mixed up all this was the fact that where the Ashkenazim were concerned, it was the question of the independence of Québec. The Ashkenazim were very much against the independence of Québec . . . We identify more with the linguistic battle, with linguistic survival. Besides, the successive governments did not hesitate to try to instrumentalize us. We, Sephardic Jews, in favour of independence… It doesn't mean that the people who courted us weren't sincere. But they still sought to serve us to promote their own causes . . . I believe that we were more useful in showing that, indeed, the Jewish world was not necessarily uniform against independence. (My translation.)

Galia's narratives describe a robust rapprochement with the Franco-Québécois majority. Yet, language is a barrier that separates her from the Ashkenazim to whom she nonetheless is connected religiously:

> I don't have much contact with anglophones. I think the culture is also very different. It's a very different culture, the Ashkenazi culture. It's Nordic! We are very Latin. We are Sephardic; it's the Mediterranean. These are warm countries, so we really have a very different life vision. I have a lot of English-speaking friends but we are a bit separated by language, by culture, by several things (also quoted in Ülgen 2022). (My translation.)

The following account from Julia who was born in Tangier and who immigrated to Québec in 1976 when she was young demonstrates the encounter with Ashkenazim through linguistic, ethnic and traditional variations after her arrival:

> It's improving but there is a very clear division. One, because language separates us. Tradition separates us and I would say that there is an Ashkenazi anglophone establishment which, in my opinion, has no place in the Sephardic community . . . The problem is not solved. Obviously, there is an evolution, but we still see this great separation (also quoted in Ülgen 2022). (My translation.)

Mike, a Tangier Jew who immigrated to Québec in the 1980s detailed relations with his coreligionists in the province:

> When Moroccan Jews arrived here . . . the Jewish community organizations were a hundred per cent Ashkenazi at the time because there were almost no Moroccan Jews who had come at the beginning to help them for their integration. But the human relationship of the Ashkenazi community and the Sephardic community was not ideal. They saw them, excuse me for the term, they saw them as primitive beings . . . They didn't speak Yiddish; they didn't understand why they didn't speak Yiddish. So, little by little with the new generation, now this has changed a lot. I am not coming from an English-speaking culture . . . I have more Sephardic and non-Jewish friends than Ashkenazi friends. Because we don't react emotionally, sentimentally in the same way. We are Latins, we have a Mediterranean character. We are exuberant . . . which is not common in an English-speaking setting . . . We cry when we have to cry, we laugh when we have to laugh. So, there you go. (laughs) (also quoted in Ülgen 2022) (My translation.)

Lastly, Daisy recounted her job experience in an Ashkenazi youth protection organization where she was exposed to a high level of interaction with her coreligionists. The job position in this Ashkenazi populated organization, however, created some resentments in her. As she put:

> This was youth protection. Already, the protection of youth is a very hard profession . . . Ashkenazim have a posture of superiority. I was the only Sephardi in the team and that was when, it was like a big favor that they hired me because most of the positions were only taken by the Ashkenazim. And it was a public body that had created a Jewish agency with a Jewish mandate . . . like the Jewish hospital. We had clients who weren't Jewish, all that, but it was a government mandate. But . . . the resistance to hiring Sephardic Jews was terrible. And the prejudices . . . also this feeling of superiority. I experienced another violence there in this youth protection . . . I was supposed to protect children but I myself was mistreated because Ashkenazim were very hard. Sometimes I think why I stayed there. It was just for financial security, but it was a terrible experience. (My translation.)

As can be understood from the stories recounted, North African Jews are caught between Franco-Québécois and anglophone Ashkenazim in Québec, which explains their dual integration strategy as historically urged by the Bulletin. By the relational contexts within which they enter, North African Jews respond to their situation by recalling ethnocentric dynamics of those encounters. Reconstructing their identity between the majoritarian anglophone Ashkenazim and the majoritarian post-Catholic Franco-Québécois, North African Jews have a linguistic bond with the Franco-Québécois majority. However, this linguistic and cultural nexus is limited by the vision of a national and sovereigntist identity which does not always welcome them because of their religious identity. In the next and last part of this chapter I focus on the generational dimension of the narratives shedding light on the interplay between language and religion on the one hand, and difference between Québécois interculturalism and Montréalais multiculturalism, on the other.

## 6.3. Did Religious Identification Triumph over Linguistic Identification?: Generations and Difference

This section unpacks some of the narratives of younger participants (1,5 and second generation) and narratives of some first-generation interviewees reflecting on the lived experiences of their children. It is important to note that, as shown in table 3 of Chapter 2, most of my interviewees in Québec are first-generation immigrants. I was able to interview only six second-generation and one 1,5 generation people who are millennials, Generation Xers and Baby boomers. Among these participants, one was born and raised in Montréal but is now residing in Toronto, one was born in Morocco but immigrated to Québec at a younger age and is now, like the former interviewee, living in Toronto. Another interviewee who is baby boomer was born in Morocco, spent most of his

childhood and adulthood in Québec and now lives in Montréal. Lastly, three second-generation interviewees who were born in Montréal continue to reside in Montréal.

In contrast to first-generation participants, in the narratives of 1,5 and second generations, it is not the linguistic commonality but the ethnoreligious identity of the participants that appears to be the most salient marker of identity. According to Cornell and Hartmann (2007, 20-21) "to claim an ethnic identity […] is to distinguish ourselves from others; it is to draw a boundary between 'us' and 'them' on the basis of the claim we make that 'we' share something that 'they' do not." In order to gain access to resources, groups who hold the hegemonic power, for instance, often draw a boundary against other groups. Thus, when some people become excluded from participating in the common public culture or having the common resources, those ostracized from the dominant structure come to be dependent on each other's solidarity. For instance, high levels of segregation can be found among Jewish and African American students in colleges, and across different ethnic and racial groups in North America (Wimmer 2013, 209, 210). Lamont and Fleming (2005), in their study, also show how African Americans draw boundaries to resist exclusion and stigmatization in the USA.

Before groups begin to draw boundaries, they make sense of the structures through categorical relations. Under what conditions did first-generation and 1,5 and second generation North African Jews construct different boundaries? Ethnocultural affiliations, unequal access to resources and power relations with the majority culture play a role in understanding symbolic boundaries related to language and religion that my interviewees mention. Both language and religion can draw symbolic boundaries through which ethnocultural differences can manifest. However, ethnic boundary blurring can equally take place, that can draw boundaries along which a minority group manages to form harmonious relations with the majority culture within a country, like Québec, as well was with the host country. In this scenario, minority groups, like the first-

generation North African Jews in Québec, are not only recognized by the majority but also by the Ashkenazim who accepted their ethnocultural affiliations. Therefore, it is thanks to language, as creating a symbolic boundary, they shared with the majority group despite their religious difference from the majority, and also religion, as uniting them with their anglophone coreligionists, which facilitated the recognition of the community in post-Catholic Québec.

Ethnic boundary shifting, on the other hand, indicates the boundary in which minority groups become subject to a change on the basis of their relations with the majority. This is the boundary that has been performed by new generations and different from what has been practiced previously by older generations. In this scenario, younger generations who feel excluded can develop conflicting relationships with the majority and the host society. The accounts of Renaud from second generation, who studied at the Jewish schools until the age of ten, evince his distance from the Franco-Québécois majority:

> I feel very different from the Québécois. I don't have the same accent, the history . . . I'm like an immigrant at the age of ten. I didn't know Québécois until I was ten years old. I grew up in a Moroccan ghetto. I don't feel Canadian either because I grew up in Moroccan Jewish circles. I don't have any complaints, but I don't feel included. I don't feel like a foreigner either. I don't feel the need to be integrated. (My translation.)

Narratives of younger participants show that multiculturalism seems to dominate in the city of Montréal, despite attempts taken by political actors to adopt an intercultural approach. Marc, a Moroccan generation Xer Jew who studied at Montréalais schools and who is now residing in Toronto expressed his socialization and feeling of exclusion in the Montréalais schools:

> When I was in Montréal basically all close family was everything . . . everybody was somewhere from either from Morocco, somewhere from . . . yeah . . . mainly from Morocco . . . Although I lived most of my life in Montréal, I would never say I had a very specific Quebecer friend. I know them, but it's not like . . . It's weird because even when I was in the university, the only people we were close, in my program, there were a couple of immigrants from different countries . . . Latino, Philippines, Chile, Peru and me . . . and Egyptian. And from different background, different religion and we stuck together. And all the rest of them were French Canadian Quebecers from Québec and we never got along with them. We tried to participate in the

> communities, we tried do sports competition. But it was like those are the imports and them. So, I'm the import. We didn't have any problem when they called us like this because we ended up doing all kind of communities . . . I cannot say that I had a very close Quebecer friend . . . Actually, the most racism I've ever encountered throughout my life, it was not in Muslim country . . . it was nowhere else but Montréal, especially at the university. It was from the students up to the teachers. I have couple of friends like we're very close friends. They are Tunisian, Muslim Tunisian. They're living in Boston. This is the friends, but we have no one French-Canadian friend, zero . . . I know them but it's not like "oh let's go for a coffee" or "come over my house." Never.

Situating his feeling of exclusion through his ethnoreligious identity, color of skin, and accent, Marc also mentioned a job discrimination he experienced in Montréal. Since his name was not "Gérard Tremblay," he told me how he felt compelled to prove himself with other skills, such as translating and networking. Indeed, as mentioned in Chapter 3, linguicism appears to be one of the major sources of discrimination in Québec, an observation which approves the salience of linguistic tensions in this province. Drawing on the results of the 2003 Ethnic Diversity Survey, Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen argue that linguicism is experienced in the world of work by people who are not *québécois de souche*, enlightening the very recruitment problem in the Québec public administrations (Bourhis, Montreuil, Helly, and Jantzen 2007, 44, 46). In other episodes, Marc mentioned the treatment of his teachers in the first year of his education in CEGEP,[36] of the authorities, like police, and of the Franco-Québécois at large:

> That's how much the ignorance goes . . . another time I remember it was my first year of CEGEP . . . teacher asked where I was from. When I said Morocco, he said "oh Monaco is a very nice place." "No Morocco, north of Africa." He looked at me and then said, "let's move on." It was always like that. Sometimes with the police also. If I got pulled over, I'm asking why. I didn't have white hair . . . I look dark in the summer. I'm very dark, so yeah . . . It was a category like you don't belong here. And also, when I speak French, I speak French with accent, so they used to call me Frenchy. So, I was telling them I'm not Frenchy, I'm North African. And then they get lost. I'm just adding another layer, I'm Jewish from Muslim country. They completely did not understand the concept of it. That's really weird for them at the time. Maybe today

[36] Collège d'enseignement général et professionnel, a general and vocational college in Québec.

> there's more Maghrebin, more North African in Montréal now but in my time, it was very tough. That's the time I remember. The rest I didn't really pay attention to it. Maybe because I was always in business, so they were trying to make money with me. They knew Jewish some sort of . . . so yeah . . . They know if you go to a Jew, you may do money, you may get screwed. They don't know what's gonna happen, right? But that was a very stereotypic aspect. And I didn't take it personally, I didn't care . . . They knew who I was. They know I'm not "Tremblay," whatever you wanna call. They like to think that they're very open, multicultural and everything. It's not true.

Jacob, second-generation interviewee, who was born in Montréal but who is also now living in Toronto studied in École Maimonide starting from kindergarten until grade eleven. It was through CEGEP and later his attendance in a francophone university that his identification began to change in Montréal:

> We were in a completely different not Jewish community type school and environment and really more much closer interaction, contact with the rest of the francophone Québec community. So that I think it was very interesting for many of us, journey. And up until today, I still today, you know the people we were grown up with and friends with, some of them again I've known for forty years, and there's a very, I think for many of us, very special bond and link for having been together for about like I said ten years, very formative childhood years I've grown up together. So . . . you know the identification was very, quite strong, as a, from a family point of view . . . and all of a sudden you are in a more diverse environment, and I think it was very unique . . .

> Because it was a Jewish school, and teaching, and upbringing . . . most of the teachings are like you know "you are part of this group and then you're different than the other people, we're like this." You know . . . Yes, there's respect to the people who live in Canada but we're this group and we have to continue our tradition, our customs, our religion. Like I said it's not until for some of us, not until we graduate high school than we are more in contact and confronted with the broader Québec . . . and that's yeah when I went to CEGEP and started to hang out with others who . . . keep with their communities . . . In the cafeteria you walk in, the first three tables on the left were where the Jews and then Haitians and then Latino . . . you know . . . everybody had their groups and their communities and tables.

On the other hand, Ruth from first-generation, recounted the clash her daughter encountered between Catholicism and Judaism at a Montréalais school. Given the fact that the established

Jewish community was and still remains anglophone, Jews speaking French is something that was regarded as strange and unusual in 1980s Québec:

> My daughter comes home from school one day after two months and she says to me, she is crying, she is not happy . . . I say, what was going on at school? . . . "Because I don't want to take the catechism course." I was asked if my daughter would take catechism classes. I said no! So, we put her in a moral class and there the kids . . . ask the question why she is in a moral class and not with them. She says, "Because I'm Jewish and I'm not Catholic." "So, are you Jewish?" And the kids say to her, "You can't be, you can't be Jewish." She says, "Yes, I am Jewish." The little eight-year-old children tell her "No, the Jews don't speak French. You are French. So, you can't be Jewish and French. It's impossible." And my little girl is crying, she comes back in the evening "I don't want to go back to school anymore. I'm unhappy." Well, . . . I go to see the teacher ... and I explain to the teacher that she has to explain to the children that there are French people who are Catholic, Muslim and Jewish! (My translation.)

Similarly, Jacob pointed out how accent and religious identity determined his feeling of exclusion in the 1970s and 1980s in Montréal:

> As a Jewish person, young adult . . . I think most of us who grew up in Québec or in Montréal . . . It's quite different today of course than the 70s and 80s . . . I mean even though we spoke French, it was clear because you know we didn't speak French Canadian like we didn't speak with the same French accent. My point is that we wouldn't speak the same way they did so, they didn't feel we were like them. You know they would say "tu parles français comme un français." I was like "non, je ne suis pas français." "Bon c'est ça, je suis juif marocain," and then they were like "juif mais . . ." You know, then you are Jewish, you must speak English. How can you be Jewish and speak French? Because majority of the Québécois people they all knew that Jewish people were all anglophone because they didn't see French speaking Jews. I suppose today it must be different. The demography would be different than thirty-forty years ago.

According to these participants who were either born in the province or immigrated at a younger age, it is the ethnoreligious identity of the interviewees that is mixed with accent differences and not their linguistic commonality that becomes notable in the narratives. In this case, I contend that their religious identification becomes more important than their linguistic identification. Younger participants indeed reconstruct their identity in the direction of exclusion where ethnic boundary shifting occurs. Whereas first-generation North African Jews perform ethnic boundary blurring

leading to a rapprochement between them and the Franco-Québécois, younger interviewees, who mostly self-identify as anglophone, are more outspoken about their ethnoreligious differences. Therefore, narratives of younger interviewees show the tensions of intercultural inclusion through French as a common language that generate a strained sense of belonging in Québec. According to an anglophone interviewee, Myriam, who was born in Montréal:

> The culture is so different. You know I work in Québec, and I speak French. French Canadians always wanna know what I am. They always wanna know where I come from. They can't understand me. They understand . . . because I speak French well, but I have an accent and I look immigrant . . . I feel very safe and I feel very confident embracing my religion in parts of Montréal. Maybe all of Montréal but as soon as I step out Montréal, I don't feel. I keep a lot to myself. But I find, I think it's a hidden racism. I don't think it's blatant . . . I don't have many Québécois friends . . . I would never leave Montréal to live another city in Canada. But I would never live anywhere else in Québec, only in Montréal . . .
>
> I'm Montrealer but I'm Canadian. I'm not Québécois, I've never felt Québécois. No Jews are Québécois . . . I think I definitely love Québec as French. When I go to other provinces, I notice there's no French and I find it not as pleasant. I like the diversity of having multiple languages. So that's Québec's plus . . . I don't think that Quebeckers really embrace other religions. I think they pretend to, but they don't (also quoted in Ülgen 2021a).

In other narratives, participants' religious identity became palpable when they remembered the 1980 and 1995 referendums. Like the first-generation interviewees, Québécois sovereignty, as stated earlier, which is linked to religious symbolism for some due to its xenophobia toward other ethnicities at certain times, explains their feeling of exclusion in the province. However, unlike their parents who immigrated during adulthood and who negotiated their religious difference primarily through language, some younger interviewees studied at Québécois schools where interaction with the Franco-Québécois took place. Their identity is reconstructed through their interaction with the Franco-Québécois before coming to adulthood, hence, they had difficulty negotiating their difference through language due to the pushback pertaining to accent. Jacob expressed his opinions on the Québécois nationalism and 1995 referendum:

> We didn't feel much part of that Québécois culture and community growing up. Because of the threat of independence and that nationalism, we perhaps did not identify as much with that . . . Not wanting to be part of independent Québec but rather to be part of Canada . . . Especially with the '95 referendum . . . I guess we felt more like Canadian . . . I think in Montréal, there's still political issues that make it difficult for people to work together where there's religious symbolisms . . . That's why Toronto has been great, we benefited a great deal. There's less of those political issues that we have in Québec.

Charles Taylor asserts that interculturalism and multiculturalism in Canada "are in fact quite similar when one spells them out. But it nevertheless has been politically imperative to use a different name" (Taylor 2012, 413). This is at odds with what I learned from the first-generation North African Jews in Québec for whom interculturalism indeed remains different from multiculturalism. At this point, I also want to underline that further research on the relationship between interculturalism and multiculturalism across different racial and ethnic groups and generations may detect additional patterns of learning, like showing the similarity between the two as Charles Taylor suggests. Yet, for the first-generation North African Jews who participated in my research, there had been a rapprochement between them and Franco-Québécois community through a common language following their immigration. Coming to the 1,5 and second generations in Montréal, on the other hand, there is a normalization of hierarchies in a democratic society like Canada where members of a specific ethnicity and religion have a privileged position as opposed to immigrants who have unequal access to resources. In the narratives of younger generations, this normalization of hierarchies is highly challenged (Taylor 2012, 415). There are important points of commonality between the narratives in Montréal and the multicultural mosaic in Toronto at large, which I will discuss in the next chapter.

Personal accounts from a generational approach illustrate the diversity behind immigrants' lived experiences. In the last part of this chapter, I attempted to show how for the interviewees from 1,5 and second generations, when religiously different newcomers arrive in Québec, the

degree of inequality they face increases. While describing French society's relation to its religious Others with "neo-republicanism", Emmanuel Todd uses the term "zombie Catholicism" (*catholicisme zombie*) to show how it explains "ghostly" presence of religion in France (Truong 2015). Since surveys suggest that less than 5% of the French population attend Mass regularly to practice their religion, Hervé Le Bras and Emmanuel Todd, in their book *Le mystère français* (The French Mystery), ask whether France has really become a country reunified in *laïcité.* They argue that even though religion is certainly dead as a belief in the society, it is nonetheless alive as a social force (Le Bras and Todd 2013, 246). There is a type of "hysteria" or "mentality" in which Catholic survival leaves an imprint on the French society through the presence of a specter haunting the country. The unequal, white, and upper-class neo-Republican France as possessing superior categories is not expressed in the theoretical, conscious, and official proclamations but in the practical, unofficial, hidden, and unconscious actions. There needs to be a great amount of responsibility for those who are against the gap between the theoretical and practical, or between the words and the actions of the privileged. This discrepancy between the theoretical and practical or "new secularist hysteria" practiced through "zombie Catholicism," can materialize itself through both Islamophobia and antisemitism, and thus needs to be challenged and fought against.

In Québec, what we see is a similar situation because even if the deconfessionalization of public institutions took place, its Catholic past and the collective imagined Franco-Québécois community built against Catholicism still structures their relationships with others. It was through the analyses of the testimonies of my participants, as North African Jewish others, that these observations emerged. In Québec, according to Lefebvre, Catholicism means the state of being powerfully omnipresent in the cultural expressions of religion as they are deeply rooted in history, collective imagination, and memory. Therefore, Catholicism in the culture is quite perceptible making a religious tradition look "normal" or "natural" in Québec (Lefebvre 2015, 89). Despite

the fact that after the Quiet Revolution Catholic Church has lost much of its power and prestige in the province, as Sarah Wilkins-Laflamme asserts, Franco-Québécois indeed did not completely abandon "the cultural heritage of Catholicism" following the modernization of Quiet Revolution in Québec. (Wilkins-Laflamme 2015, 115, 117). It is hard to talk about the "end" of religion, whether its transformation takes place through secularization or dechristianization. It is rather, as discussed in Chapter 3, a silent anthropological transformation, or exculturation, underscoring the end of a specific historical moment where culture and religion comes into existence in the same project (Meunier 2015, 24).

In the narratives of younger generation, the existence of the concept of cultural religion among post-Catholic or secular Franco-Québécois becomes more detectable impeding the triumph of linguistic identification over religious one, which was experienced by the first-generation North African Jews. This chapter has documented a complex relationship between language and religion in Québec. Linguistic commonality rightfully indicates the success of interculturalism through ethnic boundary blurring among first-generation North African Jews. Yet historical events that, in some cases, are concurrently linked to the religious identity of the participants and post-religious mosaic of Québec suggest a lower sense of belonging among the 1,5 and second generation North African Jews in Québec.

## 6.4. Conclusion

This chapter looked at the complex relationship between language and religion through the narratives of North African Jews whom I interviewed in Montréal. In the first part, I explained how first-generation North African Jews formed their identity through their encounter with post-Catholic Franco-Québécois culture whose integration was facilitated by language. I also discussed that even though participants negotiated their religious difference through language, the post-

Catholic environment and its attitude toward Judaism did not disappear completely in their narratives. In the second part, I focused on first-generation participants' formation of an ambivalent identity, which was caught between their Ashkenazi coreligionists and Franco-Québécois upon their arrival in Québec. Finally, the third part examined the generational dimension of the narratives which led me to make a distinction between the Québécois interculturalism and the Montréalais multiculturalism specifically. In contrast to first-generation participants, in the narratives of younger participants, I contended that it was not the linguistic commonality but the ethnoreligious identity of the participants that appeared to be the most salient marker of identity.

The next chapter explores recognition gap of hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jews through majority-minority relations as well as inter and intra Jewish relations in Toronto. I show how hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jewish identification in the multicultural city provides the platform upon which a better comprehension of the recognition gap of community becomes possible. As such, relations amongst immigrant Jews and their relations with the majority are explored as a way to grasp the larger, structural picture of Canadian pluralism in the next chapter.

## Chapter 7

# RECOGNITION GAP: MULTICULTURALISM, HISPANOPHONE JEWISH IMMIGRANTS AND DIFFERENCE IN TORONTO

Drawing on sixteen life-story interviews with hispanophone Jewish immigrants (including first and 1,5 generation) who reside in Toronto, this chapter argues that it is possible to infer interesting patterns of immigrant inclusion and exclusion in Canada from their lived experiences (Ülgen 2021b, 2023 [forthcoming]) First, it explores majority-minority relations in the context of 'the most multicultural city in the world' (Winter 2011) through the lens of language, showing how language determined immigrants' lower level of inclusion in the early years of their settlement in Toronto[37]. While analyzing the majority-minority relation through language, I use the concept of *ethnic boundary crossing* (Alba 2005, Zolberg and Woon 1999, 8) to elucidate how some immigrants, albeit not completely dropping it as it was spoken in the private sphere, replaced their mother tongue with the host language in the public sphere in their early years of settlement in Toronto.

The second part examines the ethnoreligious identity of eleven hispanophone Moroccan Jewish participants in the 1960s and post-1970s following Canada's adoption of multicultural policy. It asks whether multicultural policy succeeded in improving these immigrants' sense of belonging in Canada, raising some doubts about majority residents' sense of solidarity with the immigrants. It is important to note that majority residents' tense relations with them is identified

[37] Here and throughout the chapter, the group that I refer to as majority will be English Canadians, and to a certain extent, some European descendant people, who, according to the 2021 census, constitute one of the most common ancestry groups in Toronto, along with East and South Asians and Black people (Statistics Canada, 2021).

through the interview materials dissecting the power relations of othering. Drawing on stories relating to some antisemitic events taking place before and after Canada's adoption of multicultural policy, this part suggests that, in contrast to the antisemitic environment in post-Catholic Québec, participants do not find themselves navigating their difference between the English Canadians and English or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim in Toronto. Indeed, religion does not become a more salient identity marker to understand hispanophone Moroccan Jewish immigrant exclusion when compared with the lived experiences of North African Jewish immigrants in Montréal. In a situation in which neither "Catholicism" nor "Evangelism" were major forces, within the interview materials I gathered, participants in Toronto tended to negotiate their ethnoreligious difference more effectively than the participants in Montréal. I attribute this to their acquisition of linguistic capital which facilitated their upward mobility.

The third part shows how multiculturalism encouraged immigrants to keep their identities separately by concretizing differences between groups rather than fostering a shared national identity with English Canadians (Bloemraad 2015). In other words, interviewees in Toronto solidified the borders with the majority group and developed a sense of commonality among themselves. In keeping with other scholars who have criticized multicultural policy as creating "ghettos"[38] (Joppke 2017, Bouchard 2015) rather than fostering a shared Canadian identity, this part therefore reveals how multiculturalism strengthened ethnic attachments. Unlike first-generation North African Jews who have made a rapprochement with Franco-Québécois through language for recognition while navigating their difference between them and anglophone or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim in Montréal, in Toronto, what we see is the absence of such a linguistic rapprochement or identification between the immigrants and the English Canadians. In

[38] The term ghetto used here denotes its ethnic attachment pattern rather than residential.

Toronto, since they do not find themselves navigating their difference between English Canadians and anglophone or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, there is, as I explained it in Chapter 3, a "recognition gap" between the participants and the majority (Lamont 2018). It is important to underline that throughout the chapter, rather than using it from the political perspective which asserts that only national communities search for recognition in Canada (Blattberg 2021), my approach towards the idea of recognition here has an ethnocultural basis which, though not as explicit as the national communities, can also be claimed by immigrants, as fist-generation North African Jews in Québec did. Here, rather than the appearance of a rapprochement between the immigrants and the majority through language like in Montréal, I highlight how the first-generation and 1,5 generation hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jewish participants concretize their ethnic attachments and thus maintain a more separated sense of identity in Toronto.

Finally, the fourth part examines participants' identity formation in Toronto with respect to their encounter with Ashkenazi Jews in dialogue with the identity that North African Jews reconstructed in Montréal (Ülgen 2022). I study these encounters by exploring the complex interplay between language, ethnicity and religion, all of which pave the way for an exploration of Canadian pluralism. In the last part of this chapter, I focus on the historical encounter between these two groups in the United States and then all of its complexity in Canada. Drawing on secondary historical sources from a selection of North American literature helps formulate the question of as to how this encounter relates to the current context in Toronto and differs from the context in Québec. As such, it allows for a better understanding of Canadian pluralism as well as recognition gap of the community in Toronto.

| **Identity Markers** | **Québec/ Montréal *Pluralism*<br>Interculturalism /<br>Multiculturalism<br>*Recognition*** | **Toronto *Pluralism*<br>Multiculturalism<br>*Recognition Gap*** |
|---|---|---|
| **Language** | North African Jews<br>- Francophone (ethnic boundary blurring/ first-generation majority)<br>- More anglophone than francophone (ethnic boundary shifting/ second and 1,5 generations) | Moroccan and Turkish Jews<br>- Hispanophone and anglophone (ethnic boundary crossing/ baby boomers and silent generation majority)<br>- Francophone (minority) |
| **Religion** | Difference (Inequality / Complexity)<br>- Catholicism / post-Catholicism – Judaism<br>- Inter-Jewish relations (language, culture, tradition) | Difference (Inequality)<br>- Christianity (marked by Evangelism) – Judaism<br>- Absence of cultural process and institutionalization<br>- Inter and Intra Jewish relations (language, culture, tradition, region) |

Table 5: North African and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation in Montréal and Toronto

7.1. Linguistic Difference and Ethnic Boundary Crossing: Hispanophone Moroccan Jews in Toronto

When immigrants learn the official languages of the societies in which they settle, the adoption of the new language is commonly considered as a catalyst for immigrants' inclusion in these societies. The acquisition of the dominant language allows immigrants to become members of a society easily and enables them to participate actively in public life (Bonotti, Carlsson and Rowe 2022). However, as illustrated in the previous chapter, the sense of belongingness and participation in a given territory can also be met as an obstacle. One of the major requirements that

receiving societies expect from newcomers in their territories is immigrants' ability and competency to use official languages of their states (Brubaker 2015).

While states can adopt a neutral stance towards markers of identity, such as religion, it is more uncommon to see states, as many scholars observe (Brubaker 2015, Kymlicka 2013, Van Parijs 2011), being neutral towards language. States can take a permissive stance towards religion, for instance, when they abstain from accepting a specific religion by considering it as official and by allowing people to practice their own faith. With respect to language, however, states must employ certain languages and impose an internal communication apparatus, even for logistical purposes. For this reason, in a multinational-state like Canada where French and English are recognized as official languages, immigrants face challenges when seeking to integrate, even though Canada ostensibly adopts an open stance toward multiculturalism.

The linguistic territoriality approach, promoted by Philippe Van Parijs, which he defines as "parity of esteem", acknowledges minority languages as "official" within a territory as the most convenient way to recognize and promote equal dignity. Parity of esteem claims protection of different languages rather than raising solely instrumental non-identitarian linguistic concerns. The instrumental language acquisition emphasizes that immigrants can become members of a civic nation only if they learn the host language of a state (Van Parijs 2011, 117-132). Conversely, parity of esteem suggests that speakers of diverse languages should not be discredited in a state or in a multinational state like Canada. In this case, the non-instrumental linguistic interests, as Van Parijs maintains, can be of use to territorial linguistic approach which gives a higher position to particular languages by bestowing them a unique official status within a territory (Van Parijs 2011, 146-149, Milioni and Pappas 2022, 5).

In Québec, for instance, immigrants are expected to speak and attend school in French. From the point of view of the first-generation North African Jewish immigrants in Québec, the term

"parity of esteem" would suggest that newcomers can "demonstrate respect towards the non-instrumental interest of local speakers to have their language recognized and protected" (Milioni and Pappas 2022, 5). Indeed, as we've seen, first-generation North African Jewish immigrants in Montréal epitomized those newcomers who recognized linguistic claims among French Canadians and later Franco-Québécois in Québec. They were not completely foreign to French culture prior to their settlement in the province. With French as their mother-tongue, first-generation North African Jewish immigrants' linguistic identity led to the formation of *ethnic boundary blurring*, where they were able to domesticate their ethnoreligious difference and downplay the distinctiveness of their accent.

English Canadians along with Franco-Québécois, Indigenous Peoples and Anglo Quebeckers in Québec each form a national community whose rights – except for Indigenous Peoples with their ancestral rights – guarantee them to retain their language and culture without facing exclusion and inequality of opportunities. Immigrants, on the other hand, cannot participate in public life on equal terms if they do not have competency in the official languages of the states in which they settle. Without the ability to speak using the official languages of the places to which they immigrate, they may find difficulty in finding employment, forming fruitful and constructive relations with local people and absorbing local knowledge and connections. In order to have access to the same resources, they might find themselves struggling more than other immigrants who are speakers of official languages of the host society (Milioni and Pappas 2022). Neglecting the linguistic concerns of immigrants, as mentioned above, correlates with states' lack of complete neutrality towards language.

Linguistic rights can lead to emergence of sovereignty claims protecting national group interests that are connected to human dignity and identity. Language was the condition of the rapprochement between the first-generation francophone North African Jewish immigrants and the

French Canadians and later Franco-Québécois in Montréal. In Toronto, however, hispanophone Moroccan Jewish immigrants who did not have linguistic competence in English in the early years of their settlement faced a much harsher integration process involving the abandonment of their linguistic identity in the public sphere. At this point, it is important make the distinction between private and public spheres on the linguistic usage when we think about immigrants like hispanophone Moroccan Jews in the early years of their settlement in Toronto.

Originally developed by sociolinguist Heinz Kloss (1977), language rights can be thought of in two distinct ways: tolerance-oriented language rights which focus on the use of language in the private sphere, on the one hand, and promotion-oriented language rights which emphasize the use of language in the public sphere. In the tolerance-oriented language rights, states allow immigrants to use their native language in the private sphere and to have "freedom of assembly and organization, the right to establish private cultural, economic, and social institutions wherein the first language may be used, and the right to foster one's first language in private schools" (May 2011, 266; quoted in Morales-Galvez 2022, 4). Thus, according to the tolerance-oriented language rights, as a principle of multicultural politics, immigrants are expected to speak their own language at home and in any non-governmental sphere while they are denied advocating for their own language in the public sphere (Milioni and Pappas 2022, 4). From a promotion-oriented perspective of language rights, however, states have an obligation to protect and regulate minority languages in the public sphere. They require "public authorities [in] trying to promote a minority [language] by having it used in public institutions – legislative, administrative and educational, including the public schools" (Kloss 1977, 2; quoted in May 2015, 355). Moreover, promotion-oriented language rights, as Stephen May puts, "could involve recognition of a minority language in all formal domains within the nation-state" (May 2015, 355).

When compared with the francophone North African Jewish immigrants in Montréal, how can we understand the lived experiences of hispanophone Moroccan Jewish immigrants in Toronto? Were they able to integrate themselves easily into anglophone culture through their hispanophone identity? Did they abandon their linguistic identity in the public sphere to widen their opportunities after immigration? While it is more difficult for them to work in an English-speaking environment, francophone Black immigrants in Québec, for instance, might prefer to work in the anglophone sector since they relatively feel better in these anglophone spaces (Darchinian 2017). How about the hispanophone Moroccan Jewish immigrants in the early years of their settlement in Toronto? To answer these questions, I turn empirically to hispanophone Moroccan Jewish immigrants in the early years of their settlement in Toronto whose lived experiences address the tolerance-oriented language rights through the formation of ethnic boundary crossing. Although their boundary crossing seems to be the catalyst for coping with their hispanophone linguistic difference to a certain extent, in the next part, I show how they continued to experience inequality due to their ethnoreligious difference before and after Canada's adoption of multicultural policy.

The recognition of immigrants' mother tongue is linked to the notion of respect whereby immigrants could feel that their "languages are well-considered (dignified) as a fundamental element of their identity" (Morales-Galvez 2022, 11). Yet, it is hard to assume the ascendancy of minority languages over the language of national groups – except for Indigenous people – in Canada. Given the fact that they were able to express themselves in their own language at home and in other private domains such as synagogues, rather than in public sphere in the early years of their settlement in Toronto, testimonies of hispanophone Moroccan Jewish immigrants show that their language rights correspond to the tolerance-oriented language rights. Ava, who immigrated to Toronto in 1964 with her parents when she was twelve, expressed the linguistic difference she

felt at school during the few years that immediately followed her immigration. She underscored how the daily use of Spanish with some classmates who were also from Tangier hindered her linguistic adaptation to the new city. She stated that it took a long time for them to learn English because the phonetics and the roots differed from the Latin structure. She also struggled with the grammar and pronunciation. Since her father knew English, Ava told me that she did not face the linguistic hardship as much as her friends and their parents following their immigration in the 1960s:

> Because I couldn't understand the language, it was very hard to do the homework. I was strong enough to understand. My brother who is two years younger than me had a very dramatic experience going to school. He was an excellent student. When you find yourself not being able to understand anything . . . for him it was very very hard to go through adolescence . . . It's very hard when you come here and when you're twelve. So, if you go through all that and if you don't have that inner perseverance. A lot of kids got lost in that environment first of all for not having strong guidance from parents who could understand the language, go to school and speak to the teacher. They were translating for you. My father spoke English but many of my friends . . . you didn't even go to interviews because parents could not speak to the teachers, and they didn't have translators for you. And they didn't have any of that help that exits now. So, a lot of the kids would be the translators. So, we became very detached, trying to make a living with the culture shock. So, I remember that our parents, many families got very detached from making the effort for the push for a better education. And a lot of them needed financial help from their kids to go to work also, you know. Especially for those who were sixteen and if you're going to high school, grade eleven . . . Very hard to do your studies whatsoever and with parents that couldn't help you. My father could help me even when I was in the university. But I had that privilege from my father, you know. Being able to do that. Most people that came to Toronto had no knowledge of English at all.

Marco, who immigrated to Toronto in 1964 lamented how he, too, felt isolated at first:

> I used to go to school in 1964 . . . I could not speak any English . . . We are different from the people immigrated to Montreal. Because the people that immigrated to Montreal, they spoke French from Morocco. So, they could understand . . . it took us time. We could not dialogue with anybody in the schoolyard. So, I would stay in one corner. It was very depressing . . . It was very hard at the beginning; especially for the Moroccans landed in Toronto.

Jack, who arrived from Tangier in 1957 when he was four years old, recounted the following story:

> We went to schools just down the streets from us. We didn't speak any English . . . They kept us together in the same classroom. Although I can't remember but Elaine (another Tangier Jew) did remind me every day, our teacher at the time. We spoke only Spanish to each other, and we were learning English at the time. The teacher at the time said to our parents that we would go nowhere in this world. We would not do anything in this world if we didn't learn English. Elaine and I laughed that off. She became a journalist, and I became eventually an English teacher and vice principal so . . . So much for predictions… We were there for a while. Ms. Greenspen was very mean to the immigrants.

Immigrated to Toronto from Tangier in 1963 in his thirties, Manuel told the following story:

> So, I came to Canada, but I could not speak English at all. But what happened, my brother because he spoke English in Morocco, he decided to come to Ontario. He used to have correspondences all the time with Gibraltar. So, he knew English, and he decided to come to Toronto instead of Montreal. My parents also they could not speak English. So, it was hard for them, and they learnt. I have two sisters and another brother. They all landed in Halifax and then came to Toronto. My sisters learnt English and my younger brother too. They all learnt English.

Yahuda mentioned that his mother, who also did not speak English when they immigrated to Toronto from Tangier in 1965, had to attend night school for about three years following their settlement. He said "she did very well. She spoke English. She was cooking in the kitchen and she would be studying English. She loved to watch television. So, on TV, she learned to hear the language and she got used to it." Although some of the interviewees understood and spoke English before arriving in Toronto, hispanophone Jews of northern Morocco writ large faced a difficult transition with respect to their linguistic integration into Toronto. Over time and with tenacity, by regularly attending night classes, for example, those individuals who immigrated during adulthood were able to overcome this obstacle.

How the relations between the majority and minority groups are formed, changed, and restructured depend on the nature of the relations that they enter into. In Québec, as my first-generation interview subjects explained, while navigating their difference between anglophone Ashkenazi Jews and Franco-Québécois, there had been a rapprochement between these

interviewees and Franco-Québécois through language leading to formation of ethnic boundary blurring. Ethnic boundary crossing, on the other hand, delineates a type of assimilation in which people, “as something akin to a conversion, i.e., a departure from one group and a discarding of sign of membership in it,” come together “with all the social and psychic burdens a conversion process entails: growing distance from peers, feelings of disloyalty, and anxieties about acceptance” (Alba 2005, 24). Here, it is important to note that, for hispanophone Moroccan Jews who participated in my research, learning English language implied ethnic boundary crossing only in the early years of their settlement in Toronto. For these immigrants, learning English generated a social burden because they found themselves having to choose between two options, assimilation and group belonging in the 1950s and 1960s, prior to Canada’s adoption of multicultural policy. As newly arrived immigrants who did not speak any English, hispanophone Jews of northern Morocco navigated their difference between assimilating themselves to English Canada and being loyal to their own community, which in turn created a social burden.

To sum up, by replacing their mother tongue with the host language albeit not completely dropping it as it was spoken in the private sphere, as opposed to the religious pluralist alternative, the hispanophone Moroccan Jewish interviewees in my research found themselves grouped with the assimilationist pole through language in the early years of their settlement in Toronto. It is possible to argue that initial difficulties of integration due to language acquisition may have masked other inequalities related to the ethnoreligious identity of the interviewees. However, the difficulties related to English language acquisition did not prevent some participants from experiencing antisemitism in Toronto. Their ethnoreligious identity would only make them more suspicious to the English Canadians, and to a certain extent, some people of European descent.

## 7.2. Ethnoreligious Difference and Hispanophone Moroccan Jews in Toronto

In the second part of this chapter, I focus on some antisemitic episodes told by hispanophone Moroccan Jews taking place before and after Canada's adoption of multicultural policy. Even though in the first part immigrants' boundary crossing seemed to be the catalyst for coping with their hispanophone linguistic difference to a certain extent, in this part, I show how they continued to experience inequality because of their ethnoreligious difference. As I discuss through the narratives of participants below, inclusion of these immigrants in the host society was conditional not only due to their linguistic but also their ethnoreligious identity.

Even though it can be argued that the English Canadian nationalism took on an explicitly ethnic character in its early stages (Breton 1988), antisemitic events taking place before Second World War demonstrate how this nationalism can also be understood through the terms of religion and secularism as far as Ashkenazi Jews in Toronto are concerned (Tulchinsky 2018). In this nationalism, which aimed to create a collectivity qualified as Britannic and having Anglo-Saxon ideology, ethnic minorities had no choice but to assimilate themselves to the English Canadians and embrace Anglo conformist ideology (Palmer 1976). During this time, as Raymond Breton put "Anglo-Saxon values, religious and secular, and the corresponding way of life were considered superior" (Breton 1988, 88). Moreover, although teaching of other languages was not completely prohibited, it was difficult to teach in "other" languages in Anglo Canada since English was culturally dominant. At this point, it is also worth looking at J.E. Rea's notes on Manitoba that elucidates English Canadian nationalism through education system as a fundamental force of assimilation:

> Any rough survey of educational materials used in the Manitoba schools from 1910 through the 1920s reveals that the values being emphasized were British-Canadian nationalism, individualism, the Protestant work ethic, materialism, and so on. It is a truism, of course, to state that a public school system reflects the

> values of those who control it. In Manitoba's case, after 1916 those who devised curricula, selected textbooks and directed patriotic observances were committed to the use of the schools as an assimilative agent (Rea 1977, 9-10, quoted in Breton 1988, 89).

It was only through Britishness or assimilation into it that the inclusion in Canadian society became possible. Conserving British character of the society, preserving its institutions and reinforcing Anglo-conformity constituted a matter of national interest. Neither did the advocates of this project hesitate to compare themselves with French Canadian Catholics in the assertion of their Britishness, religion, and language (Breton 1988). Although it declined significantly during the Great Depression and World War II, non-British immigration to Canada increased in the early twentieth century to the late 1970s. The flow of these immigrants, now conducted under the banner of multiculturalism, forced English Canadians to a new form of collectivity that could subsume different ethnic groups as citizens. This transition from ethnic to civic nationalism cannot be seen in dichotomic terms as good civic and bad ethnic nationalism, which has lost its force in the studies of nationalism after the 1990s (Triandafyllidou 2022). In fact, as I shall demonstrate, the British societal project or Anglo collectivity centered on language, religion, and ethnicity did not entirely vanish as the Canadian society moved toward multiculturalism.

Although it was not concerned his own hispanophone Moroccan Jewish community, Jack went back to the 1930s of Toronto to explain antisemitism against Ashkenazi Jews in Toronto. There were signs down in the beaches, as he commented, on which "No dogs or Jews allowed" were written prior to World War II. In fact, Jews were not allowed to possess certain professions such as teaching and nursing, were excluded from entering universities, were banned from accessing public swimming pools and restaurants, and couldn't claim ownership of land in some wealthy suburbs in the 1930s (Bouchard 2000, 24). During the Great Depression, when some Anglo Canadians formed "Swastika Clubs" and embraced the Nazi symbol, they looked for scapegoats to

blame for their economic hardships. Following Hitler's coming to power in Germany, on 16 August 1933, the Christie Pits riot took place in Toronto. The riot, which is one of the worst outbreaks of ethnic violence in Canadian history, provoked antisemitic violence. Born in 1939 and immigrated to Toronto from Tangier in 1958, Pedro told the following story about the recruitment dynamics of his own community in the job market:

> Discrimination, I personally did not feel it. But some people from Tangier did in the sense that, at that time when you made an application for a job, you had to specify the religion. In large organizations like the banks for example, some people were rejected. As we learned that I know some families who really had to declare that they were Christians and that allowed them to get a job. When I got a job, they never asked me. But my name Pedro is really a Latino name. It's a Spanish name. Actually, even people I met after, Ashkenazi people, with a name like that, "how can you be a Jew?" You know . . . I got the job, but I tell you I knew quite few people from Toronto mainly, many people from Ottawa and there was only myself and another person in Ottawa who was Jewish at Bell Canada.

Born in Tangier in 1946 and immigrated to Toronto in 1957, Pablo mentioned the loan officer's tough behavior on him during his undergraduate studies in a university when the loan officer asked "Why you guys are all wealthy? Why you have many kids, sisters, brothers?" Finished his baccalauréat in France prior to his immigration to Toronto from Tangier in 1967 when he was twenty years old, David depicted the 1950s and 1960s of Toronto through the ethnoreligious difference of his own community among elders:

> I was twenty and I was looking for a new world with enthusiasm. It was not the case for older people or older generations just arrived. For me, first of all, the community welcomed you and embraced you well. First you emerge with the age group of that community. Making new friends in the community . . . I was always *ouverture d'esprit* in my case. Because I came from a French system of education. I had been already in France for a year. For me, it was brand new great world. I'm not saying that it was easy but when you are young, you don't think about details. I had a car. Now because I heard many people from the older generation saying how difficult it was for them . . . I mean cold weather . . . When you're younger, I still remember when we first arrived, my sister and I went down with couple of friends from the community. . . Yet the older community, you know, because they had to go to work and some of them didn't have the jobs they might hold, what you can call minor jobs, factory stuff like that. Many of them went to banking, working in bank. And I noticed amongst that generation that they were afraid to say to their bosses that they were

> Jewish. When Jewish holiday came, we're talking about 50s, 60s . . . not talking about today. They would either be sick, they would either be going to medical appointments and not be able to work. So, they would actually that people close enough that hid their Jewish identity because they felt it could hamper their success. In the banks, in those days . . . banks to a certain extent today, would rather hire British people than Jews or other nationalities for that manner. So, in their mind, Jews were a bit of a stigma, saying I'm a Jew. So, they tried to avoid, not deliberately, but hid, avoided saying that they were. And I always find out that it would be strange but, on the other hand, I would understand why they would do that because they would fear to be kicked out or discriminated against at work. I didn't feel that, and my objectives were clear ever since I came at age twenty that my main objective was to get an education . . . sometimes also you may hear awkward joke about, you know, against Jewish people.

Since some of the interviewees, having Spanish as their mother tongue, learned French in A.I.U. schools they attended in Tangier, they improved their language skills when they added the official language of the host society, English, to their linguistic capital. This linguistic capital, as can be expected, created job opportunities which in turn paved the way for upward economic mobility. Ava, for instance, while studying at the university, told me that she worked from four hour to midnight at the airport as a translator: "So, I translated all the flights that arrived from Haiti, France, Spain and so on . . . So, my languages gave me a million jobs," she commented. She could translate for huge companies when she was just twenty-four years old, and she was teaching at the same time Spanish to adults in the companies, as she explained. Marco, as a high school graduate, worked for the airlines thanks to his competency in Spanish, French, and English. Yet, Ava mentioned her initial conversation with the hiring person during her first job interview in a regular school in Toronto. It became evident that, despite her linguistic capital, her ethnoreligious identity created a barrier on the decision of recruitment by the hiring person for the job she applied for in the 1980s in Toronto:

> I went to an interview to get a job to teach French. And I also applied to the Catholic schools. Separate School Board. And I went to the interview and . . . then the guy loved it and said, "yes yes yes!" And then I did tell him that I'm Jewish. And right away, he said to me "Look, I cannot hire you if you're Jewish." And I said to him, you know, "I really should take you to court because the truth is that the separate school

board in Toronto is paid by the government." We had to send our kids to private school and pay for private school, for Jewish school. But the separate school board paid by the government is same the regular school board, right? So, I told him "What does it have to do if I'm Jewish or whatever I could be. I'm a great French teacher. I'm only gonna teach French from class to class, which has nothing to do with religion. And even if it's religion, I'm pretty sure I can do a good job because you know, I don't have anything against your religion. What am I gonna do to the kids? I honor their religion." He said "no, we cannot hire you." So, that was discrimination.

Finally, as a French-speaking qualified applicant, Ava was lucky to be hired for this job because in the school French immersion was new and nobody had French immersion. Still, always being the first Jewish person to be hired, after a certain time, her ethnoreligious difference became salient through her relations with the Christians in the school:

> So, anyways I went, and they hired me. And then he gave me the job. I was very loved by the principal and by all the teachers. And I must say there were very religious people. They always treated me like a daughter because I was very young, and I got pregnant there . . . I didn't have any Jewish kids in school. And I must say a lot of the teacher in the French immersion then, I'm talking about forty years ago, they were all either from Egypt or Lebanon or from very different places around the world. And we had women, the ones that were Catholic . . . And I must say that the French . . . A lot of women from France would be very very sarcastic about Judaism. You know, I knew to say, "happy Easter." I knew to say, "happy Christmas." I knew to go with them and celebrate the lunch before Christmas or whatever. Dance, to have fun, to sing with the kids. I would take the kids and teach them all the Christmas songs . . . and my kids even sing in six languages. I did beautiful plays, whatever it was. Whether it was Christianity, they sang in Hebrew, they dance in Hebrew, they dance in Arabic. We did a week of all Arabic . . . we did all about Egypt, we did beautiful staff like that to celebrate everybody. But I would never hear . . . I would hear "Ava, merry Christmas." Well, don't tell me, you know, don't tell me merry Christmas. You can say happy Hannukah and not when it's Christmas. But they never acknowledged vice-versa.

In another episode, her accounts show how close relations with one of her students in the same school made her identity suspicious according to one parent of the student:

> The parents were wonderful. But you know, I remember a lady; you know, she happened to be German. So, for example her kid . . . very needy child, ok? After school, they would go to daycare. Some kids would go to daycare. So, one of the children who suffered from alcohol syndrome because the mother . . . So, he was a child that I had given him a lot. He had different problems . . . psychological problems. But he was an

> amazing, wonderful child . . . One morning, the principal, she called me into the office, and she said, "we have a problem, Ava." You know, if the kid wanted to give me a hug, I let the kid give me a hug . . . They were little . . . I was very warm with them. And then principal called me there's a problem. She said to me, "the mother of the little German boy, she's feeling very uncomfortable, very uncomfortable." You know, I didn't understand it all. "Why she's feeling uncomfortable? What?" She said "Well, Ava. I don't know how to tell you. I don't know how to tell you." I said to her "Tell me what?! What are you talking about?" So, she says to me "Well, the mother is very uncomfortable that you might be abusing her child because you are lifting him after school." So, I was so surprised (laughs). I said, "Are you kidding me?" Listen, it was the first time I said to the principal then mother should take her kid out of my class because . . . I could push that kid to be out of the class but because I know how detrimental it to be for a child . . . He would be denied to stay after school and I wanted to meet this woman. I wanted her to come to me and say to my face "Oh, I think you harassed my son." Because it's such a wow joke, you know. And she said to me. You know . . . she discouraged me. I was in such a shock that I didn't push to say "no, I want the woman come here" like I would have. I didn't. But that's also a sort of discrimination . . . I was very open about my Judaism because I was very open to the kids. And I talked to them about my life. They knew. I knew about their religion, where they went . . . I would tell them. They were asking me "Madame, what did you do the other day?" I was telling them that it was a Jewish holiday. I would explain to them. They were aware. And grade three, I taught Holocaust for children.

Historically, Jews in western societies acted as "Others" against which these societies, e.g., European and North American, have characterized, classified, and distinguished themselves from them. The cultural place of those who constituted the majority in these societies were only threatened by the existence of those "Others" who were different from them. Opinions concerning the cultural peril caused by Jews in these societies, for instance, are intimately linked with the boundaries of ethnic or religious belonging they formed. In this case, the boundaries of belonging that "Others" draw in a given society can be based on not only linguistic but also ethnic, religious and racial grounds (Gerteis and Rotem 2022).

Christian nationalism, which has its origins in white Protestant evangelicalism (Kohn 1940, Hastings 1997, Gorski 2019), can be associated with prejudice towards racial and religious outgroups leading to the formation of social boundary from symbolic boundary though a dichotomic Us-Them relation (Lamont and Molnár 2002; Darchinian and Magnan 2021).

Immigrants like Filipinos, for instance, who are not targeted by everyday antisemitism or Islamophobia and who do not feel the need to change their names or take off their religious clothing to find a job in the market might feel integrated into North American culture with the symbolic boundary they form, which does not transform into social boundary.

Belonging in Canadian cultural core society is an expression of a range of assertions that can depend on the logics of exclusionary and discriminatory views towards outgroups in the society. The initial difficulties of integration attributed to language acquisition may have masked other inequalities related to the ethnoreligious identity of the interviewees. However, this does not mean that hispanophone Moroccan Jews do not make their ethnoreligious boundary work in Toronto. As illustrated in this part, both before and after Canada's adoption of multicultural policy, in the narratives of the participants, it is possible to detect antisemitic attitudes being prevalent in Toronto.

It is important to point out that hispanophone Moroccan Jewish interviewees' ethnoreligious exclusion was not as salient as the francophone North African Jewish interviewees in Montréal. Therefore, I suggest that interviewees in Toronto do not find themselves negotiating their ethnoreligious difference as much as the interviewees in Montréal. Through mastering the official language of the host society and experiencing an upward mobility thanks to their competency in many languages, trajectories of the immigrants in Toronto indicate that there is less negotiation with respect to their ethnoreligious difference than the immigrants in Montréal. Although they had a greater language barrier in the early years of their settlement in Toronto than the first-generation francophone North African Jewish immigrants in Québec, their competency in languages in the following years of immigration in turn enabled them an upward mobility, easing the negotiation of their ethnoreligious difference with the English Canadians and to a certain extent, as mentioned earlier, with some European descendant people. Therefore, unlike in Montréal, there is less negotiation in the relations between the majority, both anglophone Gentiles and Ashkenazim, and

the participants in Toronto. My participants did not find themselves navigating their difference between English Canadians and anglophone or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim in Toronto. As such, there is "recognition gap" between the participants and the majority (Lamont 2018). Rather than existence of a sign of rapprochement between immigrants and English Canadians, hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jews, like the generation X and millennials in Montréal, concretize their ethnic attachments and thus maintain their separate identities in Toronto. They do not find themselves being caught between anglophone Ashkenazim and the majority as hispanophone Jewish immigrants. In the next part, I show how the recognition gap leads hispanophone Moroccan and Turkish Jews to manifest their ethnic attachments and continue their distinct identities in an isolated yet interacting manner in Toronto.

### 7.3. "Recognition Gap" and Difference: Moroccan and Turkish Jews in Toronto

If we look at English-speaking Quebeckers in Québec, it is possible to see that it was through the language policies like Bill 22, 63 and 101 in Québec that accelerated their linguistic minority position in the province. As such, English-speaking Quebeckers in Québec found themselves with the urge to defend their linguistic rights where institutional concerns became crucial for their survival (Breton 1964; Jedwab and Maynard 2012). In this section, following the micro-level practices of participants through interviews, I develop an empirical understanding of recognition gap process among hispanophone Jewish participants in Toronto as an aspect of inequality.

English-speaking Quebecers in Québec are still struggling not to lose their institutions in the face of disappearing the English language. Thus, having institutional capacity remains crucial for their perseverance. Cultural repertoires of the first-generation North African Jews in Québec had an impact on the boundaries they formed with the majority. As such, as immigrants, the process of

institutionalization associated with their cultural repertoires highly influenced their sense of belonging and broadened their cultural membership to the Franco-Québécois majority by reducing recognition gaps. This recognition, which is cultural rather than socioeconomic and political due to the institutional capacity of the community for their perseverance, diminished the recognition gap and allowed first-generation North African Jews to be considered as worthy through difference, namely through their relations with English-speaking Ashkenazim, on the one hand, and Franco-Québécois, on the other, in Québec. The institutions, allowing immigrants to respond to their perceived exclusion, difference, and inequality or "recognition gaps," enabled them to a rapprochement with the majority.

The French language was the catalyst which facilitated rapprochement and the building of cultural institutions. Therefore, the institutions these immigrants established served as buffers in the face of inequality and exclusion in Québec. Due to their in-betweenness and difference among Ashkenazim and Franco-Québécois, first-generation North African Jews responded to their recognition gaps by claiming their cultural membership and affirming their group identity thanks to their distinct lived experiences in Québec. As a result, educational and cultural institutions first-generation immigrants established, and their cultural repertoires cultivated their well-being and worked against assimilation both to the mainstream and to their coreligionists. For that reason, the degree of recognition gaps between the first-generation North African Jewish immigrants and larger population is lesser in Montréal than in Toronto, where there is *spatial* recognition gap. I use *spatial* recognition gap to accentuate the anglophone side of Toronto where cultural institutional incompleteness of the community prevails. Rather than entailing socioeconomic inequalities, this recognition gap hampers cultural institutionalization and celebration of hispanophone Jewish identity in Toronto. Let me now elaborate what I mean by the *spatial* recognition gap supported by my interview materials.

Citizenship cannot be divorced from its spatial context as a lived experience phenomenon. In a multinational state like Canada, multiculturalism, different from interculturalism practiced by my first-generation Moroccan Jewish interviewees in Québec, is the type of politics of pluralism that has been performed by my interviewees in Toronto. What I found out in the interviews of participants in Toronto is that there is a social division and group formation through ethnic and linguistic status. Indeed, participants mostly interact with the ones whom they share ethnic and linguistic commonalities, hence, they "do difference" through their ethnic attachments separately. Since immigrants' doing difference is performed in an isolated way where both language and religion do not create complexity, or exclusion, and marginalization as a result of intercommunal relations, and thus do not help the process of immigrant recognition, I suggest that a spatial recognition gap *does* exist for the Moroccan and Turkish Jewish participants in Toronto.

In fact, in an article on the composition of North African Jewry in Toronto, Sarah Taieb-Carlen stated that "a few synagogues and a school are the only communal institutions it has built" and emphasized linguistic, ritual, and regional rivalries leading to a weakening of the community (Taieb-Carlen 1999, 164). The limited number of institutions and cultural repertoires, which is connected to the recognition gap, leads participants to do their difference through ethnic attachments in Toronto. In other words, Moroccan and Turkish Jews of Toronto develop a sense of commonality among themselves and thus they solidify the borders against the majority group. Moreover, as I demonstrate in the following pages through hispanophone Moroccan Jewish narratives, the creation of separate synagogues shows linguistic, ritual, and regional differences between hispanophone and francophone Moroccan Jews leading to, as Taieb-Carlen observed, a weakening of cultural repertoires and the solid institutionalization of the community in Toronto. Without any doubt, establishing a synagogue does not weaken a group's cultural repertoire and their institutionalization. Yet, compared to the cultural repertoires and organizational capacity of

the community in Québec, what we see in Toronto is that community's doing difference is mainly within the confines of synagogue in Toronto. For Pedro:

> When I was the president of synagogue, I invited, I had a day on the commemoration of the king Hassan II, the King of Morocco and I invited the ambassador to the synagogue, the French ambassador. Sometimes, I say to my wife as well, I regret leaving Morocco. Life was very easy. Tangier has the best weather in the world . . . The beach is number one. There's no such a beach in the world. White sand. Even the people now. I was back there at least twenty times because I had family there still. No longer but I had. I felt extremely comfortable going to Tangier. I really love, wanted to go. It is where I was born . . . I had a lot of friends there, when I came here, I had to start from zero. I didn't know anyone . . . Now the friends that I have are the ones that I met in the synagogue.

Evoking the spatial recognition gap of the community through his low level of integration in Toronto, David's narratives underscore the linguistic dimension, its impact on creating a complex intercommunal relation and greater sense of belongingness in Québec:

> When at first . . . both those from Tangier, Tetouan and the one from Southern Morocco, Casablanca . . . were together as a community here (Toronto) but very soon after that, it came apart because of the cultural differences and perception and I would even say prejudices on both sides. That made it not work. Even to this day, there are differences and those differences even we are in the same group . . . One interesting thing is that they (Moroccan Jews) integrated better in Quebec, in Montreal than we have integrated here.

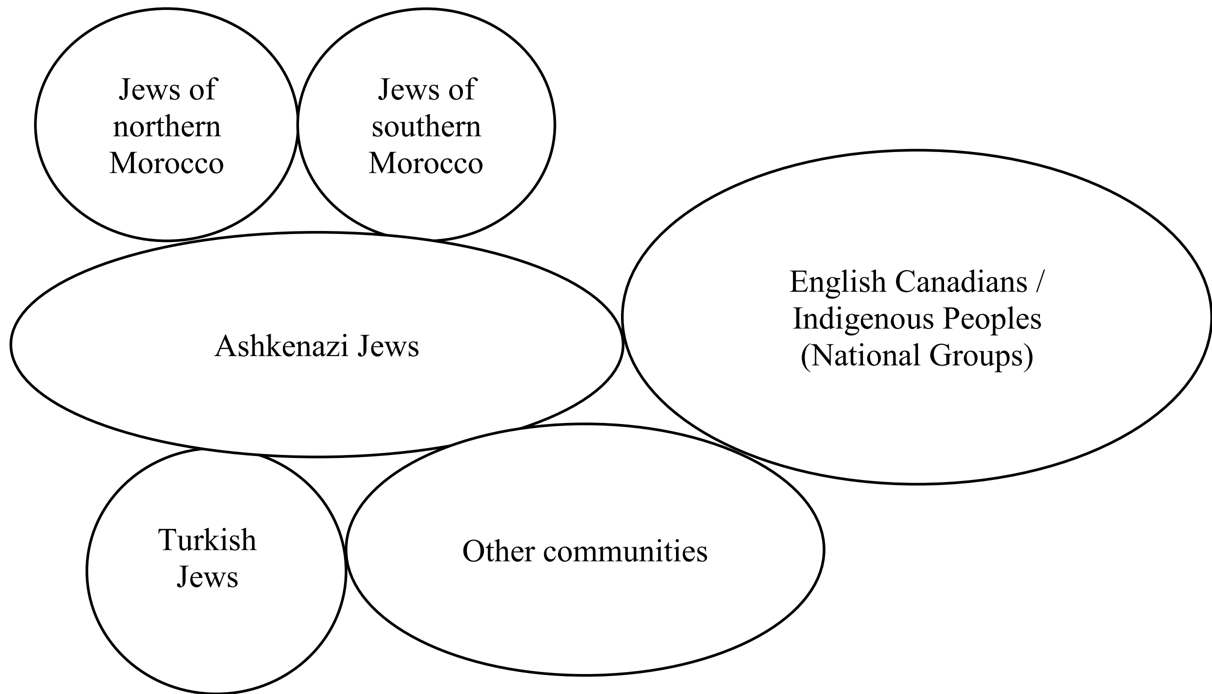


Figure 7: Moroccan and Turkish Jewish identification in Toronto

Here, I suggest that the absence of rapprochement with the majority shows how interviewees manifest or concretize their ethnic attachments and thus maintain their separate identities, which in Toronto, gives rise to a spatial recognition gap. At this point, before sharing Turkish Jewish identification in Toronto, I want to illustrate further the process of recognition gap by highlighting linguistic and cultural differences between francophone Moroccan Jews, who constitute the minority of the Moroccan Jewish population in Toronto, and hispanophone Moroccan Jews, who form the majority. Indeed, through their cultural and linguistic differences, these two groups, in contrast to the lived experiences of first-generation North African Jews in Montréal, concretize their ethnic attachments separately. The existence of two different synagogues, namely the one that hispanophone Moroccan Jews attend, and the other one that francophone Moroccan Jews participate in, are telling examples to understand the distance between these two groups.

Referring to the synagogue which he belongs to and which, according to him, constitutes 85% Tangier Jews, Pedro mentioned a mix of ethnically different synagogues in Toronto, such as Iraqi, Syrian, and Moroccan. Yet, there are also two Moroccan synagogues, as all hispanophone Moroccan Jewish participants emphasized, one that Jews of northern Morocco attend where everybody speaks Spanish and another one that Jews of southern Morocco participate in where all of them speak French. Jack's accounts on the linguistic difference among Moroccan Jews in Toronto within the synagogue structure as follows:

> We lived in Tangier, so we spoke Spanish. Now, my dad knew six different languages because he worked in a bank. He knew Spanish and French; he knew Arabic as spoken in Morocco, in Tangier. He knew Italian, he knew Portuguese. All the Romance languages. My mom in the school learned English. Spanish was the language of the house. They never spoke French . . . For the most part, they spoke Spanish and that's how I learned Spanish. When I went to school, I learned English there . . . English came to me very quickly . . . I learned to sing songs in English . . . I think in Spanish, I think in English. I speak Spanish and I speak English. I do the announcements of the synagogue; I am the secretary of the board of governance of the synagogue. We do announcements in our synagogue in Spanish and in English. And I switch between the two without any problems at all. Spanish is the center of our language here in Toronto in the community that I was in. French . . . there is a term . . . derogatory term . . . I never thought it was a derogatory term because my parents and everybody in the synagogue used it in many ways. Anyone, who had the French accent or was not Spanish speaking, was called forastero. Foreigner. I never think anything bad until eventually, more French people came to the synagogue (laughs) and that term forastero, I was told by my dad "non non non. Don't say that." We said that because we were in the Spanish group. But you don't say that to them.

In contrast to the Jews of southern Morocco, hispanophone Moroccan Jews also speak Haketia. This specific language derived from Maghrebi Arabic and Hebrew is one variety of the Judeo-Spanish language spoken by Jews of northern Morocco in cities such as Tangier. Pedro mentioned that Haketia was the Spanish that was spoken at home by his parents and grandparents, which is, as he put "old Spanish mixed with Arabic and Hebrew words." When they had spoken Haketia to Spaniards, they wouldn't understand it because of the different pronunciation and words, he

explained. Pedro also recounted the cultural and linguistic difference among hispanophone and francophone Moroccan Jews:

> You know, there's a difference . . . we were very close to Europe. And under the influence of Spain and French, we had a higher level of culture. The French Jews in Morocco, they were not as cultured as much. As a matter of fact, in a very derogatory fashion, we used to call them foreigners. And would you believe that even now we say, "Oh, he is a foreigner." (laughs) . . . In Toronto, they are mainly from Tangier and Spanish.

The following account is from David:

> So, there are differences . . . I don't know if anyone mentioned you, but we tend to call the Jews from the southern Morocco "forastero." Forastero is the foreigner, the stranger. And they resent that a lot and we shouldn't have done that. It was when it was even today here in the community when you are not from Tangier and from Casablanca, Fez, or Meknes, they're forastero and I don't think it's a nice thing to do. Because you basically are excluding them, you're calling them "you're an outsider." And they are still brothers of faith, you know, because we share the same religion. They mainly spoke Arabic and French.

Mariam, who immigrated to Toronto from Tangier in 1959 when she was seven years old, further explained the linguistic and cultural difference among hispanophone and francophone Moroccan Jews. Her account illustrates a concretization of ethnic attachment that has been practiced by hispanophone Moroccan Jews in Toronto:

> You can base Morocco in two sections: you have the French and then you have the Spanish. The majority of the French speaking people went to Montreal and the majority of Spanish speaking came to Toronto. I wouldn't say that they didn't get along, but cultures were a little bit different in the sense that Tangiers was closer to Europe. So, I had a more of international influence, more European influence and I guess we were more European based. Where the southern part of Morocco, they spoke French . . . I'm not gonna say that they didn't get along, but they had different views about different things . . . They did speak Arabic in Tangiers as well, but it wasn't as prominent as in the South as it was in the North. I think they felt in the North part more European than anything else . . . because of our different cultural background, we seemed to stick together. They will stick to their way of doing things of praying, of, you know, celebrating and whatever. And we're kind of, we don't see eye to eye everything. I think in Toronto, we're more, we stick together more, more closer . . . We're just closer as opposed to the ones in Quebec. Even where we live. We tend to be all in the same area. While in Quebec, there're all spread out in Montreal. They live in . . . you know all over.

Being distinguished from other Jews by their recent arrival in Toronto both socioeconomically, linguistically, and ethnically, Moroccan Jews lived in the North-York-Thornhill area with other Jews, Italians, Portuguese, and Greeks. Within this pluralistic enclave, a small area in North-York and Thornhill at the intersection of Steeles and Bathurst streets hosts a substantial portion of first-generation Moroccan Jews with a Sephardic day-school and hispanophone and francophone synagogues (Cohen 2020). Due to their mixed fabric, ethnic neighborhoods "are not turning into ghettos in Canada" which "have considerable internal diversity of national origins, languages, and cultures, and, of course, incomes and education, even if one group dominates" (Qadeer 2016, 134). For the case of Montréal, as Mariam's narratives suggest and as studies show, although the city is distinguished from large Anglo Canadian cities such as Toronto and Vancouver by its poverty rates, it is also rare to see mono-ethnic concentrations and ghettos in Montréal (Germain 2018, 90). Yet, rarely interacting with people outside their community, hispanophone Moroccan Jewish interviewees mostly maintain their traditions, Spanish language, and culture in their own synagogues and group. While seeing people of their ethnic origin around them gives them community sense of belonging, it also hampers the emergence of collective Canadian identity.

Another notable theme, as stated earlier, emerged from the narratives of the Toronto interviewees is the linguistic and cultural difference between Moroccan and Turkish Jews. By stressing absence of a robust affinity between Turkish and Moroccan Jews in Toronto, Nissim mentioned a well-known Sephardic synagogue in Thornhill and commented that Sephardic life in Toronto is fairly limited to the Moroccan group participating in it. Turkish Jews living in Toronto often intermingle with one another via a group they call "TİK," which is an abbreviation for "*Türkiye, Israil, Kanada* (Turkey, Israel, and Canada)." Communicating with each other in Turkish and English, they speak another language, which is Ladino. When I asked the reasons for the

creation of this group, Esther emphasized the role of language and sense of humour. She described this sort of socialization with the Turkish idiom *leb demeden leblebiyi anlamak*, which can be translated as understanding what the other is going to say before they end their sentence or being able to read someone's thoughts. For Nissim:

> Singing old songs and making jokes became very important for our kind of emotional health and we all felt very comfortable with each other. Language, familiarity of culture, jokes, reminiscence are so pleasant to have.

Sarah also elucidated the role of language in their socialization:

> Let me tell you something. There's something very peculiar to Turkish Jews. We start in one language; we use the second language during the conversation, and we end the conversation with a different language. And this is a very typical Turkish Jewish attitude (laughs).

The narratives illustrating cultural and linguistic differences among the participants in Toronto indicates locations and people's interactions with others in these locations. Displaced from familiar terrain, they find a commonality with people from the same linguistic and ethnic origin by aligning themselves through shared activities. They bind specific places "here, there and elsewhere" (Shams 2020) where "here" remains Toronto and that beckons "there", the country of origin and, to a certain extent, Israel, affixing a stamp on the present (Waldinger 2013). The three groups, namely hispanophone and francophone Moroccan and Turkish Jews of Toronto, develop a sense of commonality among themselves (separately) and thus they strengthen the borders with the majority group. As such, in Toronto, each group concretizes its ethnic attachments separately rather than fostering a shared Canadian identity (Bloemraad 2015).

Multiculturalism, as being a normative framework of Canadian immigrant integration and nation-building ideology, is a policy that had been first enacted in 1971. In effect, in relation to other countries, like Germany which refuses to acknowledge its ethnic diversity and France, that

promotes assimilationism, Canada has been the first country to adopt a multicultural policy "aiming at the egalitarian integration of immigrants by recognizing and accommodating ethnocultural diversity within public institutions and supporting immigrant organizations and the expression of 'heritage cultures' for purposes of emancipation" (Winter 2011, 15). However, as Bouchard (2015) as well as Gagnon and Iacovino (2007) argue, it is possible to assume that multicultural policy is also a political strategy driven by the idea of selling diversity, symbolized by the dances made and traditional dresses worn by Justin Trudeau during his visits to diverse cultural groups (May 2021). Multiculturalism also arguably creates "ghettos" and social fragmentation which has therefore been discredited for being just a "lip service" for selling diversity (Winter 2011, 14). Rather than creating egalitarianism and equal opportunities for immigrants as it officially proposes, multiculturalism gives rise to spatial recognition gap for the interviewees in Toronto. It becomes the type of politics of pluralism practiced by interviewees sharing the same ethnic and linguistic identity through sustained interaction in Toronto, like the generation Xers and millennials in Montréal. Still, the French language forges a bond between first-generation North African Jews and the majority culture while they navigate their difference between the majority and their coreligionists, Anglo Ashkenazim. This linguistic bond between the immigrants and the majority, which helped the process of community institutionalization through cultural repertoires, made them recognized in Québec. In Toronto, however, intercommunal dynamics do not map onto one another in which immigrants find the need to navigate their difference between their coreligionists and English Canadians and other Euro-descendant people. This situation forms a spatial recognition gap leading to lesser negotiation in the intercommunity relations in Toronto.

The appearance of immigrants distinguished by religion and language are symbolic of far-reaching issues of inclusion and exclusion, which are matters of identification, and social structures that emerge from their extended relations. In my analyses, practices of multiculturalism are

entrenched not only in the dynamic interplay between language and religion but also in the social inequalities linked with cultural repertoires and institutions, which I define as a recognition gap. In Montréal, inequalities are often revealed when religiously different newcomers appeared on the scene across generations. Yet, the complex picture of North African Jews with their in-betweenness in Québec, as discussed above, concurrently reduced social inequality through a cultural process paving the way for their recognition. This comparative overview in two host societies only details continuing negotiations that immigrants face over incorporation in a liberal multicultural society like Canada. In the next part, I focus on the encounter between the participants and their coreligionists in the broad historical ark that I take in Toronto. By providing an historical contextualization, it draws on secondary historical sources from a selection of North American literature that helps formulate the question of how this encounter relates to the current context in Canada. The historical contextualization of this encounter from a selective and relatively abundant literature on the Jewish migration from Ottoman lands, the Middle East, and North Africa to the United States, is offered only for acknowledging how it relates to the empirical findings discussed in Toronto, and especially, differs from the historical sources I use, for the case in Québec.

### 7.4. Inter Jewish Relations: North African and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation vis-à-vis Ashkenazim in Canada

The meaning of Sephardic identity can be explored distinctively in different contexts, situations, places, and times with diverse actors involved (Lehmann 2008). As Joseph M. Papo stated the way "in which they have experienced America must be taken into account" (Papo 1986, xvi). Unlike Ashkenazi Jews from Eastern, Western and Central Europe, Sephardic Jews form a small minority of the Jewish population in Canada (Anctil 2011). 22,225 Sephardic Jews live in Québec, constituting 24.5% of the 90,780 Jews living in this province (Shahar 2015).

In final section of this chapter, I discuss the encounter between these two groups in the broad historical ark that I take and then my empirical study in Canada through the interplay of language and religion. By providing an historical contextualization, it draws on secondary historical sources from a selection of North American literature that helps formulate the question of how this encounter relates to the current context in Canada. The historical contextualization of this encounter from the abundant literature on the Jewish migration from Ottoman lands, the Middle East, and North Africa to the United States, is offered only for acknowledging how it relates to the empirical findings discussed in Canada, and especially, differs from the historical sources I use here, for the case in Québec. It shows that the ethnocentric prism comprised of cultural, linguistic, and traditional differences between these two groups and their relations in Toronto are the analytical tools that decisively help us understand this encounter.

*Historicizing the Encounter*

The first Sephardic migration to Canada dates back to the eighteenth century. Following the Inquisitions in the Iberian Peninsula, some of the Castilian Jews, namely "Western" or "Old" Sephardim, had immigrated to England and the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A number of these exiles left Britain, settling in Montréal in 1760. Affiliated with the Sephardic congregation Shearith Israel of London, this group of British families of Sephardic origin founded the first Jewish synagogue in Canada in 1768, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue of Montréal.

By contrast, "Eastern Sephardim" are the Jews who went in exile to the Ottoman Empire, North Africa, and the Middle East rather than the Netherlands and England in the fifteenth century. Unlike the Eastern Sephardim who relocated to various places such as North Africa, there were

native, non-Sephardic or "indigenous" Jews who later began to live with the post-expelled Jews in these places. Following the decolonization in North Africa, a substantial number of Sephardic immigrated to Canada, particularly to Québec. The majority of the North African and Turkish Jewish immigration to Canada took place during the 1950s and 1970s. As we've seen, whereas francophone North African Jews understandably chose Montréal as their destination, most of the hispanophone Jews from northern Morocco and Turkey settled in Toronto (Cohen 1989).

Following the World War I, territorial disintegration coupled with the Balkan wars, and a series of natural disasters led to a major Sephardic exodus from the Ottoman Empire and its subsequent nations to the United States in the early twentieth century (Ben–Ur 2012, 2002). How can we understand these immigrants' relations with their coreligionists in the early years of their settlement both in the United States and Canada? Or, how different North American pluralist contexts help us grasp identity formation of these immigrants vis-à-vis Ashkenazim through the interplay between language and religion? To answer these questions through my empirical work in the next sub-section, here, I first go back to early twentieth century and show Ottoman Jews' encounter with Ashkenazim in the United States.

Gary A. Tobin, Scott Rubin and Dianne Tobin, in the edited book *In Every Tongue: The Racial & Ethnic Diversity of the Jewish People,* use the term "benign ignorance" indicating the individuals who think that Jews are neither racially nor ethnically diverse (Tobin et al. 2005). By contrast, according to historian Aviva Ben-Ur, with the passing of the 1924 Immigration Act, the Balkan Wars and World War I in the early twentieth century, a time when Sephardic Jews – mostly Ottoman – immigrated to the United States, there was "a denial of shared ethnicity and religion (whereby Ashkenazim failed to recognize Sephardim as fellow Jews)" (Ben–Ur 2012, 2). Consequently, when Jews emigrated from some Ottoman cities to the United States, with other Sephardim, such as North African, Iraqi or Egyptian, having specific cultural denominators, they

comprised the periphery of the Western Sephardim in America. For North African Jews who immigrated to Canada, this was also the case. Approximately fifteen thousand French-speaking Jews came to Montréal following decolonization in North Africa. Indeed, the mobilization of Canadian Ashkenazi Jewish organizations made the North African Jewish immigration to Canada possible by negotiating with the Canadian government (Messika 2020). Although originating from different regions, their cultural and vernacular linguistic characteristics (Ladino, Judeo–Arabic, Spanish and French) made them unique (Miles 2007) and "marked them in the minds of Ashkenazic leaders more as gentiles than as Jews" (Ben–Ur 2012, 125). The trajectories of the Ottoman Jews settled in the United States after World War I did not share the same trajectories with North African Jews who settled in Canada in the second half of the twentieth century, even though both groups shared this collective movement experience. Therefore, different pluralist contexts in the United States and Canada explain their decision to immigrate, which is connected to the linguistic pluralism of the two countries. While Ladino-speaking Ottoman Jews immigrated to the United States before the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, hispanophone northern Moroccan and Ladino-speaking Turkish Jews settled in an Anglo city, Toronto, in Canada. Most of the francophone North African Jews, as mentioned above, understandably chose Montréal as their destination. As such, unlike Toronto and the United States, the context in Montréal shows us the salience of French language, which is tantamount to understanding Canadian pluralism (Tulchinsky 2018).

In the United States, Joseph M. Papo realized that "the mode of life of the Sephardim from the Ottoman Empire was so alien to the Ashkenazim that they had the difficulty of accepting them as Jews" during the early twentieth century (Papo 1986, 43). As Papo further demonstrated in his book, Ashkenazi residents of New York's Lower East Side, which "was home to one of the largest populations of Ottoman-born Jews in the world," (Naar 2015, 176) "petitioned the Mayor to

remove the ‘Turks’ in our midst because of the disturbances they were creating” (Papo 1986, 43). Papo showed that “when the residents learned that the ‘Turks’ were in reality Sephardi Jews, they withdrew the petition” (Ibid.). In the historical periodical *La America*, the first Ladino newspaper published in the United States between 1910 and 1925 (Angel 1982), the editor of the journal, Moishe Gadol, an Ottoman Jew from Bulgaria, expressed resentment because of the interactions he observed between Jews from the Ottoman Empire and established Jews, like German and Polish who were also ethnically diverse. He argued that there was a high level of unemployment among Ottoman Jews who were not believed to be Jews by “mainstream” Jews (Naar 2015).

In the journal called *La Bos de Pueblo* journal, on the other hand, Ben–Ur mentions that there was a survival strategy that Ottoman Jews formed by writing (Ben–Ur 2012, 139). Maurice Nessim, a Salonican Jew, argued in a column that Ashkenazic periodicals took advantage of the weakness of Ottoman Jews. According to the established Jewish community, the newcomers from the Ottoman Empire and successor states displayed “strange” cultural habits and spoke alien languages, e.g., Ladino, Turkish, Arabic and Greek. Hence, they “gesticulated wildly, smoked *nargile* (the water pipe), drank thick coffee out of tiny cups and played *tavla* (backgammon) all day long at their cafes” (Naar 2015, 186; Auerbach 1916, 47–53). While for Ottoman Jews, the wearing of a fez represented their sympathy for the Ottoman legacy (Stein 2006) and their loyalty to it, it symbolized the ‘backward Orient’ and the ‘Terrible Turk’ in the United States, and so had to be removed (Naar 2015, 203).

After World War II in the United States, it is possible to observe a rapprochement, such as through inter marriages between Ashkenazim and Sephardim (Angel 1982, Papo 1986, Angel 1973), a failure of recognition (Ben–Ur 2012) can still be detected from secondary sources. They reveal the relations between the two by putting non-Ashkenazim clustered around the periphery of Jewishness in the United States and Canada. Whereas most of the francophone North African Jews

immigrated to France, Israel and Canada following the decolonization, there are also a small number of Iraqi and Egyptian Jews who headed to Canada and the United States during this time. In her article, for example, Nadia Malinovich shows how some Jews, not only from Morocco but also from Egypt, disliked the ignorance of the Ashkenazi Jews who clustered them into the category of 'backward' people upon their arrival in postwar America (Malinovich 2016).

In Québec, on the other hand, historical documents in archival sources from the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada reveal how North African Jewish women were orientalized during the council's reception of them in the twentieth century (Cohen and Néméh-Nombré 2019). In Québec, "North African" was later replaced by the term "Sephardi" which accentuated the earliest and mythic side of the community. The term granted North African Jews to declare their identity against the anglophone and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jews (Cohen 2013, 174).

*Canadian Moroccan and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation vis-à-vis Ashkenazim in Toronto*

With the temporal shift occurring from the 1910s of New York to the time I conducted my interviews in the 2020s, there have been both continuities as well as ruptures in the relations between these two groups in Canada. Language becomes more salient with all its complexity as a result of the intercommunal dynamics in Québec. The context in Toronto, however, remaining similar to the relations that I historically demonstrated in the United States, allows for rethinking of Canadian pluralism. In contrast to the Sephardic Jewry in the United States and outside of Québec in North America where they live as a minority group within English-speaking gentiles as well as English and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, francophone Sephardic Jews living in Québec have a distinctive position. Indeed, the linguistic dimension of North African Jews in Montréal, associated with a specific province, puts them in an unparalleled setting. They are in a position of

locating themselves between Ashkenazim to whom they are linked as Jews yet linguistically foreign and post-Catholic Franco-Québécois to whom they are linguistically connected yet religiously alien. Hence, francophone North African Jews I interviewed in Québec found themselves navigating their difference between the Franco-Québécois and the English or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim. Unlike in Montréal, the absence of linguistic dimension that is unique to Québec generates less complexity in the relations between Ashkenazim and Sephardim in Toronto. Moroccan and Turkish Jews I interviewed in Toronto do not find themselves navigating their difference between Anglo Gentiles and Ashkenazim. Consequently, my interviewees located in two Canadian cities reconstruct their identities vis-à-vis Ashkenazim differently.

Born and raised in Istanbul, Nissim stressed that his Canadian-Polish wife's grandmother did not believe that he was Jewish when he was first introduced to her. He told that she said, "Wait a minute! Turkey? Who is this Turkish guy? What kind of a Jew is Nissim? He doesn't speak a word of Yiddish." Originally from Tangier, another interviewee who immigrated to Canada with his family in 1957 claimed that some Ashkenazi Jews in Toronto considered him not being a hard worker person (Ülgen 2022). Another interviewee, who immigrated to Canada from Tangier in the 1960s, emphasized ethnocentric views in relation to linguistic and cultural differences in encounters with Ashkenazi Jews:

> We don't speak Yiddish . . . Over the years, I have never seen a close relationship between my family and the Ashkenazi community. It's another community . . . Once, with some friends, I went to an Israeli restaurant here in Toronto. The waiter asked me something in Yiddish. I did not understand. I said, "Please, speak English." And he said to me, "What? Don't you speak Yiddish? But are you a Jew?" I said, "Yes," but I said "I am a Sephardic Jew. I can speak Spanish, but I cannot speak Yiddish." He didn't believe it and told me, "You are not really a Jew." (laughs). He was very disappointed (also quoted in Ülgen 2022) (My translation.) [39]

[39] Some part of this interview, like the subsequent one, was conducted in French.

Ninety-two years old Manuel, whose wife was an Ashkenazi Jew, told the following story taking place in Toronto:

> I don't speak Yiddish. Sephardic Jews do not speak the Yiddish. It's the mixture of Polish, German . . . We Sephardic Jews, we don't speak this language because we didn't live in Poland. What we learned is Hebrew . . . So my real name in Hebrew is Shalom. When I came, I spoke with someone, he said to me "Are you Italian?" I said "No, I'm not Italian. I'm Jewish." He said "Are you Jewish?" All of a sudden, he started talking to me in Yiddish . . . I was telling him; I don't understand what you're saying. He said to me "so, you're not Jewish." At that time, my English was not very good. I said "Me, no speak Yiddish. Speak Hebrew." "Hebrew. Oh. You understand" (laughs). Him, he didn't speak Hebrew.
>
> My wife was Ashkenazi. I knew her, my name is Manuel. I told her I was Jewish, she said "I'm fine." We had an appointment . . . I don't know when . . . I arrived her place with my car outside . . . When she came back, her father said to her "Who are you hanging out with? Is he Italian? She said "no, he's a Jew." . . . So, a few days later, I went to take her from home. I knocked on the door . . . Her mother spoke to me in Yiddish . . . But I did not understand Yiddish. I left . . . The third time I went her father was waiting for me in the living room. He told me "I want to speak with you." He said to me "Are you Jewish?" I said "Yes." "How come your name is Manuel, Italian?" I said "No, I'm Jewish." And he started to speak with me in Yiddish. I said, I don't understand. He said "What?" I said "Excuse me, you have a book of prayer, Jewish?" He said "Yes." So, he calls his wife. "Ruthie, Ruthie, bring the book." (laughs). She brings the book. She gives it to me. I said "No, give it to him." I said "Open the book." And I told him "What is in the book in Hebrew?" He said "Oh, Ruthie. He is a Jew." (My translation.)

While recounting the encounter between two groups through intermarriage, Ava, on the other hand, depicted inter Jewish relations in Israel during the early years of their settlement in Toronto. Indeed, as a result of the escalation of Arab-Israel conflict and the establishment of the state of Israel, Middle Eastern and North African Jews, or people who are called Mizrahi Jews in Israel, faced discrimination and prejudice following their migration. In the 1950s and 1960s of Israel, one's ethnic background was important in determining who would have political affiliations, employment, and access to housing. Whereas Mizrahi Jews had decent jobs, properties and belonged to the middle and upper classes in their country of origin, in Israel, they were deprived of housing and job opportunities, and lacked nutrition and adequate health care (Bashkin 2017). In

Ava's accounts, like in Montréal, we see how relations between two groups in Israel affected inter-Jewish relations in Toronto:

> The Moroccan community here, the Jewish community started to go to Israel. The Ashkenazi community started to go to Israel. The Ashkenazim who were well-off would be able to go and visit Israel. And the Moroccans had a very bad time in Israel then, at that time. They were looked down upon in Israel, they were discriminated upon. So, when they would come back here, they didn't want their kids to go out with Moroccan kids. Because they came with the mindset of what they learned in Israel of Moroccan Jews. If you had a boyfriend, you know getting along really nice, like my older sister for example, and his mother came from a trip in Israel, and she said to him "you have to break up with that girl. We don't want Moroccans." So, we faced a lot of discrimination at the time from Ashkenazi, who looked down on us. Because at the time, we were not at the same place economically. We were not in the same place in education because we were all trying to learn the language (English). And a lot of mothers went to work in factories, so a lot of fathers because not all of them had the time to go and learn English and continue what they were doing in Morocco. So, for them, it was a huge sacrifice. My mother-in-law, she worked at factory and still took care of eight kids at home . . . hard work . . . A lot of people went through a very big traumatic change and their kids in the Jewish community were not well looked upon you know.

David also pictured inter Jewish relations in Toronto through the encounter between two groups in Israel in the 1950s:

> There was a lot of discrimination I think based on very bad reputation that Moroccan Jews had when they emigrated in the 50s to Israel . . . Ashkenazi Jews viewed them as pariahs of the society. So, I remember that as a young guy dating an Ashkenazi young woman you needed to be cautious because sometimes the reactions of the parents on the Ashkenazi side would be "Oh, my daughter is going out with a Moroccan Jew" and they would say "Morocco *sakin*," which means "Morocco knife" because they associated the Moroccan Jews that they knew of or heard of in Israel that they would put a knife to rob or . . . So, there was a little bit of that. But that has totally vanished, completely gone. As you know, Jewish families are only happy when they marry within the community. So, if you're an Iraqi Jew, you're Sephardic or Ashkenazi . . . which in fact couldn't mean that it could be a successful marriage because the stakes are there that divorce happens in every community, perhaps in the same levels as the overall country.

Beyond the question of intercommunal discrimination, the linguistic aspect of these relationships shows us how some francophone Jewish individuals negotiated the broader politics of language and nationalism with the majority in Québec. In Toronto, however, participants' relations with

Ashkenazim do not create a rapprochement with English Canadians through language resulting in a spatial recognition gap. Marco's accounts on how Moroccan Jewish kids in a Jewish school in Toronto had been discriminated against by Ashkenazim since they were not selected for any function in the school as follows:

> Here the relation is completely different. Another world! In Montreal, they are very much involved in the community. In Toronto, unfortunately and I'm one to blame as well. Unfortunately, all we concentrated was to build synagogues. Period. We did not get involved in the community at large. That's why, I can tell you if you ask me how many people work for the Jewish community of Sephardic origin in Toronto; I would tell you no more than three! And the reason is our fault first of all because we did not really get into those departments. Number two, I must say yes, there was some discrimination. Yes, there was some discrimination . . . As a matter of fact, I tell you that in 1982, I remember because I was the president of the synagogue. A young boy who used to come to our activities came up to me, I still remember his name: Robert. He came to me and said "Marco, can you do something about it?" I said, "What is it?" He said, "Could you please, you know, in school". He was going to a religious school [Ashkenazi]. "In school, we never . . ." Moroccans, I mean this is the third generation . . . "We Moroccans are never selected for anything . . . we are always left out and I think it's because we are Sephardic and not only that we always put aside." So, I went to that school and I said, "I'd like to speak to the principle." "Ok. Who are you?" "I am Marco, and I am the president of synagogue [Sephardic] and I'd like to speak to the principle." "One moment please." Comes back. Said "Ok, come in." I sat down and I said "Mr. Weinberg," that was his name. "Mr. Weinberg, I'd like to know why there's a lot of kids here Sephardic origin and I'd like to know why some kids are complaining, all of them complaining, that they never never selected for any function that this, the school is going to do . . . even though they've been here for years and they felt discriminated." Oh, when he heard the word "discrimination" "No! My school is not discriminating against anybody!" I said, "Why don't you give me an answer?" "Mr., I want you to leave my office right now." And I said, "with all your respect rabbi. I will not leave this office until you give me an explanation or if you want you can call the police and let them arrest me." Yeah yeah, because once they would arrest me, it will be all over the newspaper. And then . . . At the end of the conversation in that office when the rabbi Weinberg saw that I was very serious that I wanted an answer here. He said "Ok. Let's settle down and sit down and we're gonna do our best so that we can include the kids" blablabla. So, by him telling me that, he's accepting that there was discrimination . . . So, as far as other community, our community no. Until now, we don't have anything like Montreal has. Montreal has a senior home. Montreal has . . . you know they are very much involved in the Jewish community at large. In Montreal there are a lot of professionals in the Sephardic community . . . here people did not get involved in general. And in the long run, we lost. We don't even encourage our young generation. So, that's a problem.

The Montréal diaspora is a great example of a Jewish identity that does not map onto a narrower ethnic and linguistic axis than is often pictured. In the texts written between 1954 and 1968, as discussed in Chapter 6, the Bulletin of the Jewish Circle aimed to culturally integrate French-speaking Jews into the Franco-Québécois culture. It wished to hamper anglicization of the community within English and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim and claimed that French-speaking Jews, substantially North African, could keep their religion among Ashkenazim while linguistically associating with the Franco-Québécois in Québec. For the editors of the Bulletin, reconciling these two claims, that are linguistic and religious, meant a "dual integration" of the French-speaking Jews in Québec (Croteau 2000, 145, Ülgen 2022). Unlike in Montréal, since everyone speaks English in Toronto, however, Moroccan and Turkish Jewish interviewees do not find themselves in a complex setting where they feel the need to navigate their difference between Ashkenazim and English Canadians. The relations of the two coreligionists in the narratives encouraged me to analyze their encounters through an ethnocentric prism subsuming linguistic (Ladino, Judeo-Arabic, Spanish and French for Sephardim, and Yiddish and English for Ashkenazim), traditional, as well as cultural variations of the two groups. By the relational contexts within which they enter, these interviewees respond to their situation by recalling ethnocentric dynamics of those encounters which is tantamount to grasping Canadian pluralism. Consequently, narratives relating to internal linguistic, cultural and traditional differences between the two groups become the veracity of ethnocentric views projected upon the interviewees by their coreligionists.

It is possible to see similarities as historical continuities taken from the existing literature in the relations between the two in the United States and narratives of my interviewees in Toronto. Yet, in Québec, what we observe presents a unique context, different from the United States and Toronto, where language turns to be a prominent identity marker helping us understand complex intercommunal relations leading to a recognition and rapprochement with the Franco-Québécois

among first-generation North African Jewish immigrants. As such, what narratives of the participants both in Montréal and Toronto epitomize is linguistic and religious pluralism with all of its complexity through difference in Canada.

## 7.5. Conclusion

This chapter first focused on interviewees' relations with English Canadians and some Euro-descendant people in Toronto through the lens of language and discussed how language determined immigrants' lower level of inclusion in the early years of their settlement in Toronto. The group that I referred to as majority constituted the English Canadians, and to a certain extent, some European descendant people, who, along with East and South Asians and Black people, according to the 2021 census, made up one of the most common ancestry groups in Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2021). In the second part, I explored the ethnoreligious identity of eleven hispanophone Moroccan Jewish participants in the 1960s and post-1970s following Canada's adoption of multicultural policy. Drawing on stories relating to some antisemitic events taking place before and after Canada's adoption of multicultural policy, in this part, I argued that in contrast to the antisemitic environment in post-Catholic Québec, participants did not find themselves navigating their difference between the English Canadians and English or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim in Toronto.

The third part examined how multiculturalism encouraged immigrants to maintain their identities separately by concretizing differences between groups rather than fostering a shared national identity. Within the empirical findings of my research, I showed how Moroccan and Turkish Jews in Toronto solidified the borders with the majority group and developed a sense of commonality among themselves. In Toronto, since they did not find themselves navigating their difference between English Canadians and anglophone or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim,

borrowing the term from Michèle Lamont, I stressed that there has been "recognition gap" between the participants and the majority in Toronto. Finally, in the fourth part, I looked into participants' identity formation in Toronto with respect to their encounter with Ashkenazi Jews in dialogue with the identity that North African Jews reconstructed in Montréal. I studied these encounters by exploring the vigorous interplay between language and religion, all of which equally paved the way for an exploration of Canadian pluralism.

## Chapter 8

# CONCLUSION

My goal in this dissertation has been to compare the sense of belonging of North African and Turkish Jewish immigrants through the interplay of language and religion in Montréal and Toronto. I wanted to better understand how their lived experiences differed from one another and what that said about multiculturalism and interculturalism in Canada. I asked how societal particularities of the two cities embedded in the processes of negotiating the difference and created a complex relation between language and religion. I further asked how relations between participants and the majority groups and inter and intra Jewish relations formed and transformed in these processes.

Chapter 1 looked at the nature of Jewish identity in the Canadian context which provided a background to the interview segment. It first discussed the position of Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish immigrants and presented the literature review on Sephardic Jews in Canada. I then provided an overview of the literature review on belonging in Canada enabling to situate the experiences of the participants, and how their divergent relationships of belonging have played out since their arrival to Canada.

Chapter 2 outlined my methods of data collection, recruitment and processes for recording and interpreting interviews. It specified how I went about conducting the life-story interviews and presented the number of participants, birth year, place of birth, gender, year of immigration, current place of settlement in Canada, and to which generation they belong. I addressed my positionality as a researcher through the categories of representation and self-reflexivity and later detailed the stages of data analysis. In Chapter 3, I presented the concepts that I used to analyze my empirical

findings and sought to define "belonging" in the Canadian context as it was conveyed by my participants in Chapters 6 and 7. When I talked about religion, I referred to it aided by the concept of cultural religion. I made the case for using it as an operative term and showed how religion and language interacted and contributed to the process of boundary making in Canada.

Chapter 4 historically contextualized the lived experiences of my participants. I focused on the Quiet Revolution and post-Quiet Revolution periods in Canada and presented contentious issues arising from religious and ethnocultural diversity, which tended to be more pronounced in Québec than in Ontario. I argued that the specific historical trajectories of these provinces and their relationships towards minorities made it possible to better understand the narratives of my participants and the links they forged with their respective host cities. Seen in this light, the lived experiences of North African Jews in Québec offered an illustration of rich conceptual explanations on religion discussed in Chapter 3, that were absent in Ontario. I then introduced the normative parameters of Canadian multiculturalism and interculturalism and the way it shaped the identity formation of Canadian North African and Turkish Jews. In Chapter 5, I described the historical backdrop to my participants' countries of origin and their responses to a series of events, nationalism, education system, broader framework of forces for change pertaining to foreign policy and its impact on internal domestic politics through Zionism and decolonization in Morocco and Turkey.

Chapter 6 explored the complex relationship between language and religion in Québec through the narratives of my participants' relation to Franco-Québécois and their coreligionists, Ashkenazim. I argued that while navigating their difference between Ashkenazim and Franco-Quebecois through language, first-generation North African Jews made a rapprochement with the majority culture and concurrently developed a conflictual relation with their coreligionists resulting in the recognition of their community through the practice of interculturalism. I showed how

linguistic identification of the first-generation francophone North African Jews became more salient than their religious identification enabling access to various cultural institutions in Montréal due to existence of a complex intercommunal relation. Yet, for the younger participants who tend to be more conversant in English than their parents, I observed that their religious identification trumped their linguistic identification in Montréal, making them more outspoken about their feelings of exclusion in the city.

In Chapter 7, I discussed the majority-minority relation in Toronto through the lens of language, power relations of othering, inter and intra Jewish relations, and practice of multiculturalism. Throughout the chapter, the group I referred to as majority were English Canadians, and to a certain extent, some European descendant people, who, according to the 2021 census, constitute one of the most common ancestry groups in Toronto, along with East and South Asians and Black people. Since hispanophone Jewish intercommunal relations did not create a rapprochement with the majority culture through language while they were navigating their difference between English Canadians/ European descendant individuals and anglophone or Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, I argued that this situation led to the emergence of a recognition gap. More specifically, because they did not find themselves being caught between anglophone Ashkenazim and the majority as hispanophone Jewish immigrants through language, I used the term *spatial* recognition gap to show prevailing cultural institutional incompleteness of the community in Toronto.

The stories I relate in this thesis clearly demonstrate the centrality of language and religion and the role of interesting patterns of inclusion and exclusion in shaping the lived experiences of North African and Turkish Jewish immigrants in Canada. In so doing, I sought to contribute to the understanding of the relationship between language and religion and bring its complexity to the fore, especially in Québec. In my empirical study, North African Jews in Québec found themselves

in a complex setting while navigating their difference through the interplay of language and religion. In this setting, intercommunal relations led to the recognition of the community, on the one hand, and low level of sense of belonging among younger generations, on the other, whose religious identification became more pronounced than their linguistic identification.

Given the fact that most of my interviewees were secular, the term religion I examined aimed at understanding its salience in "post-secular" age in Canada. My interview subjects believe in God, but they also keep a certain distance from the teachings of religious doctrines. For instance, rather than attending the services of a synagogue frequently, they mostly live their religion within family and friend circles by claiming widespread skepticism about the theology and religious morality. Yet, they declare faith in God, state that they belong to a confession, and do identify with a synagogue as a source of comfort in the case of future need.

Participants' encounter with post-Catholic Franco-Québécois, English Canadians, and to a certain extent, Euro-descendant people indicate a society whose culture informed by Christian faith. In this society or civilization whereby Charles Taylor names via the term "Christendom", a group identity can become more pronounced among non-Christians, e.g., Muslims, Hindus or Jews, who feel their difference from the majority religion. The "end" of religion has not taken place yet, whether it takes place through secularization or dechristianization. It is rather, as E.-Martin Meunier calls for the case of Québec, exculturation, characterized by a change in the relations between a culture and a dominant religion, where old cultural codes are reappropriated toward new purposes. Seen in this light, there is a silent anthropological transformation heralding the end of a specific historical moment where culture and religion comes into existence in the same project.

Although English Canadians and Franco-Québécois have taken a distance from attending churches, they have not broken off completely their relations with churches. As Taylor emphasizes, people constituting the majority in western societies "still retain some of the beliefs of Christianity,

for instance, and/or they retain some nominal tie with the church, still identify in some way with it: they will reply, say, to a poll by saying that they are Anglican, or Catholic" (Taylor 2007, 518). Western societies' past cannot be erased from their Christian culture as it is hard to deny history. It is at this point I suggest that the omnipresent cultural expression of Christendom needs to be thought deeply to capture the underlying dynamic of this thing which we call religion in western democracies like Canada. Based on the interview data I gathered, I showed that it is indeed hard to think of complete loss of religion since it doesn't disappear or decline entirely in the narratives of the interviewees. It remains powerful in memory and hence, it is possible to think about its mutation whose presence continues to be challenged in new forms in the post-secular age that we currently live in.

North African and Turkish Jews' recent migratory experience compared to their coreligionists, Ashkenazim, and the ways in which they reconstruct their identity demonstrated interesting patters of inclusion and exclusion through the interplay of language and religion in Canada. The narratives I unpacked in this dissertation from the participants' lived experiences in Montréal and Toronto gave rise to complexity, recognition, and recognition gap as a result of intercommunal relations and institutional practices. As such, I argued that stories revealing their sense of belonging in the process of boundary making helped us understand Canadian pluralism thoroughly because of participants' unique relationships to the two host cities.

As I indicated in the methodology chapter, I do not claim to have reached a *complete* saturation of my empirical data in this dissertation. I might only accomplish it in terms of certain elements, such as the wave of immigration, generation, and ethnic and linguistic origin of the participants. Viewed in this perspective, researching Canadian Sephardic Jewish immigrants originating from countries such as Algeria, Egypt, Iraqi etc., would provide new pathways for future research. Furthermore, delving into Muslim-Sephardic Jewish relations or Sephardic Jews'

relations with other ethnic, cultural or national groups like Indigenous Peoples and Black people in North America might be an interesting research subject for future scholarship.

The definition of religion and its salience in post-secular age can be investigated more profoundly in western societies where the hegemony of secularization continues to be challenged, indicating the enigmatic relation between religion and secularism. Further research on the relationship between interculturalism and multiculturalism, on the one hand, and language and religion, on the other, across different racial and ethnic groups and generations in Canada or in other multicultural societies may detect additional patterns of learning.

# BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abella, Irving M. and Harold M. Troper. 1983. *None is Too Many: Canada and the Jews of Europe 1933-1948,* Lester & Orpen Dennys.

Abu-Laban, Yasmeen. 2014. "Citizenship and Foreignness in Canada," in *Routledge Handbook of Global Citizenship Studies,* edited by Isin, F. Engin & Peter Nyers, Routledge, 274-283.

Ademolu, Edward. 2023. "Birds of a feather (don't always) flock together: Critical reflexivity of 'Outsiderness' as an 'Insider' doing qualitative research with one's 'Own People.'" *Qualitative Research,* 0(0): 1-23.

Aktürk, Şener. 2020. "Comparative Politics of Exclusion in Europe and the Americas: Religious, Sectarian, and Racial Boundary Making since the Reformation." *Comparative Politics* 52 (4): 695–719.

———. 2021. "Nationalism and Religion in Comparative Perspective: A New Typology of National-Religious Configurations," *Nationalities Papers*: 1-14.

Alba, Richard. 2005. "Bright vs. blurred boundaries: Second-generation assimilation and exclusion in France, Germany, and the United States," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 28 (1): 20-49.

Alroey, Gur. 2011. *Bread to Eat and Clothes to Wear: Letters from Jewish Migrants in the Early Twentieth Century.* Detroit: Wayne State University Press.

Anctil, Pierre. 1984. "Double majorité et multiplicité ethnoculturelle à Montréal," *Recherches Sociographiques,* 25: 441–456.

———. 2011. "A Community in Transition: The Jews of Montréal," *Contemporary Jewry* 31 (3): 225–45.

———. 2011. "Introduction," In *Religion, culture, and the state: reflections on the Bouchard-Taylor report*, edited by Howard Adelman and Pierre Anctil, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 3-15.

———. 2021. *Antijudaïsme et influence nazie au Québec: Le cas du journal L'Action catholique (1931-1939),* Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal.

Angel, Marc. 1973. "The Sephardim of the United States: An Exploratory Study," *The American Jewish Year Book* (74), 77–138.

———. 1982. *La America: The Sephardic Experience in the United States*, Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America.

Appleby, Joyce, Lynn Avery Hunt, and Margaret C Jacob. 1995. *Telling the Truth about History*. New York: London: W.W. Norton.

Aslan, Senem. 2007. "“Citizen, Speak Turkish!”: A Nation in the Making," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 13 (2): 245-272.

Atkinson, Robert. 2002. "The Life Story Interview," In *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method*, edited by Gubrium, Jaber F, and James A. Holstein, London: SAGE, 121-140.

Auerbach, Samuel. 1916. "The Levantine Jew," *Immigrants in America,* Review 2.2: 47-53.

Bakht, Natasha. 2008. *Belonging and Banishment: Being Muslim in Canada*. Toronto: TSAR.

Backhouse, Constance. 2010. "Anti-Semitism and the Law in Québec City: The *Plamondon* Case, 1910-15," In *Transformations in American Legal History-Law, Ideology, and Methods; Essays in Honor of Morton J. Horwitz,* edited by Daniel W. Hamilton and Alfred L. Brophy, Cambridge: Harvard Law School, 303-325.

Bali, Rifat. 2014. *Model Citizens of the State: The Jews of Turkey during the Multi-Party Period,* Fairleigh Dickinson University Press.

Banting, Keith, Stuart Soroka and Richard Johnston. 2007. "Ties That Bind? Social Cohesion and Diversity in Canada," In *Belonging?: Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, edited by Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene, and F. Leslie Seidle, Montréal: Institute for Research on Public Policy/ Institut de recherche en politiques publiques.

Banting, Keith, and Stuart Soroka. 2012. "Minority Nationalism and Immigrant Integration in Canada." *Nations and Nationalism,* 18 (January): 156–76.

Barth, Fredrik. 1969. *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Barrette, G., et R. Y. Bourhis. 2004. "La gestion de la diversité culturelle en emploi: Les outils de la recherche actuelle," In *La diversité culturelle dans les institutions publiques québécoises : Où en sommes-nous à l'UQAM? Cahier des conférences et séminaires scientifiques*, no. 9, ed. R. Y. Bourhis, 77-99. Montréal: Chaire Concordia-UQAM en études ethniques.

Bashir, Bashir, and Will Kymlicka. 2012. *The Politics of Reconciliation in Multicultural Societies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bashkin, Orit. *Impossible Exodus: Iraqi Jews in Israel,* Stanford University Press.

Becker, Howard S. 1998. *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think about Your Research While You're Doing It*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Bélanger, Claude. 2000. “Ultramontane Nationalism: 1840-1960,” *Quebec History* (Marianopolis College, Montréal), http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/events/natpart3.htm

Bellah, Robert N. 1967. “Civil Religion in America,” *Daedalus,* 96(1): 1-21.

Belotto, Michael J. 2018. “Data Analysis Methods for Qualitative Research: Managing the Challenges of Coding, Interrater Reliability, and Thematic Analysis,” *The Qualitative Report*, 23(11): 2622-2633.

Benbassa, Esther and Aron Rodrigue. 2000. *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community, 14th-20th Centuries,* University of California Press.

Ben-Ur, Aviva. 2012. *Sephardic Jews in America: A Diasporic History*. New York: New York University Press.

Berdugo-Cohen, Marie, Yolande Cohen and Joseph Levy. 1987. *Juifs marocains à Montréal: témoignages d’une immigration moderne,* VLB Éditeur.

Blattberg, Charles. 2003. *Shall We Dance?: A Patriotic Politics for Canada*. Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

———. 2021 [2009]. “Federalism and Multinationalism,” In *Patriotic Elaborations: Essays in Practical Philosophy*. Montreal and Kingston, 79-90.

Blaustein, Esther I., Rachel A. Esar and Evelyn Miller. 1970. “Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue (Shearith Israel) Montreal, 1768—1968,” *Jewish Historical Society of England*, vol. 23, 111–142.

Bloch, Marc. 1999. *Réflexions d’un historien sur les fausses nouvelles de la guerre,* Éditions Allia.

Bloemraad, Irene, Anna Korteweg, and Gökçe Yurdakul. 2008. “Citizenship and Immigration: Multiculturalism, Assimilation, and Challenges to the Nation-State.” *Annual Review of Sociology* 34 (1): 153–79.

Bloemraad, Irene. 2015. “Theorizing and Analyzing Citizenship in Multicultural Societies,” *The Sociological Quarterly*, 56 (4): 591-606.

Bonotti, Matteo, Nina Carlsson, and Colin W. Rowe. 2022. “Introduction: Linguistic Justice, Migration and the Nation-State,” *Nations and Nationalism* 28(2): 379– 86.

Bouchard, Gérard. 2000. “Les rapports avec la communauté juive: un test pour la nation québécoise,” In *Juifs et Canadien français dans la société québécoise,* edited by Pierre Anctil, Ira Robinson & Gérard Bouchard, Sillery (Québec), Septentrion, 13-31.

———. 2015. *Interculturalism: A View from Quebec*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Bouchard, Gérard and Charles Taylor. 2008. *Building the Future: A Time for Reconciliation.* Report to the Consultation Commission on Accommodation Practices Related to Cultural Differences. Québec: Government of Québec.

Boudarbat, Brahim, Marie Connolly. 2013. "Évolution de l'accès à l'emploi et des conditions de travail des immigrants au Québec, en Ontario et en Colombie-Britannique entre 2006 et 2012," CIRANO Working Papers, 2013s-28, CIRANO.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1979. *Distinction, critique sociale du jugement*, Éditions de Minuit, Paris (1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge).

Bourhis, Richard Y., Annie Montreuil, Denis Helly, and Lorna Jantzen. (2007). "Discrimination et linguicisme au Québec : Enquête sur la diversité ethnique au Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 39(1-2): 31-49.

Bozdoğan Sibel and Esra Akcan. *Turkey: Modern Architectures in History*, University of Chicago Press.

Braudel, Fernand. 2013. "Appendix: History and the Social Sciences," In *Longue Durée and World-Systems Analysis*, edited by Richard E. Lee, State University of New York Press, 241-276.

Breton, Charles. 2015. "Making national identity salient: Impact on attitudes toward immigration and multiculturalism," *Canadian Journal of Political Science,* 48(2): 357-381.

Breton, Raymond. 1964. "The Institutional Completeness of Ethnic Communities and the Personal Relations of Immigrants," *American Journal of Sociology*, 70 (2): 193-205.

———. 1988. "From Ethnic to Civic Nationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 11 (1): 85–102.

Brown, Michael. 1987. *Jew or Juif? Jews, French Canadians, and Anglo- Canadians, 1759–1914,* Jewish Pub Society.

———. 2011. "Steps Forward and Steps Backward: Toronto Jewry at the Beginning of the Second Decade of the Twenty-First Century", in *Canada's Jews: In Time, Space and Spirit,* edited by Ira Robinson, Academic Studies Press, 184-214.

Brubaker, Rogers. 2012. "Religion and nationalism: four approaches," *Nations and Nationalism,* 18 (1): 2–20.

———. 2013. "Language, religion and the politics of difference," *Nations and Nationalism*, 19(1): 1-20.

———. 2015. "Linguistic and Religious Pluralism: Between Difference and Inequality," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 41 (1): 3-32.

Brym, Robert J, William Shaffir, and M Weinfeld. 2010. *The Jews in Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press.

Bunis, David M. 2017. "Judezmo (Ladino)," In *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, edited by Lily Kahn & Aaron. D. Rubin, Brill, 366- 451.

Burgard, Antoine. 2017. "Les Sépharades dans les études démographiques", in Les Sépharades du Québec. Parcours d'exil nord-africains, edited by Yolande Cohen, Del Busso Éditeur.

Calderwood, Eric. 2018. Colonial al-Andalus: Spain and the Making of Modern Moroccan Culture. The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Carpentier, David. 2020. "La métropole contre la nation ? La politique montréalaise d'intégration des personnes immigrantes et le modèle québécois d'interculturalisme." Mémoire de maitrise en science politique, Université Québec à Montréal.

Cesari, Jocelyne. 2007. "Islam and Multicultural Societies: A Transatlantic Comparison," In *Citizenship and Immigrant Incorporation: Comparative Perspectives on North America and Western Europe*, edited by Gökçe Yurdakul & Y. Michal Bodemann, New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. 75-97.

Chevalier-Caron, Christine and Yolande Cohen. 2019. "La Langue Française Chez Les Sépharades Du Québec: Une Stratégie de Préservation Culturelle et d'intégration Sociale (1960–1980)," *Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*, 31 (1): 93–112.

Child, Irvin. 1943. *Italian or American? The Second Generation in Conflict,* New Haben, CT: Yale University Press.

Christiano, Kevin J. 2007. "The Trajectory of Catholicism in Twentieth-Century Quebec," In *The Church Confronts Modernity: Catholicism since 1950 in the United States, Ireland, and Quebec,* edited by Leslie Woodcock Tentler, Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 21-61.

Cohen, Judith R. 1989. "Judeo-Spanish songs in the Sephardic communities of Montreal and Toronto: Survival, function and change." Ph.D. Thesis. Université de Montréal.

———. 2012. "The Role of Music in the Quebec Sephardic Community," In *Contemporary Sephardic Identity in the Americas: An Interdisciplinary Approach*, edited by B. Margalit, B. & E. Aizenberg, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 202-220.

Cohen, Yolande. 2010. "Juifs au Maroc, Séfarades au Canada. Migrations et processus de construction identitaire, " *Archives Juives,* 43 (2): 132-144.

———. 2013. "Sephardi Jews in Montreal," In *Canada's Jews: In Time, Space and Spirit*, edited by Ira Robinson, Boston, USA: Academic Studies Press.

———. (eds). 2017. *Les Sépharades du Québec: parcours d'exils nord-africains*, Del Busso Éditeur.

———. 2020. "Enclaves ethniques et stratégies résidentielles des Juifs à Toronto et Montréal," *Canadian Jewish Studies / Études juives canadiennes*, vol. 30, 84-114.

Cohen, Yolande and Stephanie, T. Schwartz. 2016. "Scholarship on Moroccan Jews in Canada: Multidisciplinary, Multilingual, and Diasporic," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes*, 50 (3): 592-612.

Cohen, Yolande, and Philippe Néméh-Nombré. 2019. "Le Conseil national des femmes juives du Canada et l'accueil des femmes juives d'Afrique du Nord au Québec au xxe siècle : une mé-rencontre," *ILCEA. Revue de l'Institut des langues et cultures d'Europe, Amérique, Afrique, Asie et Australie*, (34).

Conseil des relations interculturelles (CRI). 1999. *L'équité en emploi : De l'égalité de droit à l'égalité de fait.*

Cornell, Stephen, and Douglas Hartmann. 2007. *Ethnicity and Race Making Identities in a Changing World*. SAGE Publications.

Couture, Jocelyn, Nielsen, Kai and Seymour, Michel. 1996. "Afterword," in *Rethinking Nationalism,* edited by Jocelyn Couture, Kai Nielsen and Michel Seymour, Calgary: University of Calgary Press.

Croteau, Jean-Philippe. 2000. "Les relations entre les Juifs de langue française et les Canadiens français selon le Bulletin du Cercle Juif (1954-1968)." Mémoire de maitrise en histoire, Université de Montréal.

———. 2016. *Les commissions scolaires montréalaises et torontoises et les immigrants: 1875-1960*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval.

Çağaptay, Soner. 2006. *Islam, Secularism and Nationalism in Turkey, Who is a Turk?*, Routledge.

Dadashzadeh, Aghdas. 2003. "L'intégration des iraniens de première génération : analyse comparée Montréal-Toronto," Mémoire en Sociologie, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Danico, Mary Yu. 2004. *The 1.5 Generation: Becoming Korean American in Hawaii*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Darchinian, Fahimeh. 2017. "Les parcours d'orientation linguistique postsecondaire et professionnelle: l'expérience de jeunes adultes issus de l'immigration à Montréal." Thèse de doctorat en sciences de l'éducation. Université de Montréal.

Darchinian, Fahimeh, and Marie-Odile Magnan. 2020. "*Boundaries* Through the Prism of Post-secondary and Professional Orientation: The Views of Young Québec Adults of Immigrant Background," *Journal of Ethnic and Cultural Studies*, 7 (2): 50-67.

Davie, Grace. 1994. *Religion in Britain since 1945: Believing without Belonging,* John Wiley & Sons.

———. 2010. "Vicarious Religion: A Response," *Journal of Contemporary Religion,* 25(2): 261-266.

DellaPergola, Sergio. 2020. "Chapter 8: World Jewish Population, 2019," In *American Jewish Year Book 2019: The Annual Record of the North American Jewish Communities Since 1899,*" edited by Arnold Dashefsky and Ira M. Sheskin, Springer, 263-353.

Demerath III, N.J. 2000. "The Rise of ''Cultural Religion'' in European Christianity: Learning from Poland, Northern Ireland, and Sweden," *Social Compass,* 47(1): 127-139.

"Distribution of people living in Montréal, Québec in Canada in 2021, by first official language spoken and gender," *Statista,* September 2022, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1339075/population-montreal-canada-official-language-spoken-gender/

Durand, Guy. 2011. *La culture religieuse n'est pas la fois,* Éditions des oliviers.

Durkheim, Émile. 1911. *Les formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, Alcan, Paris (1965. *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, Free Press, New York).

El Kurd, Dana. "Will Israel further normalize relations with its Arab neighbors?" *The Washington Post,* July 12, 2022, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2022/07/11/biden-israel-saudi-mbs-abraham-accords/

Elazar, Daniel. J. 1989. *The Other Jews: The Sephardim Today*. New York: Basic Books.

Elbaz, Mikhaël. 1989. "D'immigrants à ethniques: Analyse comparée des pratiques sociales et identitaires des Sépharades et Ashkénazes à Montréal," In *Les Juifs du Maghreb: Diasporas contemporaines*, edited by Jean- Claude Lasry and Claude Tapia, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 79–101.

———. 1994. "Ethnicité et générations en Amérique du Nord. Le cas de la seconde génération de Juifs sépharades à Montréal." *International Review of Community Development / Revue internationale d'action communautaire*, no. 31: 63–77.

El Guabli, Brahim. 2020. "Breaking Ranks with National Unanimity: Novelistic and Cinematic Returns of Jewish-Muslim Intimacy in Morocco," In *Generations of Dissent: Intellectuals, Cultural Production, and the State in the Middle East and North Africa,* edited by Alexa Firat and R. Shareah Taleghani, Syracuse University Press.

Elrick, Jennifer. 2020. "Bureaucratic implementation practices and the making of Canada's merit-based immigration policy," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2020.1817731

Emirbayer, Mustafa. 1997. "Manifesto for a Relational Sociology." *American Journal of Sociology* 103 (2): 281–317.

Fillion, François. 1978. "La communauté sépharade de Montréal: Une analyse ethno-historique des structures communautaires." Ph.D. Thesis in anthropology, Québec, Université Laval.

Fine, Alan Gary and Patricia A. Turner. 2001. *Whispers on the Color Line: Rumor and Race in America,* University of California Press.

Fine, Sean. "Sikh Student Who Won Kirpan Case Now Considers Leaving Quebec," *The Globe and Mail,* October 22, 2013. https://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/sikh-student-who-won-kirpan-case-now-considers-leaving-quebec/article15014254/

Fishman, Louis. 2013. "Turkish-Israeli Relations in a post-Arab Spring: A Historical Perspective," *Ortadoğu Analiz,* Cilt: 5, Sayı: 20.

———. 2020. Jews and Palestinians in the Late Ottoman Era, 1908-1914: Claiming Homeland. Edinburgh University Press.

Fortin, Sylvie. 2000. Pour en finir avec l'intégration, Groupe de recherche ethnicité et société, Centre d'études ethniques.

Gagnon, Alain-G. and Raffaele Iacovino. 2007. *Federalism, Citizenship and Quebec: Debating Multinationalism*, University of Toronto Press.

Gagnon, Alain-G, François Rocher, M. Montserrat Guibernau. 2008. *The Conditions of Diversity in Multinational Democracies*, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gagnon, Alain-G., and Jean-Charles St-Louis. 2016. *Les Conditions du dialogue au Québec*. Québec Amérique.

Gallant, Nicole. 2016. "Language and the transformation of identity politics in minority francophone communities in Canada: Between collective linguistic identity and individualistic integration policies," in *Language and identity politics: A cross-Atlantic perspective, edited by* Christina Späti, New York, Berghahn Books, 177-197.

Gauvreau, Michael. 2005. *The Catholic Origins of Quebec's Quiet Revolution, 1931-1970,* McGill-Queens University Press.

Gerber, Haim. 1982. *Economic and Social Life of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Jerusalem, The Zalman Shazar Center.

Germain, Annick. 2018. "Habiter la ville et la transformer," In *L'immigration et l'ethnicité dans le Québec contemporain,* edited by Deirdre Meintel, Annick Germain, Danielle Juteau, Victor Piché and, Jean Renaud, Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 87-102.

Gentile, Emilio. 2005. *Les religions de la politique. Entre démocraties et totalitarismes,* Paris, Éditions du Seuil.

Gerson, Kathleen, and Sarah Damaske. 2020. *The Science and Art of Interviewing,* Oxford University Press.

Gerteis, Joseph, and Nir Rotem. 2022. "Connecting the "Others": White Anti-Semitic and Anti-Muslim Views in America," *The Sociological Quarterly,* DOI: 10.1080/00380253.2022.2045882

Gibb, H. A. R., S. J., Shaw and W. R., Polk. 2008. *Studies on the Civilization of Islam*, Oxon; New York: Routledge.

Gilson-Miller, Susan. 2013. "The Mellah without Walls: Jewish Space in a Moroccan City–Tangier, 1860-1912," In *Revisiting the Colonial Past in Morocco,* edited by Driss Maghraoui, London: Routledge, 19-38.

Gorski, Philip S. 2019. "The Politics of Religion and Language: Similar or Different?," *Social Science History* 43 (Summer): 393–397.

Greenstein, Michael. 1989. *Third Solitudes: Tradition and Discontinuity in Jewish- Canadian Literature,* McGill-Queen's University Press.

Grunebaum, von, Giselle. 2021 [1962]. *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity,* University of California Press.

Gubrium, Jaber F. and James A. Holstein (eds.). 2002. *Handbook of Interview Research: Context & Method*, edited by London: SAGE.

Guhin, Jeffrey. 2014. "Religion as Site Rather Than Religion as Category: On the Sociology of Religion's Export Problem," *Sociology of Religion,* 75 (4): 579–593.

Hardwick, Susan W. 2014. "American Migration, Settlement, and 'belonging' in Francophone Canada." *Geographical Review* 104 (3): 259–76.

Hastings, Adrian. 1997. *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism,* Cambridge University Press.

Heckman, Alma Rachel. 2020. *The Sultan's Communists: Moroccan Jews and the Politics of Belonging,* Stanford University Press.

Helly, Denise. 2005. "La gestion de la diversité religieuse au Canada et le cas de l'Islam," *Revue marocaine d'études internationales,*" 13: 62-87.

Hervieu-Léger, Danièle. 2003. *Catholicisme. La fin d'un monde,* Paris, Bayard.

Hiebert, Daniel. 2009. *Exploring Minority Enclave Areas in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver,* Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Research and Evaluation Branch.

———. 2015. *Ethnocultural minority enclaves in Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver,* Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Hoerder, Dirk. 1999. *Creating Societies: Immigrant Lives in Canada*, McGill-Queen's University Press.

Howard, Philip S. S. 2019. "Moving Us Nowhere: The Politics of Emotion and Civility in the Wake of the Quebec City Massacre." *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 51 (1): 1–24.

"House passes motion recognizing Quebecois as nation," *CBC News,* November 27, 2006, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/house-passes-motion-recognizing-quebecois-as-nation-1.574359

Içduygu, Ahmet, Şule Toktas and B. Ali Soner. 2008. "The politics of population in a nation-building process: emigration of non-Muslims from Turkey," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31 (2): 358-389.

Iggers, Georg Gerson. 1997. *Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press.

Iacovino, Raffaele. 2015. "Contextualizing the Quebec Charter of Values: Belonging without Citizenship in Quebec." *Canadian Ethnic Studies,* 47 (1): 41–60.

Jedwab, Jack, and Hugh Maynard. 2012. "Politics of Community: The Evolving Challenge of Representing English-Speaking Quebecers," In *Decline and Prospects of the English-Speaking Communities of Quebec,* edited by Richard Y. Bourhis, 277-311.

Joppke, Christian. 2017. *Is Multiculturalism Dead? Crisis and Persistence in the Constitutional State*, Cambridge. Malden, MA: Polity Press.

Juteau, Danielle. 2002. "The Citizen Makes an Entrée: Redefining the National Community in Quebec," *Citizenship Studies*, 6 (4): 441-458.

Kamanzi, Pierre. 2012. "L'emprise des titres scolaires sur l'emploi chez les membres de minorités visibles: comparaison entre le Québec et l'Ontario," *Recherches sociographiques* 53 (2): 315-36.

Kandiyoti, Dalia. 2020. *The Converso's Return: Conversion and Sephardi History in Contemporary Literature and Culture.* Stanford University Press.

Karpat, Kemal H. 1976. *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization,* Cambridge University Press.

Kaufman, Jonathan. 1995. *Broken Alliance: The Turbulent Times Between Blacks and Jews in America,* Touchstone.

Kaye/Kantrowitz, Melanie. 2007. *The Colors of Jews: Racial Politics and Radical Diasporism*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Kelemen, Michele. "Morocco Agrees to Join Trump Administration's Abraham Accords," NPR, December 10, 2020, https://www.npr.org/2020/12/10/945136662/morocco-agrees-to-join-trump-administrations-abraham-accords

Kenbib, Mohammed. 2014. "Moroccan Jews and the Vichy regime, 1940–42," *The Journal of North African Studies*, 19(4): 540-553, DOI: 10.1080/13629387.2014.950523

Kenedy, Robert A. and Fernando Nunes. 2012. "An Analysis of Civic Identity and Participation Among Portuguese-Canadian Youth in Quebec and Ontario." *Portuguese Studies Review* 20 (2): 101-41.

Keyman, Fuat, and Ahmet Içduygu. 1998. "Türk modernleşmesi ve ulusal kimlik sorunu: anayasal vatandaşlık ve demokratik açılım olasılığı," in *75 Yılda Tebaa'dan Yurttaş'a Doğru*, edited by Artun Ünsal, Istanbul: İş Bankası Yayınları, 169–80.

Khazzoom, Aziza. 2008. *Shifting Ethnic Boundaries and Inequality in Israel: Or, How the Polish Peddler Became a German Intellectual*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press.

Khazzoom, Loolwa (eds.). 2003. *The Flying Camel: Essays on Identity by Women of North African and Middle Eastern Jewish Heritage*. New York, NY: Seal Press.

Kipre, Zouzouko Marius. 2016. "L'effet du salaire minimum sur l'emploi des immigrants au Québec e comparaison avec l'Ontario et la Colombie-Britannique," Mémoire, Université du Québec à Montréal.

Kloss, Heinz. 1977. *The American Bilingual Tradition*, Newbury House.

Kohn, Hans. 1940. "The Genesis and Character of English Nationalism," *Journal of the History of Ideas,* Vol. 1, No. 1, 69-94.

Koffman, David S. 2019. *The Jews' Indian: Colonialism, Pluralism, and Belonging.* Rutgers University Press.
———. (eds.). 2020. *No Better Home?: Jews, Canada, and the Sense of Belonging.* University of Toronto Press.

Korteweg, Anna C. 2006. "The Sharia Debate in Ontario," *ISIM Review,* 18(1): 50–51.

Kymlicka, Will. 2000. "Nation-Building and Minority Rights: Comparing West and East." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 26 (2): 183–212.

———. 2003. “Multicultural States and Intercultural Citizens.” *Theory and Research in Education* 1 (2): 147–69.

———. 2004. *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*, Oxford University Press.

———. 2013. *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Lacasse, Simon-Pierre. 2020. “Les Juifs de la Révolution tranquille: regards d’une minorité religieuse sur le Québec de 1945 à 1976.” PhD. Thesis in History, Université d’Ottawa.

Lahire, Bernard. 2016. *Pour la sociologie et pour en finir avec une prétendue culture de l’excuse*, La Découverte.

Lamont, Michèle. 2018. “Addressing Recognition Gaps: Destigmatization and the Reduction of Inequality,” *American Sociological Review*, 83 (3): 419–444.

Lamont, Michèle, Sabrina Pendergrass, and Mark C. Pachucki. 2015. “Symbolic Boundaries,” In *International Encyclopedia of Social and Behavioral Sciences*, edited by James Wright, Oxford: Elsevier, 850-855.

Lamont, Michèle, Stefan Beljean and Matthew Clair. 2014. “What is Missing? Cultural Processes and Causal Pathways to Inequality,” *Socio-Economic Review,* 12 (3): 573-608.

Lamont, Michèle, and Crystal Marie Fleming. 2005. “Everyday Antiracism: Competence and Religion in the Cultural Repertoire of the African American Elite,” *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race,* 2 (1): 29–43.

Lamont, Michèle, and Virág Molnár. 2002. “The study of boundaries in the social sciences,” *Annual Review of Sociology,* 28 (1), 167-195.

Laniel, Jean-François. 2015. “Qu’en est-il de la « religion culturelle »? Sécularisation, nation et imprégnation culturelle du christianisme,” In *Catholicisme et Cultures : Regards croisés Québec-France,* edited by Solange Lefebvre, Céline Béraud & E.-Martin Meunier, 143-168.

Laskier, Michael M. 1983. *The Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Communities of Morocco: 1862-1962,* Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press.

Lasry, Jean-Claude. 1981. “A Francophone Diaspora in Quebec”, in *The Canadian Jewish Mosaic,* edited by W. Shaffir, M. Weinfeld & I. Cotler, J. Wiley & Sons, 221-240.

Laxer, Emily. 2013. “Integration Discourses and the Generational Trajectories of Civic Engagement in Multi-Nation States: A Comparison of the Canadian Provinces of Quebec and Ontario.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 39 (10): 1577–99.

Lefebvre, Solange. 2015. “La puissance d’une religion historique dans la culture,” In *Catholicisme et Cultures : Regards croisés Québec-France,* edited by Solange Lefebvre, Céline Béraud & E.-Martin Meunier, 69-90.

Levy, Joseph and Yolande Cohen. 1998. “Moroccan Jews and their Adaptation to Montreal Life,” In *Renewing Our Days: Montreal Jews in the 20th Century,* edited by Ira Robinson & M. Butivsky, Vehicule Press, 95-118.

Lightstone, Vardit. 2022. “Performing Migrant Identity: Canadian Yiddish Personal Narratives.” Ph.D. Thesis in Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Toronto and Program for Folklore and Folk Culture, Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Linteau, Paul-André. 2007. *Brève histoire de Montréal*. 2e édition. Montréal: Boréal.

Lipsyc, Sonia Sarah. “La Communauté Sépharade en quelques chiffres,” *La Voix Sépharade,* September 2015. http://lvsmagazine.com/2015/09/la-communaute-sepharade-en-quelques-chiffres/

Lister, Ruth. 2007. “Inclusive Citizenship: Realizing the Potential,” *Citizenship Studies*, 11 (1): 49-61.

Loobuyck, Patrick. 2016. “Towards an Intercultural Sense of Belonging Together: Reflections on the Theoretical and Political Level,” In *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism,* edited by Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Richard Zapata-Barrero, Edinburgh University Press, 225-245.

Löwe, Heinz-Dietrich. 1993. *The Tsars and the Jews: Reform, Reaction, and Anti-Semitism in Imperial Russia, 1772-1917*. Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers, Harwood Academic Pub.

Malinovich, Nadia. 2016. “Francophonie and Sephardic Difference in the Postwar United States,” *French Politics, Culture & Society* 34 (3): 63–82.

Malka, Victor. 1997. *Les juifs sépharades*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Mallet, Laurent. 1996. “Karikatür Dergisinde Yahudilerle ilgili Karikatürler (1936–1948)” *Toplumsal Tarih*, 34: 26–33.

Margolis, Rebecca. 2020. “In der heym in kanade: A Survey on Yiddish Today,” In *No Better Home?: Jews, Canada, and the Sense of Belonging,* edited by David S. Koffman, University of Toronto Press, 261-283.

Marshall TH. 1950. *Citizenship and Social Class*. London: Cambridge Univ. Press.

May, Paul. 2016. *Philosophies du multiculturalisme*, Paris: Presses de Sciences Po (P.F.N.S.P.).

———. 2021. "Canada: the standard bearer of multiculturalism in the world? An analysis of the Canadian public debate on multiculturalism (2010-2020)," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2021.1977366

May, Stephen. 2011. "Language rights: The "Cinderella" human rights," *Journal of Human Rights*, 10 (3): 265–289.

———. 2015. "Language rights and language policy: addressing the gap(s) between principles and practices," *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 16 (4): 355-359.

Mc Andrew, Marie, Bruce Garnett, Jacques Ledent, et Robert Sweet. 2011. "Les Carrières Scolaires Des Jeunes Allophones À Montréal, Toronto Et Vancouver: Une Analyse Comparative," *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 12 (4): 495-515.

Meunier, E.-Martin. 2015. "L'ancrage du catholicisme au Québec et sa déliaison progressive : une sociologie historique de l'exculturation," In *Catholicisme et Cultures : Regards croisés Québec-France,* edited by Solange Lefebvre, Céline Béraud & E.-Martin Meunier, 21-44.

Messika, Matin. 2020. *Politique de l'accueil. États et associations face à la migration juive du Maghreb en France et au Canada des années 1950 à la fin des années 1970*, Rennes, PUR.

Miles, William F S. 2007. "Between Ashkenaz and Québécois: Fifty Years of Francophone Sephardim in Montréal," *Diaspora,* 16 (1/2): 29–66.

Milioni, Anna, and Athanasios Pappas. 2022. "Linguistic justice and the challenge of immigration," *Nations and Nationalism,* 28 (2): 1-16.

Morales-Galvez, Sergi. 2022. "Is speaking one's own language(s) a right?" *Nations and Nationalism,* 28 (2): 1–15.

Morin, Edgar. 2005. *Introduction à la pensée complexe*, Paris: Éditions du Seuil.

Morrison, Ian A. 2019. *Moments of Crisis: Religion and National Identity in Québec,* UBC Press.

Naar, Devin E. 2015. "'Turkinos' beyond the Empire: Ottoman Jews in America, 1893 to 1924." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 105 (2): 174–205.

Nagra, Baljit. 2017. *Securitized Citizens Canadian Muslims' Experiences of Race Relations and Identity Formation Post-9/11*. University of Toronto Press.

"Number of people living in Montréal, Québec in Canada in 2021, by knowledge of official languages and gender," *Statista,* September 2022, https://www.statista.com/statistics/1338899/population-montreal-canada-knowledge-official-languages-gender/

Orsi, Robert. 1992. "The Religious Boundaries of an Inbetween People: Street Feste and the Problem of the Dark-Skinned Other in Italian Harlem, 1920-1990," American Quarterly, 44 (3): 313-347.

Ökte, Faik. 1987. *The Tradegy of the Turkish Capital Tax*. Translated by Geoffrey Cox. London and New Hampshire: Croom Helm.

Palmer, Howard. 1976. "Mosaic versus Melting Pot?: immigration and Ethnicity in Canada and the United States," *International Journal,* 31: 488-528.

Pamuk, Şevket. 2014. *Türkiye'nin 200 Yıllık İktisadi Tarihi,* İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları.

Papillon, Martin. 2012. "Social Cohesion, Citizenship and Diversity in Canada," In *Diverse Nations, Diverse Responses: Approaches to Social Cohesion in Immigrant Societies,* edited by Paul Spoonley and E. Tolley, McGill-Queen's University Press, 15-34.

Papo, Joseph M. 1986. *Sephardim in Twentieth Century America: In Search of Unity*. San Jose, Calif.; Berkeley, Calif.: Pelé Yoetz Books; Judah L. Magnes Museum.

Parks, Richard C. 2017. *Medical Imperialism in French North Africa: Regenerating the Jewish Community of Colonial Tunis,* University of Nebraska Press.

Paugam, Serge. 2012. *L'enquête sociologique*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France.

Piché, Victor. 2004. "Immigration et intégration linguistique : vers un indicateur de réceptivité sociale." *Les Cahiers du Gres* 4(1): 7–22. DOI: 10.7202/009712ar

Polonsky, Antony. 2021. *The Jews in Poland and Russia. Volume II, 1881-1914.* Oxford University Press.

Pranchère, Jean-Yves. 2011. "CATHO-LAÏCITÉ," *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 109-132.

Qadeer, Mohammed Abdul. 2016. *Multicultural Cities: Toronto, New York, and Los Angeles,* University of Toronto Press.

Rea, J. E. 1977. "My main line is the kiddies . . . make them good Christians and good Canadians, which is the same thing," In *Identities: The Impact of Ethnicity on Canadian Society,* edited by Wsevolod Isajiw, Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 3-10.

Remysen, Wim and Kristin Reinke. 2014. "Introduction: Regards croisés sur les communautés linguistiques de Montréal," *The Canadian Journal of Linguistics / La revue canadienne de linguistique*, 59(1): iii-vi.

Rioux, Marcel. 1976. *La question du Québec,* Montréal: Parti pris.

Rocher, François and Bob W. White. 2014. *Interculturalisme québécois dans le contexte du multiculturalisme canadien*, Montréal, Institute for Research on Public Policy/ Institut de recherche en politiques publiques, 49, 1-44.

Roda, Jessica. 2015. "Pop Stars as Ambassadors of Sephardic Culture at the Festival Sefarad in Montreal." *Contemporary Jewry,* 35 (1): 73–88.

Rosenberg, Louis. 1993. *Canada's Jews: A Social and Economic Study of Jews in Canada in the 1930s*, McGill-Queen's Press - MQUP.

Safran, William. 2008. "Language, ethnicity and religion: A Complex and persistent linkage," *Nations and Nationalism,* 14(1): 171-190.

Salée, Daniel. 2007. "The Quebec State and the Management of Ethnocultural Diversity: Perspectives on an Ambiguous Record," In *Belonging?: Diversity, Recognition and Shared Citizenship in Canada*, edited by Keith Banting, Thomas J. Courchene, and F. Leslie Seidle, Montréal: Institute for Research on Public Policy/ Institut de recherche en politiques publiques. 105-142

———. 2010. "Penser l'aménagement de la diversité ethnoculturelle au Québec: mythes, limites et possibles de l'interculturalisme," *Politique et Sociétés,* 29 (1): 145–180.

Salzman, Philip Carl. 2002. "On Reflexivity," *American Anthropologist*, 104(3): 805–813.

Sancton, Andrew. 1985. *Governing the Island of Montreal: Language Differences and Metropolitan Politics*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Santos, Boaventura de Sousa. 2018. *The End of the Cognitive Empire: The Coming of Age of Epistemologies of the South*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Schluchter, Wolfgang. 1989. *Rationalism, Religion, and Domination. A Weberian Perspective,* University of California Press.

Schnapper, Dominique. 2007. *Qu'est-ce que l'intégration?,* Éditions Gallimard.

Shachar, Ayelet, Rainer Bauböck, Irene Bloemraad, and Maarten Peter Vink. 2017. *The Oxford Handbook of Citizenship*. Oxford University Press.

Shafiefar, Simin. 2018. "Language profile of Iranian immigrants in Montréal compared to Toronto," Mémoire de maîtrise, Université Laval.

Shahar, C. 2015. "Enquête Nationale Auprès des Ménages de 2011: La Communauté Juive de Montréal, Partie 7: La Communauté Sépharade," *Fédération CJA*, Retrieved from, http://www.federationcja.org/media/mediaContent/2011%20Montreal_Part7_Sephardic%20Community_Final-F.pdf

Shams, Tahseen. 2020. *Here, There, and Elsewhere: The Making of Immigrant Identities in a Globalized World,* Stanford University Press.

Shuman, Amy. 2010. *Other People's Stories: Entitlement Claims and the Critique of Empathy,* University of Illinois Press.

Simard, Jacques. 2000. "Ce siècle où le Québec est venu au monde," In *Québec 2000,* edited by Roch Coté, Montréal: Éditions Fides, 17-77.

Sirles, Craig Alan. 1985. "An Evaluative Procedure for Language Planning: The Case of Morocco." Ph.D. Thesis in Linguistics, Northwestern University.

———. 1999. "Politics and Arabization: the evolution of post-independence North Africa," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 137, 115-130.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. 1988. "Multilingualism and the Education of Minority Children," In *Minority education: from shame to struggle*, edited by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas & Jim Cummins, Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters, 9-44

Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu. 2007. *Limits of Citizenship: Migrants and Postnational Membership in Europe*. The University of Chicago Press.

Statistics Canada. 2016. *Focus on Geography Series, 2016 Census: Figure 1.2. description; Rate of English-French Bilingualism, Montréal, 1996 to 2016,* Retrieved from https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-cma-eng.cfm?LANG=Eng&GK=CMA&GC=462&TOPIC=5

———. 2021. *Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population,* Retrieved from https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&SearchText=Toronto&DGUIDlist=2021A00053520005&GENDERlist=1,2,3&STATISTIClist=1&HEADERlist=0

———. 2021. *Religiosity in Canada and its evolution from 1985 to 2019,* Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/75-006-x/2021001/article/00010-eng.htm

———. 2021. *Religion in Canada,* Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11-627-m/11-627-m2021079-eng.htm

———. 2021. *While English and French are still the main languages spoken in Canada, the country's linguistics diversity continues to grow,* Retrieved from https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220817/dq220817a-eng.htm

Stein, Sarah Abrevaya. *Making Jews Modern: The Yiddish and Ladino Press in the Russian and Ottoman Empires*. Bloomington Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.

Sunar, Ilkay. 1983. "Demokrat Parti ve Populism", in *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi*, Vol.8, İletişim Yayınları, 2076-86.

Taieb-Carlen, Sarah. 1999. "The North African Jews in Toronto today: Assimilation or survival", In *From Iberia to Diaspora: Studies in Sephardic history and culture,* edited by Yedida Kalfon & Stillman, and Norman A. Stillman, Boston, MA: Brill Academic Publishers, 151–167).

Taylor, Charles. 1994. "The Politics of Recognition," In *Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*, edited by Amy Gutmann, Princeton (USA): Princeton University Press, 25-73.

———. 2007. *A Secular Age*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

———. 2012. "Interculturalism or multiculturalism?" *Philosophy & Social Criticism,* 38 (4): 413-423.

"These Are the Languages Spoken in Canada According to 2021 Census," *To Do Canada,* August 17, 2022, https://www.todocanada.ca/these-are-the-languages-spoken-in-canada-according-to-2021-census/

Thobani, Sunera. 2007. *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press.

Tobin, Dianne, Gary A. Tobin, and Scott Rubin. 2005. (eds.). *Every Tongue: The Racial & Ethnic Diversity of the Jewish People*. San Francisco, CA: Institute for Jewish & Community Research.

Todd, Emmanuel and Hervé Le Bras. 2013. *Le Mystère français,* Éditions Seuil.

Toktaş, Şule. 2005. "Citizenship and Minorities: A Historical Overview of Turkey's Jewish Minority," *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 18 (4): 394-429.

———. 2006. "Turkey's Jews and their Immigration to Israel," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 42 (3): 505–519.

———. 2006. "Perceptions of Anti-Semitism among Turkish Jews," *Turkish Studies,* 7 (2): 203–223.

———. 2008. "Cultural Identity, Minority Position and Immigration: Turkey's Jewish Minority vs. Turkish-Jewish Immigrants in Israel," *Middle Eastern Studies*, 44 (3): 511—525.

Toprak, Zafer. 2012. *Türkiye'de Milli İktisat 1908-1918,* Doğan Kitap.

Triandafyllidou, Anna. 2022. "Contexualising Nationalism," *Ethnicities,* 0 (0): 1-16.

Troper, Harold. 2001. "New Horizons in a New Land: Jewish Immigration to Canada." In *From Immigration to Integration The Canadian Jewish Experience: A Millennium Edition*, edited by Ruth Klein and Frank Dimant, Institute for International Affairs, B'nai Brith Canada, 3-18.

———. 2010. *The defining decade: identity, politics, and the Canadian Jewish community in the 1960s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Truong, Nicolas. "Emmanuel Todd contre les illusions de la France du 11 janvier." *Le monde,* May 7, 2015, https://www.lemonde.fr/societe/article/2015/05/07/emmanuel-todd-contre-les-illusions-de-la-france-du-11-janvier_4629131_3224.html

Tulchinsky, Gerald J. J., 1984. "The Third Solitude: A.M. Klein's Jewish Montreal, 1910–1950," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes*, 19 (2): 96-112.

———. 1992. Taking Root: The Origins of the Canadian Jewish Community, Lester Pub.

———. 2018. *Canada's Jews: A People's Journey*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Tunçay, Mete. 1981. *Türkiye Cumhuriyetinde Tek Parti Döneminin Kurulması (1923-1931)*, Yurt Yayınları.

Ülgen, Övgü. 2021a. "Can Religious or Linguistic Commonality Create a Greater Sense of Belonging," *The Sociological Review Magazine*. https://doi.org/10.51428/tsr.pgsu9350

———. 2021b. "Language, Religion and Difference: An Empirical Study from Québec and Anglo-Canada." *The Centre on Constitutional Change (CCC) blog.* https://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/news-and-opinion/language-religion-and-difference-empirical-study-quebec-and-anglo-canada

———. 2022. "Language, Religion and Difference: North African and Turkish Jewish Identity Formation Vis-À-Vis Ashkenazim in Canada," *Canadian Jewish Studies / Études juives canadiennes,* Vol. 34: 130-141. https://cjs.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/cjs/article/view/4029

———. 2023. "Comprendre le pluralisme linguistique et religieux canadien : une étude empirique à travers les récits des juif•ves de l'Afrique du Nord," *Les Cahiers Tocqueville* (forthcoming).

Van Parijs, Philippe. 2011. *Linguistic Justice for Europe and for the World*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Waldinger, Roger. 2013. "Immigrant Transnationalism," *Current Sociology Review,* 61 (5-6): 756-777.

Weber, Max. 1922/1956. *Wirtschaft und gesellschaft. grundisse der verstehenden soziologie*, Hohrn, Tubingen (1978. Economy and Society, vol. 1. University of California Press, Berkeley).

Wedeen, Lisa. 1998. "Acting "As If": Symbolic Politics and Social Control in Syria," *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 40 (3): 503-523.

Weiss, Robert. 1994. *Learning From Strangers: The Art and Method of Qualitative Interview Studies.* Free Press.

Wilkins-Laflamme, Sarah. 2015. "Une question de religion ou de culture? Convergences et divergences religieuses entre anglophones et francophones québécois depuis 1985," In *Catholicisme et Cultures : Regards croisés Québec-France,* edited by Solange Lefebvre, Céline Béraud & E.-Martin Meunier, 115-141.

Willaime, Jean-Paul. "Le minaret vient heurter une identité chrétienne," *Le Figaro,* December 3, 2009, https://www.lefigaro.fr/actualite-france/2009/12/03/01016-20091203ARTFIG00020-le-minaret-vient-heurter-une-identite-chretienne-.php

Wimmer, Andreas. 2013. *Ethnic Boundary Making: Institutions, Power, Networks*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Winter, Elke. 2011. *Us, Them, and Others: Pluralism and National Identity in Diverse Societies,* University of Toronto Press.

Winter, Elke, and Ivana Previsic. 2019. "The Politics of Un-Belonging: Lessons from Canada's Experiment with Citizenship Revocation," *Citizenship Studies* 23 (4): 338–55.

Wirth, Louis. 1982. *The Ghetto*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wyrtzen, Jonathan. 2015. *Making Morocco: Colonial Intervention and the Politics of Identity,* Cornell University Press.

Yuval-Davis, Nira. 2011. *The Politics of Belonging: Intersectional Contestations*, Sage Publications.

Zapata-Barrero, Richard. 2016. "Theorising Intercultural Citizenship," in *Multiculturalism and Interculturalism,* edited by Nasar Meer, Tariq Modood, and Richard Zapata-Barrero, Edinburgh University Press, 53-76.

Zolberg, Aristide R. and Long Litt Woon. 1999. "Why Islam is like Spanish: Cultural Incorporation in Europe and the United States," *Politics & Society*, 27(1), 5-38.

Zubrzycki, Geneviève. 2016. *Beheading the Saint: Nationalism, Religion, and Secularism in Quebec,* The University of Chicago Press.

Zürcher, Erik Jan. 2004. *Modernleşen Türkiye'nin Tarihi,* İletişim Yayınları.

*2021 Census: Language.* 2022, *Toronto.ca,* Retrieved from https://www.toronto.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/868f-2021-Census-Backgrounder-Language-FINAL.pdf

Filmography:

*20 ans après*, 1977, directed by Jacques Bensimon, National Film Board of Canada (Montreal), Office national du film du Canada (Montreal), 56 minutes. https://www.nfb.ca/film/20_ans_apres/

APPENDIX

**Methodology**

**FORMULAIRE D'INFORMATION ET DE CONSENTEMENT**

**« Cartographier l'appartenance générationnelle dans la diaspora sépharade : une analyse de citoyenneté au Québec et au Canada (titre provisoire) »**

| Vous êtes invité à participer à un projet de recherche. Avant d'accepter, veuillez prendre le temps de lire ce document présentant les conditions de participation au projet. N'hésitez pas à poser toutes les questions que vous jugerez utiles à la personne qui vous présente ce document. |
|---|

**A) RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX PARTICIPANTS**

**1. Objectifs de la recherche**

Ce projet vise à mieux comprendre les deux politiques concurrentes de la gestion de la diversité et leurs résultats au Québec et en Ontario au moyen d'une analyse générationnelle des Juif.ves sépharades. Pour ce faire, nous comptons recueillir le point de vue d'une trentaine des personnes en écoutant leur l'histoire familiale.

**2. Participation à la recherche**

Votre participation consiste à accorder une entrevue approfondie à la chercheuse qui vous demandera votre parcours migratoire, votre sens d'appartenance comme « quebecois.es » et « canadienn.es » et votre relation avec les Ashkenazim en écoutant votre l'histoire familiale. Cette entrevue sera enregistrée, avec votre autorisation, sur support audio afin d'en faciliter ensuite la transcription et devrait durer environ d'une trentaine de minutes à plusieurs heures. Pendant la présente période d'état

d'urgence sanitaire liée à la pandémie COVID-19, les entrevues seraient conduites exclusivement à distance en utilisant les outils technologiques de vidéoconférence : Zoom et Teams. La chercheuse sera responsable de la garantie de confidentialité qu'elle donne à ses participant.es.

**3. Risques et inconvénients**

Il n'y a pas de risque particulier à participer à ce projet. Il est possible cependant que certaines questions puissent raviver des souvenirs liés à une expérience désagréable. Vous pourrez à tout moment refuser de répondre à une question ou même mettre fin à l'entrevue.

**4. Avantages et bénéfices**

Il n'y a pas d'avantage particulier à participer à ce projet. Vous contribuerez cependant à une meilleure compréhension sur le sens d'appartenance générationnelle de la population sépharade habitant au Québec et en Ontario et sur le processus de la construction de l'identité sépharade au Canada. Votre participation à la recherche pourra également vous donner l'occasion de réfléchir à votre expérience de vie et de prendre un certain recul réflexif par rapport à votre propre parcours migratoire en l'exposant a la chercheure.

**5. Confidentialité**

Les renseignements personnels que vous nous donnerez demeureront confidentiels. Aucune information permettant de vous identifier d'une façon ou d'une autre ne sera publiée. De plus, chaque participante a la recherche se verra attribuer un code et seule la chercheuse et sont équipe pourront connaitre son identité. Les données seront conservées dans un lieu sûr. Les enregistrements seront transcrits et seront détruits, ainsi que toute information personnelle, 7 ans après la fin du projet. Seules les données ne permettant pas de vous identifier seront conservées après cette période.

**6. Droit de retrait**

Votre participation à ce projet est entièrement volontaire et vous pouvez à tout moment vous retirer de la recherche sur simple avis verbal et sans devoir justifier votre décision, sans conséquence pour vous. Si vous décidez de vous retirer de la recherche, veuillez communiquer avec la chercheuse au numéro de téléphone indiqué ci-dessous.

À votre demande, tous les renseignements qui vous concernent pourront aussi être détruits. Cependant, après le déclenchement du processus de publication, il sera impossible de détruire les analyses et les résultats portant sur vos données.

**B) CONSENTEMENT**

**Déclaration du participant**

- Je comprends que je peux prendre mon temps pour réfléchir avant de donner mon accord ou non à participer à la recherche.
- Je peux poser des questions à l'équipe de recherche et exiger des réponses satisfaisantes.
- Je comprends qu'en participant à ce projet de recherche, je ne renonce à aucun de mes droits ni ne dégage les chercheurs de leurs responsabilités.
- J'ai pris connaissance du présent formulaire d'information et de consentement et j'accepte de participer au projet de recherche.

Signature du participant : ___________________________ Date : ______________________

Nom : ______________________________ Prénom : ________________________________

**Engagement du chercheur**

J'ai expliqué au participant les conditions de participation au projet de recherche. J'ai répondu au meilleur de ma connaissance aux questions posées et je me suis assurée de la compréhension du participant. Je m'engage, avec l'équipe de recherche, à respecter ce qui a été convenu au présent formulaire d'information et de consentement.

Signature de la chercheuse : ________________________ Date : _____________________

(ou de son représentant)

Nom : ____________________________________ Prénom : ______________________________

**Pour toute question relative à l'étude, ou pour vous retirer de la recherche**, veuillez communiquer avec Övgü Ülgen au numéro de téléphone ███ ████████ ou à l'adresse courriel ovgu.ulgen@umontreal.ca

Pour toute préoccupation sur vos droits ou sur les responsabilités des chercheurs concernant votre participation à ce projet, vous pouvez contacter le Comité d'éthique de la recherche - Société et culture par courriel à l'adresse cersc@umontreal.ca ou par téléphone au 514 343-7338 ou encore consulter le site Web http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants.

Toute plainte relative à votre participation à cette recherche peut être adressée à l'ombudsman de l'Université de Montréal en appelant au numéro de téléphone 514 343-2100 ou en communiquant par courriel à l'adresse ombudsman@umontreal.ca **(l'ombudsman accepte les appels à frais virés).**

**Un exemplaire du formulaire de consentement signé doit être remis au participant.**

## COURRIEL DE RECRUTEMENT

**Titre du courriel :** Recherche sur l'appartenance générationnelle dans la diaspora sépharade : une analyse de citoyenneté au Québec et au Canada

Bonjour!

Nous cherchons des participants pour une recherche portant sur l'appartenance générationnelle dans la diaspora sépharade au Québec et au Canada. Si vous avez des origines sépharades issu de l'immigration, si vous êtes un.e citoyen.ne canadienne et que vous habitez au Québec et au Canada, votre expérience de vie nous intéressent. Nous souhaiterions vivement vous interroger pour une période d'environ d'une trentaine de minutes à plusieurs heures.

Si vous répondez aux critères suivants et que vous êtes intéressés à participer à notre étude, veuillez nous contacter par courriel :

- avoir des origines sépharades
- avoir la citoyenneté canadienne ou québécoise
- être francophone, être anglophone, être bilingue ou allophone

Le formulaire de consentement sera envoyé une semaine avant de chaque entrevue aux participantes pour que vous ayez suffisamment de temps à réfléchir et à transmettre leur refus et/ou leur acceptation. Pendant la pandémie, l'entrevue sera uniquement conduite par Zoom ou Teams.

Cette recherche est menée par Övgü Ülgen, candidate au doctorat en sociologie de l'Université de Montréal.

Merci de m'aider à mieux comprendre votre réalité!

**MESSAGE PAR Facebook, What's up, ou Téléphone (pendant la pandémie COVID-19)**

Bonjour!

Je m'appelle Övgü, candidate au doctorat en sociologie à l'Université de Montréal. Je cherche des participantes ayant des origines sépharades et habitant au Québec et au Canada pour ma thèse doctorale. J'ai entendu votre nom grâce à XYZ (le nom de personne qu'on déjà connait). Je serais très heureuse de réaliser un entretien avec vous pour une période d'environ d'une trentaine de minutes à plusieurs heures en vous posant certaines questions thématiques. En attendant de votre réponse, je vous souhaite de passer une très bonne journée!

## GUIDE D’ENTRETIEN

### Schéma d’entrevue

*Grands thèmes pour les questions de l’entrevue :*

1. Histoire familiale
2. Parcours migratoire
3. Processus d’identification avec le groupe majoritaires (canadiens, québécoise)
4. Relations avec les autres groupes minoritaires
    a. Les ashkénazes
    b. Les musulmanes
5. Sentiment d’inclusion / d’exclusion

**Texte à lire au répondant en débutant l’entrevue**

Au cours de cette entrevue, vous serez amené à relater votre histoire de vie personnelle, en lien avec vos expériences familiales, votre parcours migratoire, votre processus d’identification et votre sentiment d’inclusion et d’exclusion au Québec et au Canada.

Pendant la présente période d’état d’urgence sanitaire liée à la pandémie COVID-19, les entrevues seraient conduites à distance en utilisant un outil technologique de vidéoconférence, tel que Zoom ou autres. La chercheuse sera responsable de la garantie de confidentialité qu’elle donne à ses participant.es. Je vous informe des moyens de sécurité (TI de l’Université relatif aux mesures de sécurité) que je mettrai en place afin de rehausser la confidentialité de l’entrevue.

Il ne s’agit pas d’une liste de questions auxquelles on répond comme dans un sondage, mais plutôt de certaines questions générales touchant à quelques thèmes spécifiques de votre parcours individuel et familiale.

Ainsi, en cours de route, je vous demanderai de me raconter votre expérience personnelle relative à ces questions générales et je vous laisserai évidemment libre de répondre à votre guise. N’hésitez donc pas à me raconter ce qui vous apparaît intéressant et pertinent, sans gêne.

Enfin, je vous rappelle que, bien entendu, tous vos propos et tous les renseignements que vous me fournirez, de même que mes notes personnelles, seront publiés de façon à ne pas vous identifier. Néanmoins, si vous ne vous sentez pas à l’aise de me communiquer certains renseignements, sentez-vous libre de ne pas répondre.

Nous sommes maintenant prêts à commencer l’entrevue!

**I, II – Parcours migratoire et Histoire familiale**

Pour commencer, j'aimerais que vous me parliez un peu de votre famille

-  Membres de la famille
-  Trajectoire migratoire (pays d'origine des parents, raisons de la migration, processus d'acculturation et d'intégration, etc.)
-  Langue(s) parlée(s) à la maison
-  Scolarité et profession dans le pays d'origine et au Québec et au Canada (pour les personnes âgées)
-  Scolarité et Profession au Québec et au Canada (pour les jeunes)
-  Réseaux sociaux de la famille

**III – Processus d'identification avec le groupe majoritaires**

Quels souvenirs conservez-vous de votre sentiment d'appartenance au Québec et au Canada?

-  Attitude par rapport à votre religion dans la société d'accueil
    - i. Est-ce que vous considérez-vous religieux/ religieuse?
    - ii. Avez-vous déjà subi de la discrimination par rapport à votre appartenance religieuse?
-  Attitude par rapport à votre culture
    - iii. Qu'avez-vous ressenti différente à cause de votre appartenance linguistique et culturelle?
    - iv. Comment expliquez– vous cette différence?
-  Qu'est-ce que vous signifiez d'être canadien.ne? (Pour les participantes habitant à l'Ontario)

 Qu’est-ce que vous signifiez d’être québécois.e et canadien.ne? (Pour les participantes habitant au Québec)

 Quel rôle joue votre origine ethno-religieuse, linguistique et culturelle dans votre processus d’intégration au Québec et au Canada?

**IV – Relations avec les autres groupes minoritaires**

Pouvez-vous me décrire votre relation avec les Ashkenazim?

i. Qu’avez-vous ressenti différente à cause de votre appartenance linguistique et culturelle par rapport aux Ashkenazim?
ii. Quel rôle joue votre origine culturelle et ethno-religieuse dans votre processus d’intégration avec les Ashkenazim?
iii. Que pensez-vous sur le rôle du mariage mix dans le processus d’intégration sépharade avec les Ashkenazim?

Pouvez-vous me décrire votre relation avec les musulmanes?

**V - Sentiment d’inclusion / d’exclusion**

Comment décrivez-vous votre place dans la société québécoise et canadienne? (en pensant à votre parcours migratoire et familiale jusqu’à présent)

Visez-vous rester au Québec? Avez-vous d’autres projets? (pour les participantes habitant au Québec).

**INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM**

**"Mapping Generational Belonging in the Sephardic Diaspora: An Analysis of Citizenship in Quebec and Canada (working title)"**

| You are invited to participate in a research project. Before accepting, please take the time to read this document presenting the conditions of participation in the project. Do not hesitate to ask any questions you think useful to the person presenting this document to you. |
| --- |

## A) INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS

---

### 1. Research objectives

This project aims to better understand the two competing diversity management policies and their outcomes in Quebec and Ontario through a generational analysis of Sephardic Jews. To do this, we intend to gather the point of view of about thirty people by listening to their family history.

### 2. Participation in research

Your participation consists of giving an in-depth interview to the researcher who will ask you about your migratory journey, your sense of belonging as "Quebecois" and "Canadian" and your relationship with the Ashkenazim by listening to your family history. This interview will be recorded, with your permission, on audio to facilitate transcription and should last approximately thirty minutes to several hours. During the current period of health emergency related to the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews would be conducted exclusively remotely using videoconferencing technological tools: Zoom and Teams. The researcher will be responsible for the guarantee of confidentiality that she gives to her participants.

**3. Risks and disadvantages**

There is no particular risk involved in participating in this project. However, some questions may bring back memories of an unpleasant experience. You can at any time refuse to answer a question or even end the interview.

**4. Advantages and benefits**

There is no particular advantage to participating in this project. However, you will contribute to a better understanding of the sense of generational belonging of the Sephardic population living in Quebec and Ontario and of the process of construction of Sephardic identity in Canada. Your participation in the research may also give you the opportunity to reflect on your life experience and to take a certain reflective step back from your own migratory journey by exposing it to the researcher.

**5. Confidentiality**

The personal information you give us will remain confidential. No information that can identify you in any way will be published. In addition, each research participant will be assigned a code and only the researcher and her team will be able to know her identity. The data will be kept in a safe place. The recordings will be transcribed and will be destroyed, along with any personal information, 7 years after the end of the project. Only data that does not allow you to be identified will be kept after this period.

**6. Right of withdrawal**

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and you can withdraw from the research at any time on simple verbal notice and without having to justify your decision, without consequences for you. If you decide to withdraw from the research, please contact the researcher at the telephone number listed below.

At your request, all information about you may also be destroyed. However, after the publication process has been inaugurated, it will be impossible to destroy the analyzes and the results relating to your data.

**B) CONSENT**

---

**Participant declaration**

• I understand that I can take my time to reflect before giving my consent or not to participate in the research.

• I can ask questions of the research team and demand satisfactory answers.

• I understand that by participating in this research project, I am neither giving up any of my rights nor remove the researchers from their responsibilities.

• I have read this information and consent form and I agree to participate in the research project.

Participant's signature: ________________________ Date: ______________________

Last name First Name: ________________________________

**Commitment of the researcher**

I explained to the participant the conditions of participation in the research project. I answered to the best of my knowledge the questions asked and I made sure that the participant understood. I agree, with the research team, to respect what has been agreed to in this information and consent form.

Signature of researcher: _________________________ Date: ______________________

(or her/his/their representative)

Last name First Name : ______________________________

For any questions relating to the study, or to withdraw from the research, please contact Övgü Ülgen at the telephone number [redacted] or at the email address ovgu.ulgen@umontreal.ca.

For any concerns about your rights or the responsibilities of the researchers regarding your participation in this project, you can contact the Research Ethics Committee - Society and Culture by email at cersc@umontreal.ca or by phone at 514 343-7338 or consult the website http://recherche.umontreal.ca/participants.

Any complaint relating to your participation in this research can be addressed to the ombudsman of the Université de Montréal by calling the telephone number 514 343-2100 or by sending an email to the address ombudsman@umontreal.ca (the ombudsman accepts collect calls).

A copy of the signed consent form must be given to the participant.

## RECRUITMENT EMAIL

**Email Title**: Research on Generational Belonging in the Sephardic Diaspora: An Analysis of Citizenship in Quebec and Canada

Good morning!

I am looking for participants for my research on generational belonging of the Sephardic diaspora in Quebec and Canada. If you have Sephardic origins resulting from immigration, if you are a Canadian citizen and if you live in Québec and Canada, your life-story interests me. I would very much like to interview you for a period of approximately thirty minutes to several hours.

If you meet the following criteria and are interested in participating in my study, please contact me by email:

- have Sephardic origins
- have Canadian or Québécois citizenship
- francophone, anglophone, bilingual, or allophone

The consent form will be sent one week before each interview to the participants so that you have enough time to reflect and transmit your refusal and/or your acceptance. During the pandemic, the interview will only be conducted via Zoom or Teams.

This research is led by Övgü Ülgen, doctoral candidate in Sociology at the University of Montreal.

Thank you for helping me better understand your reality!

**MESSAGE BY Facebook, What's up, or Phone (during the COVID-19 pandemic)**

Good morning!

My name is Övgü, Ph.D. candidate in Sociology at the University of Montreal. I am looking for participants with Sephardic origins and living in Québec and Canada for my doctoral thesis. I heard your name from XYZ (the name of someone we already know). I would be very happy to conduct an interview with you for a period of approximately thirty minutes to several hours by asking you certain thematic questions. While waiting for your response, I wish you a very good day!

## INTERVIEW GUIDE

### Interview outline

*Main themes for interview questions:*

1. Family history
2. Migration route
3. Process of identification with the majority group (Canadians, Franco-Québécois)
4. Relations with other minority groups
    a. Ashkenazim
    b. Muslim
5. Feeling of inclusion / exclusion

| **Text to be read to the participant at the beginning of the interview** |
| --- |
| During this interview, you will be asked to relate your personal life story, in connection with your family story, your migratory journey, your identification process and your feeling of inclusion and exclusion in Quebec and Canada.<br><br>During the current period of health emergency related to the COVID-19 pandemic, interviews will be conducted remotely using a videoconferencing technological tool, such as Zoom or others. The researcher will be responsible for the guarantee of confidentiality that she gives to her participants. I inform you of the security means (IT of the University relating to security measures) that I will put in place to enhance the confidentiality of the interview.<br><br>It is not a list of questions to be answered like in a survey, but rather some general questions touching on some specific themes of your individual and family journey. |

Thus, along the way, I will ask you to tell me about your personal experience relating to these general questions and I will absolutely leave you free to answer as you wish. Do not hesitate to tell me what seems interesting and relevant to you, without discomfort.

Finally, I remind you that, of course, all your words and all the information you provide me, as well as my personal notes, will be published in a way that will not identify you. However, if you do not feel comfortable sharing certain information with me, please feel free not to respond.

We are now ready to start the interview!

**I, II – Migratory journey and family history**

To begin, I would like you to tell me a little about your family.

- Family members
- Migration trajectory (country of origin of parents, reasons for migration, process of acculturation and integration, etc.)
- Language(s) spoken at home
- Education and profession in the country of origin and in Quebec and Canada (for elder participants)
- Education and Profession in Quebec and Canada (for younger participants)
- Family social networks

**III – Process of identification with the majority group**

What memories do you have of your sense of belonging to Quebec and Canada?

- Attitude towards your religion in the host society

    i. Do you consider yourself religious?

ii. Have you ever experienced discrimination based on your religious affiliation?

 Attitude towards your culture

i. How did you feel different because of your linguistic and cultural affiliation?

ii. How do you explain this difference?

 What does it mean to you to be Canadian? (For participants living in Ontario)

 What does it mean to you to be Quebecois and Canadian? (For participants living in Quebec)

 What role does your ethno-religious, linguistic and cultural origin play in your process of integration into Quebec and Canada?

**IV – Relations with other minority groups**

Can you describe your relationship with the Ashkenazim?

i. How did you feel different because of your linguistic and cultural affiliation compared to the Ashkenazim?

ii. What role does your cultural and ethno-religious origin play in your process of integration with the Ashkenazim?

Can you describe your relationship with Muslims?

**V - Feeling of inclusion / exclusion**

How do you describe your place in Quebecois and Canadian society? (thinking about your migration and family journey so far)

Are you planning to stay in Quebec? Do you have other projects? (for the participants living in Quebec).