RELIGION AND IDENTITY:
New Religious Movements in Québec

Roland Chagnon

Université du Québec à Montreal, Canada

Over the past fifteen years, Western societies have been experiencing an unprecedented influx of religious movements. Some draw their inspiration from Christian tradition but most of these movements are of Eastern origin and lean heavily on Hindu-Buddhist thought. In Québec, the number of new religious movements is estimated to be around 250 (Bergeron 1982: 14). A survey conducted by the Centre de sondage de l'Université de Montréal showed that 5.4% of Québec's population are presently participating or have already participated in one or another of these Eastern-inspired religious movements and that 19.9% of this same population had read books or articles on Eastern spirituality. The poll made no reference to the involvement of persons in evangelist or fundamentalist movements which have reached a certain level of importance in Québec today. The poll likewise did not attempt to measure the impact of Christianity-inspired sectarian literature. These data, on the other hand, give us a good idea of the influence Eastern-inspired religious movements have on Québec. Although we are not talking in terms of a mass social phenomenon, the influence these new religions have in Québec has, nonetheless, awakened the interest of religion sociologists. Because these movements appeared in Québec within the context of a sweeping drive towards secularization, we will begin by rapidly recalling the religious and social history of Québec and will then show how these new religious movements are an attempt to answer this recent secularization and the profound identity crisis that has resulted.

1. FROM A NATION-CHURCH TO A NATION-STATE

1.1 Religious and social history of Québec

Created in 1867 at the time of the Canadian confederation, Québec province remains distinct from the other provinces. Its inhabitants are mainly descendants of French colonists who settled in Canada during the French Regime (1608-1760). The British Conquest of 1760 was decisive for the future evolution of the "Canadians", a term which was first used to designate french "paysans" and which later came to describe, in its anglicized form (Canadians), English Canadians who had settled in Canada after the Conquest. In order to be distinguished from English Canadians, the French were progressively called French Canadians. They differ from English Canadians not only in language, but also in culture, history and especially religion. French Canadians form a nation distinct from English Canadians. Indeed, their group corresponds to the definition of a nation given by Pascale Mancini: "a natural society of men, united by territory, origin, custom, language conforming to the community of life and the social conscience" (Quoted in Shafer 1972: 14).

Whereas English Canadians were for the most part Protestant, French Canadians had always been almost uniquely Catholic. French Canadian historians have always stressed the tremendous role played by the Catholic Church in the formation and

protection of the national identity of French Canadians (Brunet 1958, 1969, 1971; Quellet 1962; Séguin 1970; Voisine 1971). Jean Hamelin wrote "Catholicism is the constitutive characteristic of French Canadian nationality. The collective will-to-live existing in the conscience of the people is embodied in a "Nous religieux" (Hamelin 1984: 48). After the Conquest when the elite had returned to France the Catholic Church took charge and assumed the management of the French Canadian destiny in all areas: religious, political, economic, social and cultural. The failure of the Patriots revolt in 1837-38, merely increased the power of the Church over the French Canadian society. From 1840 to 1960, the Catholic Church was to remain the ruling institution of French Canadian life. According to Nive Voisine, the apex of the Church's power over the French Canadian society was reached in the period from 1896 to 1940, a period which he likens to the triumphal Church (Voisine 1971: 55).

During the century in which the Church reigned, it held a complete monopoly on social institutions. It controlled education on all levels. Monks and nuns oversaw a network of hospitals, homes and orphanages. The Church also held influence on the economy. For decades it favoured the expansion of agriculture and colonization. At the beginning of the 20th century, when the labour movement appeared in Québec alongside the shaping of a movement towards industrialization, the Church sought to confront the situation by creating in 1921 a Catholic union: the Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (C.T.C.C.). Every effort of the Church was consecrated to fighting against what it considered to be the two greatest dangers facing French Canadians: the threats of Protestantism and anglicism.

While industry was in the hands of English Protestants, the Church sought to protect French Canadians by isolating them on their lands. Agriculture became the national vocation. In 1923, Cardinal Bégin stated: "We are essentially a people of agricultural calling" (Bégin quoted in Hulliger 1958: 16). Within this context, colonization of new lands became a national as well as religious crusade in Québec. This reverence for agriculture as a way of life was so strong during the second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century that, along with messianic and anti-state attitudes, it became a dominant characteristic of the French Canadian national ideology (Brunet 1958).

Distrust of State was nourished by the same fears as devotion to agriculture. They were both counter-reactions to the English Canadians use of State as an instrument of domination. According to the views of the Church, the State should be held at a distance. French Canadians should especially not consent to placing their values and most esteemed institutions into the hands of the State: their networks of schools and hospitals, their legislative system, language and culture ... French Canadians were encouraged to entrust all these things to the hands of the Church or to the weak provincial government which was subservient to it.

The ecclesiastical elite had finally legitimized the political and economic inferiority of French Canadians by immersing them in a supernatural and messianic vision of their unique destiny in North America. L.A. Pâquet expressed the essence of this messianic vision when he wrote:

> Now, my brother, — why should I hesitate to say it? — we have the privilege of being entrusted with this social priesthood granted only to select peoples. I cannot doubt that this religious and civilizing mission is the true vocation and the special vocation of the French race in America. Yes, let us not forget, we are not only a civilized race, we are pioneers of a civilization; we are not only a religious people, we are messengers of the spirit of religion; we are not only dutiful sons of the Church, we are, or we should be, numbered among its zealots, its defenders, and its apostles. Our mission is less to handle capital than to

stimulate ideas: less to light the furnaces of factories than to maintain and spread the glowing fires of religion and thought, and to help them cast their light into the distance. (Pâquet quoted in Cook 1969: 154)

This passage from a sermon given in 1902 on the vocation of the French race in America is an accurate reflection of the mood of this period when French Canadians were still holding on to the characteristics of a traditional society. During the years of the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966), this society was to undergo a series of profound mutations.

1.2 Secularization during the period of the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966)

Québec's entry into the modern era was neither abrupt nor impromptu. Since World War II, major changes had taken place in its socioeconomic infrastructure. Urbanization and industrialization were both forces which had shaken the foundations of a traditional French Canadian society. Urbanization increased from 58% in 1931 to 78% in 1971 (Posgate and McRoberts 1976: 48).

Posgate and McRoberts interpreted the Quiet Revolution as an adjustment, long expected, in ideologies and mentalities in the world of socio-economic infrastructures. It would only make sense that French Canadians, having lived for 20 or so years in a modern, industrialized society, should decide to implicate this reality where ideas were concerned. They ceased to continue living between two worlds and opted enthusiastically for a modern perspective on life.

The State played a determining role in Québec's attainment of modernity. In its haste to catch up and modernize, Québec gave the State control over the educational system and the network of social welfare fields. The Church suddenly found itself robbed of former functions. The secularization of social institutions created deep repercussions in the orders of the Church. Recruitment started to drop. From 164 ordinations to the priesthood in 1958, the number had dropped to 33 in 1976 (Voisine 1971: 84). The total number of priests went from 5,382 in 1961 to 4,687 in 1976 (Rouleau quoted in Johnson 1979). The number of men and women in religious communities was reduced from 55,295 in 1969 to 34,041 in 1976. Finally, the number of Sunday churchgoers fell drastically: 87% in 1956, 83% in 1965, 59% in 1974, 37% in 1978 and 38% in 1984 (Crysdale and Wheatcroft 1976: 6; Johnson 1979; Proulx 1984).

For Quebeckers, the Quiet Revolution marked a real paradigm shift in terms of symbolic integration in their society (Kuhn 1970). It represented a transformation from integration symbolico-religious to integration symbolico-politicus of the collective. The nation-state succeeded the nation-Church. To promote its reforms and to give coherency and momentum to its undertakings, the State resorted to nationalistic ideology which, as religious ideology had done in the past, was successful in uniting the entire collective into one body through recourse to common symbols. The old national identity, formerly inspired by religion and linked to a pessimistic nationalism of survival, was progressively downgraded and replaced by a new identity inspired by secularism and linked to a modern, liberal nationalism centered on promoting the nation of Québec in North America (Dion 1957, 1962, 1964). The term Québécois (Quebecker) replaced the term French Canadian. Nationalism was the central mobilizing idea for Quebeckers throughout the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966) and the years following until the beginning of the 1980's. During this period, nationalism indeed became, as Carlton J.H. Hayes suggests concerning contemporary nationalism in general, a dominant religion among Quebeckers. Hayes writes: "Modern and contemporary nationalism appeals to man's "religious sense". It offers a substitute

for, or supplement to, historic supernatural religion. Persons indifferent or hostile to the latter are apt to find a compensatory satisfaction and devotion in this worldly nationalism, that is, in what is essentially a religion of modern secularism" (Hayes 1960: 176).

1.3 The quiet disillusionment of the 1980's

The defeat of the referendum in 1980, the unilateral repatriation of the Canadian Constitution in 1981, and the economic crisis in 1981-1982 caused irreparable damage to the Parti Québécois, the nationalist government in office since 1976. Since the beginning of the 1980's nationalist ideology could no longer move the masses. A certain moroseness settled over Québec.

It is within this context of secularization, which rendered any dream of a Catholic French Canadian Québec impossible and which dulled the nationalist ideological spirit, that we should examine the appearance and development of another phenomenon — new religious movements. The inability of Church and State today to offer Quebeckers inspiring collective projects would explain the infatuation some have for the promises made by new religious movements. The dwindling feeling of belonging to a dynamic and promising community life, and the ever increasing feeling of anomy which is pervading Québec are the two main factors inciting many to a feverish search for a general meaning in life and for a personal reason to live. The theory of religion-identity relationships expounded by Hans Mol sheds some precious light on understanding this phenomenon of new religious movements in Québec.

2. THE THEORY OF RELIGION-IDENTITY RELATIONSHIPS

In their works dealing with the sociology of knowledge, Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann accurately described the relationships between religion and the social construction of reality. To survive, societies must invent an ORDER, in other words, ways of thinking and acting which are acceptable to others and are a source of social consensus such as to assure communication between members of a society. Because this order is arbitrary and precarious, societies feel the need to solidify it by founding it on a sacred and transcendent universe. Berger writes: "Religion has been one of the most effective bulwarks against anomy throughout human history" (Berger 1969: 87).

Societies have always constructed their reality to be in opposition to the manner in which societies surrounding them conceived theirs. What was a source of disorder for one could be a source of order and harmony for another. Anthropologists like Mary Douglas and Louis Dumont showed well how, through rules of pure and impure, societies sought to protect their own rules of operation from the threat of interference from the outside.

Historically, the great religions have always had an important role to play in the social construction of reality of various peoples and various cultures, a reality which at the same time defined their particular identity. The ties which are established between reality, order and identity justify the definition that Hans Mol gives of religion: "Religion is the sacralization of identity" (Mol 1976: IX). Mol also recognizes that the sacralization of a collective identity is much easier within the context of traditional societies than within modern and differentiated societies. He writes: "The waning capacity of universal religions to sacralize a social identity can be related to the decreasing extent to which highly differentiated societies are capable of being integrated ... Sectarian groups in these highly differentiated societies seem to derive at least

some of their success from being buffers between the heterogeneity of the social whole and the threat of personal alienation" (Mol 1976: 10).

The distinction Mol makes between social identity, group identity and personal identity (Mol 1976: 149) proved fruitful in the research I made on new religious movements in Québec (Chagnon 1985a, 1985b, 1985c). It was the inspiration of my typology on new religious movements in Québec. According to whether members of these movements had or had not experienced radical ruptures of identity in their spiritual development, I noticed their tendency to integrate, be it into sects having rigid community structures, or into the mystics where the structures were more open and flexible. Members of sects had been generally subjected to a process of conversion which lead them to find security in the identity of the group and, in becoming so absorbed, to lose their personal identity. Members of the mystics, on the contrary, would be better characterized as "alternants" (Travisano 1971), more concerned with asserting their own personal identity and individuality through the practice of certain rituals.

Travisano presents conversion as a radical passage from an old to a new identity. The converted adopts an entirely new perspective on existence. This perspective pervades his life from thereon and divides it into two essential periods: life before conversion and life after conversion. The converted presents himself in an entirely new manner to others. Finally, the converted is also someone who has changed groups of belonging. The alternant, on the other hand, does not undergo such radical change. His new identity does not seem cut off from his old one. On the contrary, it seems to him to be a prolongation of his former identity which he still keeps. The alternant seems to tend to territorialize his new identity; it does not pervade his whole existence as it does for the converted.

Finally, my typology was able to establish links between, on the one hand, spiritual progression of conversion, participation in a sect and refusal of modern values and, on another hand, spiritual progression of alternation, involvement in mystic conception and acceptance of modern values. The "marginal church" type was created for groups who, though subjecting their members to a process of conversion, do not stand in opposition to modern values.

In light of this typology, the majority of these new Eastern inspired religious movements in Québec should be interpreted as mystic. We are talking here of groups in which rituals aid the individual to live and develop in spite of the anomy prevalent in modern society. Sects tend to group together persons who are marginal and alienated from modern conditions of living and who seek religious compensation for their alienation in the sect. Mystics, on the other hand, tend to gather together persons who, though pushers of the cogwheel of modern living, do not find satisfaction in the roles they play or the opportunity to come to a full realization of themselves.

This remark brings us to another important distinction proposed by Mol between the role-playing self and the niche-constructing self (Mol 1978: 2). It is a question of two different theories of identity. The first which relates the identity of a person to the collection of roles he plays in his community, is expressed by Strauss, Mead, Berger and Luckmann, Soddy and Klapp. According to them, "Identity is a product of interaction with others in social groups" (Strauss cited in Mol 1976: 58), "identity emerges from the dialectic between individual and society" (Berger and Luckmann cited in Mol 1976: 58), "identity is an anchorage of the self to the social matrix" (Soddy cited in Mol 1976: 58). The second theory envisages the identity of a person as something difficult to confine and which conceals itself behind the roles it holds. Several theoreticians claim this theory, notably Wheelis, Eissler, Kramer, Jung, Goethe and Mol. They seem to share a like definition of identity, considering it to be "the most essential nucleus of man which becomes visible only after all his roles have

been laid aside" (De Levita cited by Mol 1976: 60). Wheelis defines it as "a coherent sense of self" (Wheelis cited by Mol 1976: 60). As for Mol, he defines it as "a stable niche where man is found in the midst of a chaotic world" (Mol 1976: 8).

In elaborating on the development of new religious movements in Québec, the theory of identity I have worked out makes abundant use of Mol's distinctions between collective identity, group identity, and personal identity on one hand and between the identity of roles and identity-niche on the other. Indeed, the old collective identities proposed in turn by Church and State have had such a weak effect on Quebeckers that their search for group identity (sect type) and personal identity (mystic) is quite plausible. It is also true that because they are dissatisfied, to one degree or another, with their identity of roles (layman identity) Quebeckers today are looking for their identity-niche (sacred identity). Mystics will alternate between the two whereas the sects will tend to become totally absorbed in the latter. Though sects encourage refusal of the world and the loss of self by fusion in a sacred US or in a group identity, the mystics, to the contrary, socialize their members in values of modernity by proposing sacralization of personal identity.

3. NEW RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS AND SACRALIZATION OF SELF

3.1 The return to individualism

For several years now, numerous authors have noted a wave of individualism sweeping over Western societies (Lasch 1980; Dumont 1983; Lipovetsky 1983, Gallo 1984; Bellah 1985; Laurent 1985). Contemporary individualism promotes such values as autonomy, right to one's own specificity and differences, the primacy of the individual over the collective and the right to pleasure. Several definitions have been given to individualism. According to Georges Palante "To be an individualist is to delight in the feeling, not of one's superiority, but of one's differentness, one's uniqueness" (Palante quoted in Laurent 1985: 40). For Théodore Zeldin, individualism was "the idea in which the individual is an autonomous being, having the right to act according to his own judgment and to submit all authoritarian norms and values to an independent and censorious examination" (Zeldin quoted in Laurent 1985: 40). Finally, Friedrich Hayek gave the following definition: "Individualism consists of recognizing the individual as judge in the last resort of his own ends and to believe that, to the extent it is possible, his own opinions must govern his acts" (Hayek quoted in Laurent 1985: 49).

All these definitions of individualism give primacy to the individual over the collective through all walks of life. In his praise of contemporary individualism, Alain Laurent shows that it represents a reaction against diverse collectivisms, communityisms and groupisms which had known a lot of favour in France, especially in the years from 1968 to 1981. Following the thought of Roland Jaccard, he adds "The man of modernity lives in a world of each man for himself, each in his own home, private, personal and intimate dimensions prevailing over those of community, social and collective" (Jaccard quoted in Laurent 1985: 47). Today's withdrawal into one's self was also noted by Gilles Lipovetsky who writes: "Everywhere it is the search of one's own identity and no longer of universality that motivates individual actions ... Radiant days following the revolution and progress are no longer believed in ... hedonist and personalized individualism has become legitimate and is no longer opposed" (Lipovetsky 1983:11).

3.2 Sacralization of self

New religious movements should be understood within the context of culture's new fashion which is contemporary individualism; be it sects and their refusal of

individualism or mystics and their adaptation to it. A myriad of individualist traits appear in mystic religions. We could mention a few; their insistance on personal experience as a criterion for evaluating religious statements, their mechanistic ethic centered around the law of karma and reincarnation, their essentially individualist rituals and finally, their emphasis on a sacred inner self which exists in every person and which they name, according to the group as: self, essential being, soul, thetan, etc. Paul Heelas has combined the individualist traits of these various new religions and designated them as "religions of self" (Heelas quoted in Barker 1982: 69). This same opinion was expressed by Roy Wallis in the following terms:

> The beliefs of these movements are essentially individualistic. The source of suffering, of disability, of unhappiness, lies within oneself rather than in the social structure. The spiritual dimension in particular is a matter of individual experience and individual subjective reality rather than social reality or even social concern. Moreover, God is not perceived as a personal deity imposing a set of ethical prescriptions upon human society. If God is referred to, it is primarily as a diffuse, amorphous and immanent force in the universe, but present most particularly within oneself. For many of these groups and movements, the self is the only God there is, or at least the only one that matters. (Wallis 1979: 196)

Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony also show how sacralization of self, promulgated by these Eastern-inspired new religions, could serve to justify a new individualist and permissive ethic made possible by the evolution of American capitalism from "enterpreneurship" to "managerism" (Robbins and Anthony 1981: 9).

From the above considerations it is very clear that these new movements are all preoccupied with the individual. But the individual they are concerned with is not the outer being, visible to all. It is rather the essential being present in every man, sheltering in the depths of himself and which the new religions call by various names: self, soul, thetan, and so on. The new religions are interested in the secret and hidden identity. They attempt to convince man that his true identity (identity-niche) is not to be identified with his empirical personality, but that it actually transcends his identity of roles. By convincing their members that their sacred and real identity overflows their illusionary and profane identity, the roles everyone confronts as necessary to survival are rendered trite or commonplace. In so doing they socialize their members to the values and demands of modern living. Contemporary mystics bring together people who may experience difficulties in living in an individualist climate, but who can succeed in doing so because they are assured that they are not essentially affected by the uneasiness of their times. In examining their rituals we are even further convinced.

3.3 Rituals of the sacralization of self

The new Eastern-inspired religious movements are essentially centred on the practice of exercises and rituals. Doctrines hold little weight in these movements. The principal rituals are initiation, witnessing (satsang) and especially meditation.

Witnessing (satsang) creates the heart of the spiritual reality. Through it, one is assured that a universe of peace, happiness and serenity can be achieved "here and now" in the heart of a troubled, turbulent world. Whether it is called Knowledge, Energy, Soul or God, one conviction remains: that perfect happiness is possible in this world. Initiation awakens the disciple to the world of peace and serenity for the first time. Meditation provides the means for the individual to attain states of consciousness that allow him to make contact with the energy deep inside him which is the guarantee of his happiness.

Arnold Van Gennep and Victor Turner stressed the religious crisis which accompanies the celebration of rituals. This crisis is generally brought about by a passage from one territory to another, from one state of living to another, or even, from life to death. To guarantee this transition which provokes anxiety, rituals are created which are essentially "rites of passage".

In her study entitled "The Complex Forms of the Religious Life. A Durkheimian View of New Religious Movements", Frances Westley makes a fundamental contribution to the study of the significance of ritual in new religions. She claims that the rites of traditional societies can be said to attempt to pass the individual from one state of being to another with the idea of avoiding statuslessness, but the same is not true of modern, differentiated societies. Inspired by the works of Irwing Goffman and Mary Douglas, she states that for the latter societies the purpose of the rites is not to pass the individual from one status or one stage of life to another, but rather to help him adopt the attitudes which circumstances at any given moment might require of him. Modern men are governed by rules of etiquette. In the evolving circumstances of their lives, they must always be ready to pass from one role to another and to adopt appropriate attitudes to those roles. If not, they can "lose face". This brings Frances Westley to maintain that modern man is not so much afraid of "statuslessness' as he is afraid of "facelessness", or of presenting the wrong face. She writes:

> In a stable society, one's identity is relatively changless. The role one plays, the image one has, the people one knows, remain fairly constant. Identity is not being continually tested and the rules for its maintenance are fairly well understood by all participants in a given situation. In these societies, . . . rites of passage are partly created to deal with the danger those in transition present to others and to themselves.
> "Face", however, with its ephemeral implications, is much better suited for our society. Increasingly, it may be argued, criteria for public and private face-work are becoming obscure. Each new contact we make requires anew the establishment of "face". (Westley 1983: 104)

The concept of "face" sheds some light on the rituals of modern religious movements. Practiced daily, meditation permits the individual to release himself from all the faces and roles he has successively played throughout the day. It favours a re-centration of the self, a contact with the self which is really above and beyond the daily *mascarade* everyone puts on. By encouraging individuals to not identify with any one of the faces they must wear, the ritual of meditation makes members of the new religious movements better capable of playing their roles in society and of accepting the incessant shifts it requires of everyone.

Meditation is a therapeutic ritual in that it restores the true being by ridding it of its impurities. Meditation is a way of moving beyond false identities, which one is constantly tempted to adopt, towards the true identity hidden within. It is thus a passage from impurity to purity, from illusory identity to true identity, from anguish to serenity . . . By the distance one is invited to maintain between self and the various roles each must play in society, meditation helps its members to survive in modern society while making them well adapted to modern conditions. The new religious movements, at least those of the mystic type, are closely attuned to modernity.

CONCLUSION

This rapid scan of the religious and social history of Québec shows that after having long been in search of a collective identity, first in a religious sense, then in a secular one, Quebeckers are now seeking group identity (in sects) or personal

identity (in mystics). This evolution can be explained in part by the secularization which was provoked by the Quiet Revolution (1960-1966) and partly by the more recent disappointments in nationalist ideology. Many Quebeckers today are distrustful of collective and community projects. We are presently witnessing a general movement of withdrawal into the self and a kind of triumph of individualism.

This new cultural mode has penetrated Churches which must reckon with followers who are making religious experiments in the areas of beliefs, practices, values and styles of living. It has made a big impression on those who are looking for no other salvation than what is offered by a consumer society governed by mirages. In other respects, individualism has adversaries in a few isolated groups and minorities such as religious sects or politically radical groups of the same inspiration. Finally, contemporary individualism has found a precious ally in mystics of Eastern thought who encourage their members to adopt this predominant value of our era. Through their rituals, especially meditation, mystics assist their members in the difficult quest for individuality. By sacralizing the self, mystics encourage their members to not take the daily games they play too seriously.

REFERENCES

Bellah, Robert N., Richard Madsen et al . . . 1985 *Habits of the Heart.* Individualism and Commitment in American Life. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Berger, Peter 1969 *The Sacred Canopy.* Elements of a sociological Theory of Religion. New York: Doubleday & Company Inc.

Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann 1966 *The Social Construction of Reality.* A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. The Penguin Press.

Bergeron, Richard 1982 *Le cortège des fous de Dieu.* Un chrétien scrute les nouvelles religions. Montreal: Editions Paulines & Apostolat des Editions.

Brunet, Michel 1958 La présence anglaise et les Canadiens, Montréal: Beauchemin.

1969 L'Eglise Catholique du Bas-Canada et le partage du pouvoir à l'heure d'une nouvelle donnée 1837-1854, in *Canadian Historical Papers,* 37-51.

1971 *Canadians et Canadiens:* études sur l'histoire et la pensée des deux Canadas. Montréal: Editions Fides.

Chagnon, Roland 1985a *La Scientologie: une nouvelle religion de la puissance.* Montréal: Hurtubise HMH.

1985b *Trois nouvelles religions de la lumière et du son: La Science de la spiritualite, Eckankar et La Mission de la Lumière Divine,* Montréal: Editions Paulines & Médiaspaul.

1985c Les nouvelles religions dans la dynamique socio-culturelle re-cente au Québec, dans Religion/Culture. *Comparative Canadian Studies,* eds William Westfall and Louis Rousseau, Association for Canadian Studies.

Cook, Ramsay 1969 *French-Canadian Nationalism.* An Anthology. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Crysdale, Stewart and Les Wheatcroft 1976 *Religion in Canadian Society.* Toronto: Macmillan of Canada.

Dion, Léon 1957 Le nationalisme pessimiste: sa source, sa signification, sa validité, in *Cité Libre* 18, 1957, 3-19.

1962 Vers un nationalisme positif, in Montréal: *Le Devoir,* 8 décembre 1962.

1964 Genèse et caractère du nationalisme de croissance. In *Les nouveaux Québécois,* Québec: P.U.L., 1964.

Douglas, Mary 1967 *Purity and Danger.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.

Dumont, Louis 1966 *Homo hierarchicus.* Le système des castes et ses implications. Paris: Gallimard.

1983 *Essais sur l'individualisme.* Une perspective anthropologique sur l'idéologie moderne. Paris: Seuil.

Gallo, Max 1984 *La troisième alliance.* Pour un nouvel individualisme. Paris: Fayard.

Goffman, Erving 1973 *La mise en scène de la vie quotidienne,* 2 vols. Paris: Les Editions de Minuit.

Hamelin, Jean and Nicole Gagnon 1984 *Histoire du catholicisme québécois.* Le XXè siècle. Tome 1. 1898-1940. Montréal: Boréal Express.

Hayes, Carlton J. H. 1960 *Nationalism: A Religion*. New York: The MacMillan Company.

Heelas, Paul 1982 Californian Self-Religions and Socializing the subjective, in *New Religious Movements*. A Perspective for Understanding Society, ed. Eileen Barker, New York and Toronto: The Edwin Mellen Press.

Hulliger, Jean 1958 *L'enseignement social des évêques canadiens de 1891 à 1950*. Montréal: Fides.

Johnson, W. 1979 Church-going still going strong. *Globe & Mail*, 14 and 15 August 1979.

Kuhn, Thomas S. 1970 *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lasch, Christopher 1980 *Le complexe de Narcisse*. La nouvelle sensibilité américaine. Paris: Robert Laffont.

Laurent, Alain 1985 *De l'individualisme*. Enquête sur le retour de l'individu. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

Lipovetsky, Gilles 1983 *L'ère du vide*. Essais sur l'individualisme contemporain. Paris: Gallimard.

Mol, Hans 1976 *Identity and the Sacred*. A sketch for a new social-scientific theory of religion. Oxford: Basic Blackwell.

1978 *Identity and Religion*. International, Cross-Cultural Approaches. Sage Studies in International Sociological Association, 16.

Ouellet, Fernand 1962 Les fondements historiques de l'option séparatiste dans le Québec, *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 3, pp. 27-42.

Posgate, Dale and Kenneth McRoberts 1976 *Québec: Social Change and Political Crisis*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited.

Proulx, Jean-Pierre 1984 La pratique dominicale hebdomadaire s'est stabilisée à 38%. Montreal: *Le Devoir*, 8 septembre 1984.

Robbins, Thomas et Dick Anthony 1981 Culture Crisis and Contemporary Religion, in *In Gods We Trust*. New Patterns of Religious Pluralism in America, eds Thomas Robbins and Dick Anthony, New Brunswick and London: Transaction Books.

Séguin, Maurice 1970 *La nation canadienne et l'agriculture, 1760-1850*. Trois-Rivières: Boréal Express.

Shafer, Boyd C. 1972 *Faces of Nationalism*. New Realities and Old Myths. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich Inc.

Travisano, Richard V. 1971 Alternation and Conversion as Qualitatively Different Transformations. In *Social Psychology through Symbolic Interaction*, eds. Gregory P. Stone and Harvey A. Farberman, Waltham: Xerox College Publishing.

Turner, Victor 1977 *The Ritual Process*. Structure and Anti-Structure. Cornell University Press.

Van Gennep, Arnold 1909 *Les rites de passage*. Paris: Librairie Critique Emile Nourry.

Voisine, Nive 1971 *Histoire de l'Eglise catholique au Québec* (1608-1970). Montréal: Editions Fides.

Wallis, Roy 1979 The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life, in *The Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religion*, 191-211.

Westley, Frances 1983 *The Complex Forms of the Religious Life*. A Durkheimian View of New Religious Movements. Chico, California: Scholars Press.

Related works by the author of this paper:

La Scientologie: une nouvelle Religion de la puissance. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1985.
Trois nouvelles religions de la lumière et du son. Montréal: Editions Paulines, 1985.
"Les nouvelles religions dans la dynamique socio-culturelle recente au Québec" in *Canadian Issues, Religion/Culture, Comparative Canadian Studies*, eds., W. Westfall and L. Rousseau. The Association for Canadian Studies, 1985.