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Master's Thesis

2023   **Hannah Hrynuik Breedon**

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Multiculturalism Policy in Canada: Exploring the Dispute with Québec through Framing Analysis

Master's thesis

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Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I have compiled this thesis using the listed literature and resources only.

2. I hereby declare that my thesis has not been used to gain any other academic title.

3. I fully agree to my work being used for study and scientific purposes.

In Prague on August 1, 2023   Hannah Hrynuik Breedon

References

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Abstract

Multiculturalism has been an official federal government policy in Canada since 1971 and is strongly associated with the country. However, from its inception, it has been met with strong criticism and opposition in the predominantly French-speaking province of Québec. While the long history of French-English conflicts in Canada has been explored, there is a paucity of comprehensive literature that focuses on the resurgence of this particular dispute in the last decade. This period includes Québec's adoption of several new, high profile, and controversial policies and laws that mark a rejection of the federal policy. To help fill this gap, and develop a more specific and contemporary description of this dispute, this paper uses frame analysis as a lens through which to examine a range of sources including news articles, government documents, press releases, speeches and interviews. Through this analysis six frames used by federal and provincial actors are identified and discussed: "Unique Cultural Preservation", "Québecois as Dominant Culture" and "Provincial Autonomy" on one side; and "Cultural Diversity and Pluralism", "Accommodation" and "National Unity" on the other.

The findings reveal that the dispute is rooted in a historic struggle for power between the province and the federal government that can be traced back to the beginnings of colonization. Contemporary resurgence of the dispute in the province is influenced by a confluence of factors, including demographic changes, economic difficulties, and high profile legal challenges, with Québec authorities attributing these problems to the federal multiculturalism policy. The analysis also reveals a broader ideological debate taking place - one surrounding nationhood, national culture and the individual versus collective dynamic. The framing employed by both sides influence discourse on the dispute and on understandings of the country. These findings demonstrate how a deeper examination of a policy dispute can reveal important dimensions of a complex issue that are not always immediately evident. Given the prominence of Canada's national multiculturalism policy coupled with the fact that Canada currently has one of the highest rates of annual immigration per population of any country in the world, investigating the full nature of the current policy dispute can inform the future of multiculturalism policy in Canada and Canada-Québec relations more broadly.

Abstrakt

Multikulturalismus je oficiální politikou federální vlády v Kanadě od roku 1971 a je s touto zemí silně spojen. Od svého vzniku se však setkává se silnou kritikou a odporem v převážně francouzsky mluvící provincii Québec. Zatímco dlouhá historie francouzsko-anglických konfliktů v Kanadě byla prozkoumána, existuje nedostatek ucelenější literatury, která se zaměřuje na průběh tohoto sporu a to i během posledního poněkud turbulentnějšího desetiletí. Během tohoto období totiž v Québecku došlo k přijetí několika nových, vysoce kontroverzních politik a zákonů, které znamenají odmítnutí této federální politiky. Práce aspiruje na zaplnění nedostatku informací o vývoji tohoto sporu, využívá pro to rámcovou analýzu, jejímž prostřednictvím zkoumá řadu informačních zdrojů včetně zpravodajských článků, vládních dokumentů, tiskových zpráv, projevů a rozhovorů. Prostřednictvím jejich analýzy identifikuje a diskutuje šest rámců používaných federálními a provinčními aktéry, konkrétně se jedná o na jedné straně: "Unikátní zachování kultury", "Québecois jako dominantní kultura", "Provinční autonomie"; a na straně druhé: "Kulturní rozmanitost a pluralita", "Ubytování" a "Národní jednota". Zjištění práce odhalují, že spor má kořeny v historickém boji o moc mezi provincií a federální vládou, který lze vysledovat až k počátkům kolonizace. Současné oživení sporu v provincii Québec je ovlivněno souběhem faktorů včetně demografických změn, ekonomických potíží a významných právních problémů, přičemž québecké úřady připisují tyto problémy právě federální politice multikulturalismu. Analýza také odhaluje širší ideologickou debatu, která se odehrává kolem pojetí národa, národní kultury a individuální versus kolektivní dynamiky. Rámování používané oběma stranami ovlivňuje diskurs o zkoumaném sporu i o celkovém pojetí státu. Předkládaná zjištění ukazují, jak může hlubší zkoumání politického sporu odhalit důležité dimenze složitého problému, které nejsou vždy na první pohled zřejmé. Vzhledem k důležitosti kanadské národní politiky multikulturalismu ve spojení se skutečností, že Kanada má v současnosti jednu z nejvyšších ročních počtů přistěhovalectví na počet obyvatel ze všech zemí na světě, může identifikace hlubších příčin současného politického sporu přispět k porozumění utváření politiky multikulturalismu v Kanadě i k porozumění vztahům mezi Kanadou a provincií Québec na obecnější rovině.

Keywords

Canada, Multiculturalism Policy, Framing Analysis, Signature Matrix, Culture, Nation, Identity, Québec

Klíčová slova

Kanada, politika multikulturalismu, rámcová analýza, matice signatur, kultura, národ, identita, Québec

Title

Multiculturalism Policy in Canada: Exploring the Dispute with Québec through Framing Analysis

Název práce

Politika multikulturalismu v Kanadě: Zkoumání sporu s Québecem pomocí rámcové analýzy

Acknowledgement

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Introduction

In his famous address to the Ukrainian-Canadian Congress on October 9th 1971, former Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau, remarked, "there is no such thing as a model or ideal Canadian" (Pierre Elliott Trudeau, 1971). The previous day, Trudeau had announced multiculturalism as an official government policy, making Canada the first country in the world to do so (Canadian Encyclopedia, 2020). The policy has come to have a strong association with Canadian identity and is one of the most renowned in the country's history (Canadian Geographic, 2021). In the accompanying announcement, Trudeau asserted, "Although there are two official languages, there is no official culture" (1971). The policy was in fact an "unexpected by-product" of a Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, originally meant to appease growing unrest among French Canadians in the province of Québec (Jedwab, 2020). Since its announcement and subsequent adoption in the 1988 Canadian Multiculturalism Act, Québec, a province commonly stereotyped as being close-minded, has been one of the policy's strongest opponents (Policy Options, 2023). In particular, French-Canadian academics and politicians have been outspoken against the policy from its inception (Berry and Kalin, 1995). More recently, however, controversy over the policy has mounted in the province (Proulx-Chenard, 2022), with Québec's Premier even asserting that they "need to fight multiculturalism" (CBC, 2022). Although Canada's multiculturalism policy has been covered extensively in the past, within the last decade, the province of Québec has also adopted several new controversial policies and laws that mark a rejection of the federal multiculturalism policy (Gedeon, 2022). The controversial developments in Québec include the *Québec Values Charter* in 2013, *An Act Respecting the Laicity of the State* and the *Québec Values Test* in 2019, and Bill 96, officially called *An Act Respecting French, the Official and Common Language of Québec*. Due to the separation of powers in Canada's federation, the province is able to create policies and act largely on its own (Salee, 1994). The heightened dispute between the federal government's policy and approach and that of the Québec government is currently very prominent in public discourse and national debate, triggering several protests and challenges (Ross, 2022). Given Canada currently has one of the highest rates of annual immigration per population of any country in the world and that multiculturalism is a prominent national policy strongly associated with the country (Canadian Encyclopedia, 2022), this topic is of particular relevance.

Aims and Research Questions

This paper aims to investigate the reasons behind the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec and the underlying causes that led to the current state. Furthermore, the paper aims to develop a more specific description of the dispute under consideration to encourage academic thought on this topic where a gap currently exists. Although Canada's multiculturalism policy has been explored extensively in academia from different perspectives and disciplines, there is a scarcity of literature that focuses on the dispute with Québec in the past decade, even though the province has been covered extensively in national media and popular discourse. Additionally, there are few, if any, recent works written about the reasons behind the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec or that attempt to develop a more specific description. This paper will begin to close this gap, and aid in forming a more complete picture of the current situation.

Main Research Question: What are the reasons behind the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec?

> Sub-Question 1: What are the historical roots of this dispute?

> Sub-Question 2: Are there particular reasons why this dispute is present in contemporary public discourse?

> Sub-Question 3: How are different actors framing the dispute over multiculturalism policy?

1. Context

1.1 Defining Multiculturalism in Canada

This section seeks to define multiculturalism in the Canadian context. Multiculturalism, generally speaking, as a concept and as a policy, may be understood differently depending upon the context, such as the country in which it is being discussed. The concept of multiculturalism in Canada can be understood not only as a policy but also as a factual description of Canadian

society from a sociological perspective and prescriptively as an ideology (Brosseau and Dewing, 2018, p. 1). Although this paper focuses on the federal policy of multiculturalism, it is crucial to understand how multiculturalism as a concept is generally understood in the country. From a political perspective, as a policy, multiculturalism policy refers to "the management of diversity through formal initiatives in the federal, provincial, territorial and municipal domains (ibid.). From a sociological perspective, multiculturalism can be understood as the fact that there is a presence of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds in Canada (ibid). As an ideology, multiculturalism refers to a set of ideas or ideals related to celebrating cultural diversity in Canada (ibid). Notably, the Canadian federal government agrees with and refers to these three understandings when discussing multiculturalism in the country (Government of Canada, n.d).

As a policy, former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced multiculturalism as an official government policy on October 8th 1971. Under this policy, the federal government made four specific commitments: "assistance to cultural groups in their development and growth; assistance to members of cultural groups to overcome barriers to full participation in society; promotion of creative exchanges between cultural groups; and assistance to immigrants in learning French or English" (Library and Archives Canada, 1971). Since the initial announcement of the policy, there have been several key developments, initiatives and legislative actions taken by the Canadian government to promote and support the policy of multiculturalism:

- 1973: the *Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism* (renamed the *Canadian Ethnocultural Council*) was established
- 1982, the new *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* acknowledged Canada's multicultural heritage
- 1985: the House of Commons established a *Standing Committee of Multiculturalism*
- 1988: Royal Assent was given to the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* after Parliament adopted the legislation
- 1990: *Multiculturalism Canada* tabled its first annual report on the implementation of the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act*
- 1991: Royal Assent was given to the *Department of Multiculturalism and Citizenship Act*
- 1996: The federal government established the *Canadian Race Relations Foundation*
- 1997: The federal government announced a renewed multiculturalism program

- 2002: The federal government announced that *Canadian Multiculturalism Day* would be held on 27 June each year
- 2005: The federal government announced *Canada's Action Plan Against Racism*
- 2006: The federal government announced the *Community Historical Recognition Program* and the *National Historical Recognition Program*
- 2008: Responsibility for multiculturalism transferred from the Department of Canadian Heritage to the Department of Citizenship and Immigration
- 2015: The federal government announced that the multiculturalism portfolio was being transferred from the Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship to the Department of Canadian Heritage
- 2016: The government announced the creation of the *Office of Human Rights, Freedoms and Inclusion* (Library of Parliament, 2018)

All provincial governments in Canada have either adopted some form of multiculturalism policy, legislation, advisory council or a combination of these elements (Library of Parliament, 2018). However, Québec's versions of multiculturalism policy are not typically called such but instead referred to the province's preferred idea of "interculturalism" which "establishes the unquestioned supremacy of French in the language and culture of Québec" (Library of Parliament, 2018, p. 16).

> *While the territorial governments do not have multiculturalism policies per se, they have human rights Acts that prohibit discrimination based on, among other things, race, colour, ancestry, ethnic origin, place of origin, creed or religion. In Whitehorse, the Multicultural Centre of the Yukon provides services to immigrants.* (Library of Parliament, 2018, p. 12).

In terms of a factual description, "most Canadians think of multiculturalism as a demographic reality that acknowledges the diverse ethnic makeup of the Canadian population" (Jedwab, 2020, para. 5). This view of reality is supported by statistics as reflected in the following Figure 1. The highlights of Canada's most recent Census in 2021 reveal the vast ethnic and cultural origins of the Canadian population with more than 450 origins reported. The respondents of the 2021

Census answered subjectively, "reflecting the image Canadians have of themselves, as well as the knowledge and understanding of their family's ethnic and cultural heritage" (Statistics Canada, 2021).

Figure 1. Most Common Ethnic or Cultural Origins Reported by the Population, Canada 2021
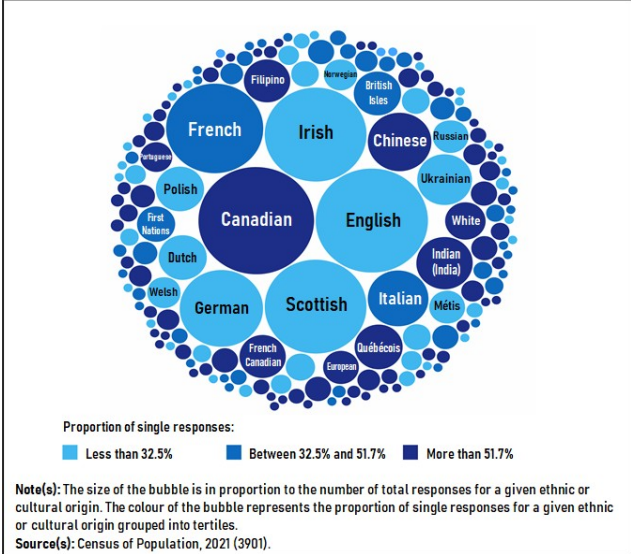
Source: Census. (2021). The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity. *Statistics Canada.* Retrieved from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/g-b001-eng.htm

The top origins reported were Canadian, English, Irish, Scottish and French, with 35.5% of the population reporting more than one origin. Several groups accounted for at least 1 million people in Canada including German, Chinese, Italian, Ukrainian and Indian. Approximately 2.2 million people reported having Indigenous ancestry representing 6.1% of the Canadian population. Amongst those that reported Indigenous ancestry, 1.4 million reported one of the 104 First Nations, 560,000 reported Métis ancestry, and 82,000 reported Inuit ancestry (ibid).

In terms of racialized populations in Canada, one in four Canadians reported being a part of a racialized group. "Immigration continues to be the main driver of population growth of each racialised group" accounting for 69.3% of the immigrant population (ibid). The main racialized groups in Canada are South Asians, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Arabs, Latin American, Southeast Asian, West Asian, Korean and Japanese. The population of these groups has continued to grow with each census, mainly the South Asian, Black, Filipino, and Arab groups, which saw the most considerable increase between 2016 and 2021 as represented in Figure 2. To note, these racialized groups are also diverse amongst themselves. For example, amongst the groups, there

are significant differences in terms of birthplace, ethnicity, cultural origins, religion and language. These differences amongst groups can be attributed to various waves of immigration (ibid.).

Figure 2. Growth of All Racialized Groups in Canada Since 2001
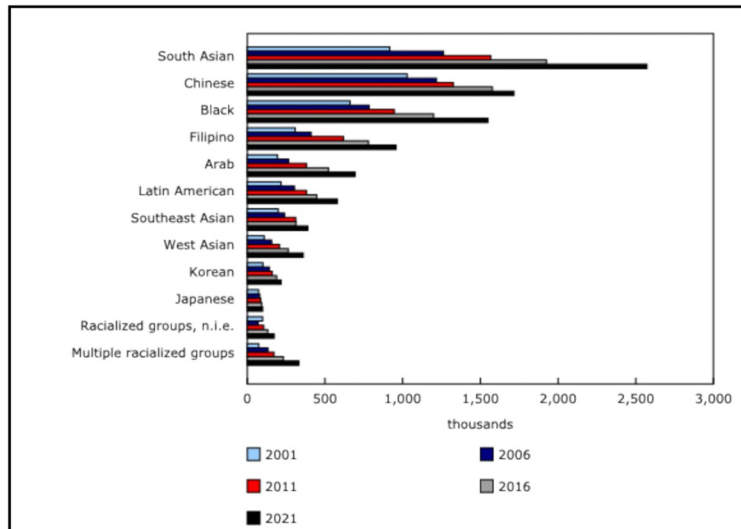

Source: Census and National Household Survey. (2021). The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity. *Statistics Canada.* Retrieved from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/cg-b003-png-eng.htm

On the other hand, nearly 70% of Canada's population report being white at approximately 25 million people. Of those that reported being white, over 400 ethnic or cultural origins were reported with nearly half reporting multiple origins. The most common origins reported in this group were British, French, and Western European. Within this group, approximately 186,000 report being recent immigrants who landed after 2016. The majority, though, report immigrating to Canada before the 1990s, mostly from European countries and the United States (2021). Of white people born in Canada, 16.3% report having at least one parent born abroad (2021). Within this group, there is also a diversity of languages, with the most common being English (65.5%) and French (27.2%), followed by Italian, German, Russian and Portuguese (ibid).

In terms of religion, the majority of the Canadian population reported being Christian, but that share is decreasing. Slightly over half of the Canadian population reported being Christian, as represented in the following figure, but this number has decreased since 2011. Catholics are the largest Christian denomination, followed by the United Church, the Anglican Church, Orthodox Christians and Baptists. After Christianity Islam is the second most common religion in Canada.

In terms of numbers, these religions are followed by Sikh, Hindu, Jews and Buddhist. See Figure 3. Immigration is one of the main drivers of non-Christian faiths to Canada. Notably, more than one in three Canadians reported having no religious affiliation or a secular perspective at all and has more than doubled in the past 20 years (Statistics Canada, 2021).

Figure 3. Distribution of the Population by Religious Affiliation 2021

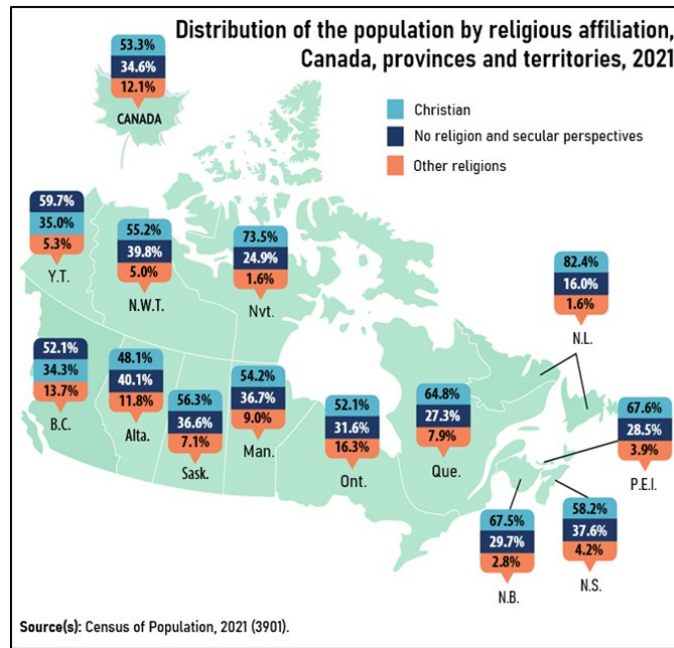Source: Census. (2021). The Canadian census: A rich portrait of the country's religious and ethnocultural diversity. *Statistics Canada.* Retrieved from: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/221026/mc-b001-eng.htm

Of the Official Languages of Canada, English continues to be spoken the most by over three in four Canadians. This portion has increased since the last Census. Whereas French, the other Official Language of Canada, fell in terms of proportion. The proportion of Canadians who spoke French at home predominantly also fell in all the provinces and territories except the Yukon. These percentages are represented in Figure 4. However, the percentage of bilingual Canadians has remained nearly the same since 2016. Of non-official languages, one in four Canadians speaks at least one other language than English or French. In total, 4.6 million Canadians speak predominantly another language other than English or French at home, with Mandarin and Punjabi being the most common (Statistics Canada, 2022).

Figure 4. Percentage of Population by First Official Language Spoken in 2021

Figure 4. Percentage of Population by First Official Language Spoken in 2021
Source: Census. (2021). 2021 Census promotional material. *Statistics Canada.* Retrieved from:
https://www.statcan.gc.ca/en/census/census-engagement/community-supporter/language

Considering immigration to Canada overall, over 1.3 million new immigrants settled in Canada permanently between 2016 to 2021, which is the highest number of recent immigrants recorded in a Canadian census. "During the 2021 Census, nearly 1 in 4 people counted were or had been a landed immigrant or permanent resident in Canada, the highest proportion since Confederation and the largest proportion among G7 countries" (IRCC, 2022). The year 2022 saw a new record number for newcomers to Canada in a single year at 431,645 people, with 2023 possibly on track to top this record (ibid.). Prior to the 2021 record, the last time Canada welcomed so many new people was in 1913. Notably, Immigration accounts for almost 100% of Canada's labour force growth and 75% of Canada's population growth (ibid). Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada projects that by 2036, immigrants will represent 30% of Canada's population (2022).

Overall, Canada's demographic composition can be considered "ethnically heterogeneous" (Government of Canada, n.d.), and the majority of Canadians recognize this as a fact (Canadian Geographic, 2021). As demonstrated by Census reporting, Canadians come from many countries of origin and various cultural backgrounds. Canadians also have different religious affiliations

and speak a variety of languages. Canada continues to have a significantly high number of newcomers arriving each year, with this number set to increase going forward.

Finally, "ideologically, multiculturalism consists of a relatively coherent set of ideas and ideals pertaining to the celebration of Canada's cultural diversity" (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018). Generally speaking, multiculturalism is "a body of thought in political philosophy about the proper way to respond to cultural and religious diversity" (Song in Kenyeres, 2014, p. 28). Further, in the Canadian context, multiculturalism is typically used to describe facts and concepts that are interrelated (ibid.).

1.2 Relevance and Literature Review

Multiculturalism in Canada has long been a popular topic of academic thought. Although, as Wong and Guo remark in their book *Revisiting Multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, Policies and Debates*, "it is surprising how few anthologies exist on the topic of multiculturalism in Canada given the controversies and heavily debated nature of the topic in the academic literature" (2015, p. 6). The first one titled *Multiculturalism and Intergroup Relations* by James Frideres, was published in 1989, a year after the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was enacted. This anthology included leading ethnic studies scholars who focused more broadly on the role of ethnicity in society with an international scope. Notably, this book included a chapter on a retrospective analysis of Canada's Bilingual and Bicultural Report, which led to the eventual adoption of multiculturalism as a policy. In 2007, the book *Uneasy Partners* provided scholarly and personal reflections on multiculturalism in Canada with a central focus on the conflict between equality rights and multiculturalism in policy and practice (Stein et al., 2007). This book was less academically focused in terms of being historical, theoretical or philosophical (Wong & Guo, 2015). In 2011, the anthology *Home and Native Land: Unsettling Multiculturalism in Canada* was published and mainly dealt with a critique of multiculturalism policy from the Left (Chazan et al.) Jack Jedwab edited a book in 2014 titled *The Multicultural Question: Debating Identity in 21st Century Canada*. As Wong and Guo (2015, p.8) note, "while the term "identity" is in the title of the anthology, this is a misnomer as the chapters cover a broad area of topics and do not focus particularly or specifically on the concept of identity in a social-psychological sense". Instead, this work covers a broad range of topics, debates and criticisms of the policy.

Wong and Guo's (2015) anthology continued these discussions through a compilation of the work of various authors with a focus on the critical analysis of multiculturalism. The most recent anthology was published in 2021 by Augie Fleras, titled *Canadian Multiculturalism at 50: retrospect, perspectives, prospect*. The works included a focus on critically assessing multiculturalism in Canada and envisioning its future. Notably, the focus of these critiques have a significantly different focus than that of this paper and are not similar to the "critiques" of the Québec government towards the policy, which could perhaps be better characterized as a rejection or defiance of the policy. More so, the critiques found in these anthologies pertain to shortcomings and failures of multiculturalism policy in theory and practice and philosophical debates and reflections on related concepts.

In the larger anthologies on the topic of multiculturalism in Canada, there are only portions of chapters that relate to Québec specifically. In Multiculturalism in Canada: Theories, Policies and Debates by Wong and Guo (2015), Québec is mentioned predominantly in historic descriptions pertaining to the development of multiculturalism policy. Québec's mention is mainly found in the introduction and the recounting of phases of multiculturalism implementation by contributor Will Kymlicka. These two chapters discuss Québec's relationship with federal multiculturalism policy from a historic and descriptive focus. Other such chapters pertaining to Québec, found in such anthologies on multiculturalism, more narrowly focus on the experiences of specific minority communities within Québec and are thereby less relevant to the research aims of this paper. These chapters explore the individual experiences of chosen minorities in the province in relation to local policies or events.

Searching for literature related to contention between the province of Québec and Canada or the federal government in a general sense, Edward Corbett's (1967) book *Québec Confronts Canada* stands out from a vast array of sources. According to the author, this piece is the first book-length study of the conflict between French and English Canadians. Corbett's work was originally published in 1967, before the adoption of multiculturalism policy. Nevertheless, his book touches upon issues Québec has with early conceptions of multiculturalism in Canada. Corbett finds that contention is mainly because the Québecois view federal policies, and the dominance of Anglophones, as threatening to their own cultural identity (ibid.). Corbett strongly

emphasizes the role of power dynamics and identity throughout his book. Though written in a different period, the contents of this book provide a highly detailed account and reflection on a critical period for the development of multiculturalism policy in Canada. The key themes of this book are still relevant to the situation of the current day as well, making it a useful source to reference. Several other authors writing about contentions with Québec draw similar conclusions to those of Corbett. For example, Gerard Daigle's work *Le Québec en jeu* explores the complex history of Québec and the ongoing debates with the province at the time (1994). Daigle argues that most problems with Québec stem from contention over identity and power (ibid.). Other authors such as Marc Levine (1990), Rhoda E. Howard (1991), and Rudy Fenwick (2009), who were investigating conflict over language specifically, draw conclusions in a similar vein that are more focused on language laws and policies. In keeping with these themes, understandings of the connection between Québecois identity and political struggle against the Federal government are touched upon by authors such as Augie Fleras (2016), Elke Winter (2007 & 2015) & Rinaldo Walcott (2014). However, this connection is more so discussed in passing as a fact to explain other phenomena. These recurring themes are seldom explored in depth alone and are seldom supported by any explicitly stated theoretical framework. One exception is an article written by Leslie Laczko (1986) *On The Dynamics of Linguistic Cleavage in Québec: A Test of Alternative Hypotheses*. Similarly to Levine (1990), Howard (1991), and Fenwich (2009), Laczko's work focuses solely on contention over language with Québec. Unlike the other authors though, Laczko undertakes "an empirical test of three hypotheses dealing with the modernisation of polyethnic societies" using survey data from one point in Québec history (1986, p. 39). According to Laczko, she uses a "communal competition perspective" that draws on dependency theory, and the traditions of internal colonialism and plural societies (1986, p. 40). The author finds that culture in the Canadian context becomes a critical variable, and concludes that there is a competition over culture between Québecois and English Canada (ibid.).

2. Framing Analysis as Theoretical Background

2.1 Defining Frame Analysis

Frame Analysis was developed by sociologist Erving Goffman in his work titled *Frame Analysis: An Essay on the Organization of Experience,* published in 1974. Goffman presented

framing as a sense-making technique to understand and organize elements of the social experience (1974, cited in Creed et al. 2002). From his perspective frame analysis would allow researchers to "read" identifiable "strips" of social behaviour in order to understand how actors use frames to make sense of behaviour (Britannica, 2023). However, Goffman also emphasizes that framing is also a day-to-day technique which can be applied to almost every aspect of the mundane (Goffman, 1974, cited in Creed et al., 2002).

Overall "the study of framing and its role in social life has had wide effects across a broad spectrum of the social sciences" (Britannica, 2023). In particular, social movement theorists built upon Goffman's work such as Gamson, Fireman, & Rytina (1982), Gamson & Lasch (1983), Ryan (1991) Snow & Benford, (1988,1992), Snow, Rochford, Worden, Benford (1986). In the context of social movements, the focus is more so on "how individuals and groups frame contentious social issues" (Creed et al. 2002). From this area of research comes another helpful description by Gamson and his colleagues, who describe frames as underlying structures or organizing principles that can provide coherence to diverse symbols and idea elements (Gamson et al. 1982, cited in Creed et al., 2002). From this thought, frames can be understood similarly to a picture or window frame that determines our perspective by limiting our view of the complexity around us (ibid.). Frames can also be understood similarly to a frame of a house but which in this case is invisibly holding together different rooms and supporting cultural building blocks that make up meanings (Creed et al. 2002). According to Gamson (1982), frame analysis assumes that a frame is a vital characteristic of a text, which encompasses discourse, patterns of behaviour, systems of meaning, policy logics, constitutional principles, and cultural narratives. "All texts, regardless of how clear or abstruse they may be, are comprised of packages of integrated idea elements held together by some unifying central concept, called a frame" (Gamson and Modigliani, 1989, cited in Creed et al., 2002). Accordingly, texts that lack integrating structures are not suitable for frame analysis (ibid.). Determining what can be considered a text is subjective. The provisional ontology adopted in frame analysis considers texts to be made up of coherent sets of ideas that are bound together by a central unifying theme (Creed et al. 2002). This recognizes the constructed nature of reality but allows for the analysis to operate within a defined framework.

2.2 Relevance of Frame Analysis in this Case

Frame analysis is a tool that can help to make sense of societal and contextual issues (Creed et al. 2002). Although frame analysis has commonly been used in the study of media discourse, political communication and social movements (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007), it has also been further extended to examining policy and policy debates (Creed et al. 2002). In particular, frame analysis has been developed in the fields of sociology and policy as a way of "depicting and engaging the array of arguments and counterarguments that surround complex social issues" (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Schon and Rein, 1994, cited in Creed et al. 2002). In the context of policy debates, frame analysis is helpful in analyzing the ways in which different actors construct and present narratives and arguments that shape public opinion of policies and influence policy outcomes. Given the nature of this problem and the research questions defined, an application of frame analysis is both relevant and valuable to this paper.

The widespread use of frame analysis in sociology and policy studies provides a helpful model for understanding strategic, regulatory and cultural dimensions of policy debate (Creed et al. 2002). For example, in Conny Roggeband and Mieke Verloo's article on the *Evolution of Policy Frames on Gender and Migration in the Netherlands* (2007), the authors explore how multiculturalism as a policy goal and project has been increasingly under attack in the Netherlands. To explore contention over the effects of multiculturalism policy, the authors utilize frame analysis informed by Snow and Benford's theory (1992). The authors studied policy documents and transcripts of parliamentary debates on the integration of minorities over a period of a decade. First, the authors examined which frames were dominant in the documents, and then explored alternative frames presented by other actors involved in this particular policy debate. Drawing on the work of Snow and Benford (1992), the authors specifically looked for the diagnosis, prognosis and call for action elements of policy frames. In their conclusion, the authors focus more so on how the dominant frames affect migrants, and in particular migrant women. Helpfully, this article demonstrates the applicability of frame analysis to reconstruct dominant policy frames used by the state in debates concerning multiculturalism policy. In Pietro Castelli Gattinara's article *Framing Exclusion in the Public Sphere* (2017), the topic of multiculturalism is also explored using frame analysis informed by Snow and Benford's theory (1992), as well taking into account the role of the state and political parties. Gattinara's article

(2017), concerns the terrorist attacks in Paris in 2015, which the author argues to have generated multicultural crises. This article's analysis specifically focuses on three types of far-right actors framing choices in the aftermath of the attacks. In conclusion, the author found frame analysis to be a helpful tool that helped to make sense of the values upon which the actors mobilized and the frames that they used to make sense of social problems (2017). These examples showcase how frame analysis can be utilized for the analysis of policy pertaining to multiculturalism.

In terms of the Canadian context, there are a few articles that use frame analysis in relation to the topic of multiculturalism policy. In the article *Usable Pasts, Staging Belongings: Articulating a "Heritage" of Multiculturalism in Canada* (2006, p. 1), author Carrianne Leung analyzes how popular and official discourses of heritage and multiculturalism work together to create an idea of "Canadian-ness". The article focuses on how notions of multiculturalism emerge as a key part of Canadian national culture, heritage and identity. Through the use of a loosely structured framing analysis, the author defines and labels key frames pertaining to multiculturalism "heritage" in Canada, such as "British colonial past as heritage" and "multiculturalism as heritage" (Leung, 2006, p. 168). Through a framing analysis, the author finds that conceptualisations of heritage and multiculturalism are produced and represented in national narratives and act as a flexible form of governmentality in Canada (2006, p. 162). The focus on multiculturalism and heritage in the Canadian context aligns with the topic of this paper, as it too considers the tensions and conflicts surrounding the recognition and accommodation of diverse cultural identities in Canada by considering framing. By identifying and labelling these frames, the author reveals different conceptualizations of multiculturalism and how they are portrayed to promote different national narratives (2006). The framing approach proves valuable in this case for understanding more deeply the ways and reasons why conflicting perspectives on multiculturalism are framed and communicated by various actors.

Similarly, the article *Multiculturalism in the British Commonwealth: Comparative Perspectives of Theory and Practice* by Richard T. Ashcroft and Mark Bevir (2019), uses framing analysis as an approach to examining the concept of multiculturalism in the British Commonwealth, including Canada. The article more looks explicitly into different frames employed in the discourse on multiculturalism in a more general sense. The authors look at diverse idea elements

presented in various text excerpts related to multiculturalism in various Commonwealth countries and identify and distinguish frames being used by policymakers, scholars and activists. By investigating how these idea elements are deployed and interconnected, the authors seek to uncover dominant problem representation, underlying logics, and framing strategies pertaining to multiculturalism discourse (2019). Usefully, the authors emphasize the importance of contextualizing these frames in the broader social, political and historical context of the Commonwealth. The authors note that this is important as contextualization provides a deeper understanding of framing and the conflicting positions of multiculturalism in these countries. The article briefly touches upon the conflict with Québec in Canada specifically by drawing on some excerpts related to specific incidents where there was a conflict. This article is of particular relevance to this paper as it demonstrates a comparative perspective on multiculturalism. Although the article is focused on various British Commonwealth countries and not Canada or Québec specifically, the comparative approach informed by framing analysis gives insights into how different actors frame multiculturalism. This article also serves as a reference for understanding how framing analysis can be applied in a similar area of study. For example, the authors take the steps of identifying and analyzing frames as well as the strategies used. This article can also assist this paper by providing insights into the importance of understanding the broader context such as historical and cultural factors that influence framing of an issue, as well as the potential interests and perspectives of actors involved in framing.

Overall, although the articles by Leung (2006), and Ashcroft and Bevir (2019) are not precisely related to the topic of this paper, they provide a comparative perspective on similar topics in the Canadian context using framing analysis. In this way, these articles can provide guidance and insights into framing analysis concerning challenges related to multiculturalism and the importance of contextualization. Therefore, these articles offer valuable concepts and approaches which are useful for informing the analysis of this paper.

2.3 Utilizing Frame Analysis as an Analytical Tool

In their article, *A Picture of the Frame: Frame Analysis as Technique and as Politics* (2002), W.E. Douglas Creed, Jeffrey A. Langstraat and Maureen A. Scully advocate for the application of frame analysis within the field of organizational research. In doing so, the authors look into

four key issues that arise when thinking about how and why to use frame analysis including (a) using frame analysis to sort out underlying logics; (b) situating frames in context; (c) surfacing politics, subjugated voices, and implicit ideologies; and (d) making mindful choices as organizational researchers (Creed et al. 2002, p. 34). This article also more broadly provides a compelling case for the use of frame analysis as an analytical tool in the context of social movements and policy debates. For example, the authors examine two sample texts representing contrasting perspectives on socially responsible investing, demonstrating the practical application of frame analysis for understanding underlying logics and dynamics at play. The four key issues discussed in the article also provide the foundation of a theoretical framework that is informed by methodological and epistemological considerations associated with frame analysis. This paper, therefore, will draw upon the key points reflected upon in this article, to establish the theoretical framework.

2.4 Signature Matrix for Sorting Underlying Logics

The authors (Creed et al. 2002), reference the work of Gamson and Lasch (1983) in their discussion on utilizing frame analysis to sort out underlying logics. Gamson and Lasch (1983) provide "one of the most basic and highly accessible ways of approaching frame analysis", through their introduction of a "signature matrix" that supports the categorization of specific idea elements within a set of texts (cited in Creed et al. 2002, p. 39). This matrix helps to uncover how these diverse elements are connected, and the unifying frames that hold them together (ibid.). This analysis not only groups the elements but also helps to better understand why texts are meaningful.

In keeping with this approach the authors (Creed et al. 2002), provide a sample signature matrix that accentuates a given frame using various elements. According to the authors Azad and Faraj , the work of Creed and their colleagues "provides a methodological boost through a straightforward adaptation of Gamson and colleagues' signature matrix" (2010, p. 39). The elements included in the sample signature matrix include metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images that make it noteworthy, memorable and easily communicated (Creed et al. 2002). Metaphors, for example, are the use of symbolic representations or figures of speech that compare two unrelated concepts and shape understanding (Azad and Faraj, 2011).

Catchphrases, as another example, are often used by actors to attempt to sway the opinions and interests of others in the way they convey events in short thematic statements (ibid.). The sample matrix provided also accentuates the argumentative devices of roots, consequences and appeals to principles (Creed et al. 2002). Argumentative devices are used to justify and, or support the preferred perspective of those putting forth or supporting the frame (ibid.). The labels given to the idea elements in the signature matrix in this case were "Social Justice Frame", and "Marketplace of Values Frame", with each containing elements of other frames such as "universal human rights" and "inclusivity' within the "Social Justice Frame" for example (ibid.). According to the authors, these labels provide the essence of each package of ideas and are grounded in the text such as being taken from directly quoted phrases. Notably, though, these labels remain provisional through the process as there can be further emerging characterizations of frames (ibid.). These overarching idea elements can be understood as a master frame that serves as the umbrella that embodies the essence of specific frame instances (Azad and Faraj, 2011).

The authors (Creed et al., 2002), also reference and incorporate other features of frames emphasized in literature on social movement and mobilization to foster a more comprehensive approach. Namely, they reference the work of Snow and Benford (1988, 1992). As summarized by Snow and Benford (1992, p. 137), the concept of framing generally "refers to some interpretive schemata that simplifies and condenses the world out there by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment". Applied to social movements, these authors explored the idea that framing defines a problem meaning that is associated with relevant events or actors, which suggests that those meanings are negotiable and open to different interpretations (Snow et al. 2019). Therefore, a frame is a central concept for understanding social movements because "meanings do not automatically or naturally attach themselves to the objects, events or experiences we encounter, but often arise instead through interactively-based interpretive processes" (Snow, 2004, p. 384). Although this theory was originally focused on collective action frames and the framing processes of social movements, the theory has "considerable currency in the social sciences today" (Snow and Benford, 2000). The theory has been referenced for descriptive and analytical purposes in the fields of sociology, psychology,

linguistics, communications, political science and policy studies. More fluid conceptions of framing processes have also been applied, for example for the purpose of analyzing framing by the state and political actors (Roggeband and Verloo, 2007). The authors (Creed et al. 2002) in this case focus on Snow and Benford's idea that frames serve to punctuate, elaborate, and motivate action around a given issue as represented in Figure 5. Punctuating the issues entails attempting to define the given problem such as what it is and why it is important. The elaborative function serves to assign responsibility and prescribe possible solutions to the problem. According to Snow and Benford (1988), punctuation and elaboration of frames can be broken down into the diagnosis, the prognosis, and the call for action. Snow and Benford (1988, p. 200) define these three core-framing tasks:

> *(1) A diagnosis of some event or aspect of social life as problematic and in need of alteration; (2) a proposed solution to the diagnosed problem that specifies what needs to be done; and (3) a call to arms or rationale for engaging in ameliorative or corrective action. The diagnostic and prognostic framing tasks are directed toward achieving consensus mobilization. The latter task, which concerns action mobilization, provides the motivational impetus for participation.*

Figure 5. Punctuating, Elaborating, and Motivating Functions

Punctuating, Elaborating, and Motivating Functions of Socially Responsible Investing (SRI) Frames		
	Social Justice Frame	*Marketplace of Values Frame*
Punctuation: What is the problem?	The problem is financial investments that contribute to an unjust society by not supporting various basic human rights.	The problem is financial investments that do not match the values of investors.
Elaboration: Who is responsible? What outcomes can be projected with or without interventions?	Investors are part of the problem when they do not track the impact on society of their investments. SRI corrects this problem by tracking the effects for investors so they can invest in organizations that have a positive impact, thereby creating a more just society.	SRI can be part of the problem if it excludes certain investors whose values are not represented. If it holds true to mutual respect for diverse beliefs, it will be part of the solution.
Motivation: What action should be taken?	Construct funds that are made up of organizations that have a positive impact for all members of society. Exclude those funds that invest in organizations that do not contribute to a more just society by excluding some members of society.	Encourage dialogue in the marketplace among varying perspectives. Create a spectrum of funds that enable diverse investors to invest in terms of their beliefs.

Source: W.E Douglas Creed, Jeffrey A. Langstraat, and Maureen A. Scully. (2002). A Picture of the Frame: Frame Analysis as Technique and as Politics. *Organizational Research Methods,* page 42.

The degree of success of mobilization, which was the original focus of the theory, depends on the degree to which these tasks were attended to, as ultimately, the objective of the ideational activity is to motivate people to take action (Snow and Benford, 1988). However, "the same can be said of cognitive frames in general" even though they may not have the same goals as social movement frames, "they provide the conceptual signposts that guide action" (Creed et al., 2002, p. 40). Therefore, the punctuation, elaboration, and motivation functions of the previously identified primary frames are also represented in the sample matrix as shown in Figure 5.

2.5 The Importance of Narrative Fidelity in Matrix Construction

Notably, the authors (Creed et al. 2002) acknowledge that policy discourse frames are often polemical, and researchers approach their studies with their own ideological and political biases. To address this point, the authors note an essential initial step to take when creating a signature matrix. This step which the authors refer to as "narrative fidelity", entails depicting frames in a way which is familiar, credible and aligned with the perspective of the framers (ibid.). Based on these suggestions, therefore, this paper aims to avoid simply confirming the frame sponsor's beliefs and interests at face value. For example, this research avoids labelling the frames in a manner that suggests one is inherently right or wrong, tolerant or intolerant. Actively being aware during the initial labelling lays the foundation for the following analysis and conclusions. Notably, though, the authors do not advise that researchers be completely agnostic as critiquing and labelling frames in the researchers' terms facilitate the continuous revisiting of the researchers' own values and assumptions (ibid.). This was kept in mind during the analysis phase. At the same time, this step helped the analysis in uncovering possible motivations, interests and perspectives of the sponsors of the frames in and of themselves.

2.6 Contextualization and Analysis of Framing Activity

Going further in using frame analysis as an analytical tool, the authors (Creed et al. 2002, p. 42) advise "peeling away the layers to look for the other projects afoot both in the framing of policy debate and in frame analysis". Previous research suggests that frame sponsors use framing techniques differently depending on the audience and the medium. Frame analysis allows for the uncovering of implicit meanings and assumptions that underlie frames used by different actors in different settings (ibid.). By considering the actor and the forum the researchers can decode the

meanings of discursive elements (ibid.). For example, phrases can appear to be similar or similarly used but have different meanings depending on the actor and context. Therefore, to better understand the context, the researcher must reflect upon the conflict's impact, the sponsors of different frames, the forums in which they are presented and the power dynamics at play (ibid.). In terms of considering power dynamics, differentiating between who has power and who is the challenger can be a difficult task given that power dynamics can also shift depending on the specific forum and issue at play (ibid.). "A sponsor cannot be simply said to have power or not, as sponsors work both in settings where they are in the dominant group and can use their power to get their voices heard and in settings where they are the challengers and use their adversarial stance to push change" (Creed et al. 2002, p. 44). Therefore, this paper considers not only the two sides of the contention with this policy but considers the larger context, which is interconnected with other frames and broader cultural beliefs.

Also of importance is examining the discourses that are present and those that are not, as well as contradictions within and between frames in the analysis. Power dynamics can often result in the dominance of certain actors and discourses, whereas there may be an absence of other voices who are less influential and effectively silenced (ibid.). Although less powerful actors may not contribute to the discourse on a policy conflict, for example, frame analysis allows for the expansion of voices by identifying and considering whose perspectives are overlooked (ibid). This allows for further questioning of whose accounts hold significance in a particular case scenario, which influences who is heard and whose frames are dominantly presented. In turn, looking deeper can reveal contradictions, unexamined assumptions, and rhetorical manoeuvres (ibid.).

2.7 Considering Critiques

As acknowledged and discussed by W.E. Douglas Creed, Jeffrey A. Langstraat and Maureen A. Scully, interpretive approaches have been confronted with intense skepticism, especially in fields which privilege "count-and-correlate culture" (2002, p. 48). Oftentimes, reflections drawn from framing analysis are questioned as to their correctness or reliability. Although scholars using frame analysis have employed quantitative and reliability measures in their work, the authors argue that it is misguided to assume that frame analysis is for the purpose of uncovering an

objectively right answer or conclusion (ibid.). From an interpretivist point of view, "all knowledge, including scientific knowledge, is created within a given ideational system" (ibid.). In this sense, all knowledge is produced from a particular point of view, and therefore there is not an "objective" reality to which framing account must fit (ibid.). In an argument put forth by Zald (1996, cited in ibid.), interpretive processes look more like reading texts in the humanities as opposed to physics. However, all of these points considered, this paper must still confront these critiques by continuously revisiting and questioning personal biases. However, as the authors (Creed et al., 2002, p. 48) note, there are still better or worse frame analyses in terms of:

> *how richly they capture a frame; how deeply they peel away the layers; whether they initially move to present frames in ways that are recognizable and ring true to sponsors of the frame; whether the researchers' interrogation of their own perspective informs the analysis and gives readers further understanding and assurance that the analysis is not packing an ideology covertly; whether the ultimate exposure of contradictions or underlying logics elicits an "aha" from readers; and sometimes whether the frame analysis is a gateway to dialogue, action, policy, or change.*

Therefore, to guide this paper, the quality of frame analysis is focused on capturing a frame and eliciting a deeper understanding to hopefully generate dialogue, as opposed to reaching a concrete and definitive answer. Frame analysis requires a combination of art and science, that involves tacit knowledge acquired through experience and an in-depth understanding of the actors and social context involved (ibid.). Although this frame analysis is informed by personal perspectives and identity, the analysis goes further by looking at the underlying systems. In this manner, frame analysis has the advantage of challenging assumptions and ideologies that are often taken for granted, and allows for the examination of different perspectives (ibid.). Frame analysis perhaps is never complete but is instead "an invitation to dialogue and continued unpeeling of layers" (Creed et al. 2002, p. 49).

Another prominent critique of frame analysis, particularly related to the topic of this paper concerns Snow and Benford's theory (1988, 1992). In Goodwin and Jasper's critique on cultural context (1999), the authors argue that in analyzing political processes, authors have privileged

frame analysis as the preferred or only form of cultural inquiry into social movements. By doing so according to the critique, these analyses ignore the ways that culture shapes the framing process. In their article published in 2000, Snow and Benford address this critique by arguing that movements can both consume and create cultural meanings. To support their argument, the authors reference several studies that demonstrate the recursive relationship between extant culture and movement frame (Berbrier 1998, d'Anjou 1998, Kubal 1998, Nepstad 1997, Platt & Fraser 1998, Taylor 1999). Notably, the authors detail a study by Davies (1999) which is conveniently highly relevant to the topic of this paper given that it centres on the topic of multiculturalism in Canada. Davies (1999) analyzed a movement in Ontario, Canada, which was lobbying the government for funds for religious schools. In this case, the movement reframed religion as a culture in need of protection, mindful of the changing political culture in support of multiculturalism (ibid.). According to Snow and Benford (2000, p. 629), the lessons drawn from this study are that "changing cultural resonances and collective action frames reciprocally influence one another and that framing processes typically reflect wider cultural continuities and changes". These findings are in keeping with the arguments put forth by W.E. Douglas Creed, Jeffrey A. Langstraat and Maureen A. Scully (2002), and precisely why they have detailed the importance of contextualization when using frame analysis as an analytical tool.

3. Methodology

This section presents the methodology used to examine the reasons behind the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec. To do so, this paper uses a qualitative frame analysis informed by W.E. Douglas Creed, Jeffrey A. Langstraat and Maureen A. Scully's article, *A Picture of the Frame* (2002), with a focus on using frame analysis to sort out underlying logics, and situating frames in context.

As stressed by authors such as Creed, Langstraat and Scully (2002), and Ashcroft and Bevir (2019), the inclusion and consideration of context are crucial in framing analyses as it provides the necessary background and situational information that influences the way frames are constructed, conveyed and interpreted. Understanding the broader context assists with identifying underlying historical, cultural and social factors that influence how frames are constructed and understood. Context also helps uncover power dynamics at play and underlying

assumptions that can influence framing and motivations behind the use of particular frames. Therefore, this paper firstly considers the context to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec. The inclusion of this context seeks to provide a more nuanced understanding of the situation that fosters a deeper frame analysis. To do so, qualitative contextualizing data was reviewed and compiled from mixed primary and secondary sources such as journals, encyclopedias, government documents, speeches, and news articles. Contextual information pertaining to this topic was then presented in a narrative format and was used to inform the subsequent sections of the methodology. From this exercise, the key actors and issues were also identified and will be elaborated upon further. Key actors are those primarily involved with the critical disputes over multiculturalism policy with Québec in the past decade. Key disputes were identified as the specific issues within the dispute that represent the main points of contention related to multiculturalism policy with Québec. The contextual information gathered and reflected upon will then again be referenced in the frame analysis.

This paper utilizes frame analysis to sort out underlying logics by employing a signature matrix (Gamson and Lasch, 1983) as described for use as an analytical tool in *A Picture of a Frame* (Creed et al. 2002). To inform the creation of the matrix, qualitative data was drawn from sources concerning the conflict over multiculturalism policy with Québec. These include online news publications, government publications, interviews, press statements and speeches. Sources were chosen for their relevance to the dispute over the past decade, between 2013 and 2023, ensuring that they address the key issues and actors. The year 2013 was chosen as the starting point because it marks the past decade, which has been underrepresented in the literature, and the beginning of a series of government level decisions in Québec which have been said to stand in contrast with federal multiculturalism policy. The sources were collected through a review of online search results taking into account both the national and provincial level. The search was conducted using terms related to the topic based on representativeness. An example of terms searched together include *multiculturalism, *Québec, *policy, and *law. Searches were conducted through the online search engine Google. Results that were in keeping with the intention of the search were subject to a brief review in terms of their relevance to the research questions. Relevance was also considered in terms of the sources' quotes or input on the identified key actors and instances, as well as its representativeness of one of the sides in the-

dispute. Only one of each duplicate was considered. This process identified 24 key sources to be used for further analysis. Of these sources, 12 were retrieved from National level news providers in both English and French. The news providers include the Canadian Television Network, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, Maclean's, and Radio-Canada. Of these sources, 5 were in video format of which the content was an interview, press release, or speech of government officials, including both official languages. Of the other news sources, 7 were from provincial level news providers including CTV Montreal, the Montreal Gazette, City News, the National Post, and the Toronto Star. In terms of government documents, 4 primary source legislative documents and a guidebook were considered from the National Assembly and the Ministry of Immigration, Francisation, and Integration.

In keeping with examples in the field of research (Azad and Faraj, 2010, 2011), a signature matrix was developed based on key elements with a focus on classifying frame-related data of a given text. In this case, the frame accentuating elements as described by Creed and his colleagues, were grouped in the matrix and titled "symbolic elements" (2002). The argumentative device of "roots" was also chosen, focusing on the link to culture and frame appeals (Creed et al. 2002; Azad and Faraj, 2010). The elements problem definition, diagnosis and prognosis were also included (Gamson and Lasch, 1983; Creed et al., 2002; Azad and Faraj, 2010, 2011). Altogether this matrix enables the extraction of potential symbolic elements and their sorting so that frames can be distinguished; the core problem definition of the frame can be identified as informed by its proponents; and they can be contextualized lending greater relevance and credibility. Based on the analysis of the signature matrix, the frames are then further described and reflected upon. From there, findings about the dispute over multiculturalism policy with Québec are identified and summarized to help answer the research questions. These findings are also more broadly considered in terms of their implications for understanding this dispute and contributing to this field of research.

Figure 6. Signature Matrix Table Example

Signature Matrix	
Excerpt	*"At the federal level, we believe our job is to make all people who live in this country — regardless of their religious, ethnic, cultural background — feel welcome, feel part of our country, feel like this is a land of equality of opportunity (...) we are very concerned by any proposal that would limit the ability of Canadians to participate in our society and that would affect the practice of their faith (...) and if it's determined that a prospective law violates the constitutional protections for freedom of religion to which all Canadians are entitled, we will defend those rights vigorously (...) freedom of religion is a fundamental, universal value inscribed in our constitution"* (Jason Kenney, 2013, in the National Post)
Symbolic Elements (e.g. catchphrase)	-Use of employment legislation term "equal opportunity" -Use of specific terms found in federal legislation and rights and freedoms
Diagnosis: what is highlighted as the problem?	-Québec's Bill would limit employment opportunity, participation in society and the practice of faith -The Bill is in opposition to federal protections and enshrined values which the Federal government must protect
Prognosis: what is highlighted as the solution?	-Implies that the Federal government would bring the law before the Supreme Court of Canada to be challenged if it goes through -In turn frames the Conservative party as more responsible in these areas
Roots: what does the frame appeal to and how is it linked to the culture and environment?	-Draws on historic roots such as the federal government's responsibility to ensure equal treatment and inclusivity for all residents of Canada -Recalls and emphasizes the division of powers in Canada where ultimately the Federal Charter has supremacy in law -Uses language found specifically in the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1977, a historic employment Act strongly tied to Multiculturalism Policy -Statement is delivered by the Federal Minister of Employment from the Province of Alberta which also has historic economic tensions with Québec

Source: *Created by the author*

4. Analysis: Contextualization

4.1 The Province of Québec

Québec is the largest province of Canada's ten provinces in terms of area, and has the second largest population at approximately 8.7 million. The capital of the province, named Québec City in 1608, is the oldest city in the country. The province also has the second largest city in Canada, called Montreal, with a population of approximately 1.78 million. However, Québec's birth rate is now one of the lowest in the country. The government of Québec controls 1,400 municipalities, with the majority having less than 5,000 residents (Britannica, 2023).

Nearly half of Québec's population are descendants of 10,000 original French settlers, and the province constitutes more than four-fifths of the country's total francophone population. French was officially made the language of the province in 1974. However, the original inhabitants of the province and the largest Indigenous groups today are the Algonquin, Iroquoian and Inuit people. A distinct characteristic of the province is its religious homogeneity. Most Québecers are Roman Catholic, with a small minority of Protestants. For several hundred years, from the mid-1500s to the mid-1700s, Roman Catholicism was the official religion. For much of the province's history, the Catholic Church established, maintained and administered all social, health and educational institutions. However, since the 1960s Québec has adopted strict separatism between church and state (ibid.).

Québec's system of government is a constitutional democracy with a unicameral legislature called the National Assembly. The executive cabinet is chosen and led by the Premier of Québec, who is responsible to the National Assembly for all legislation within provincial jurisdiction. There is also a lieutenant governor of Québec that is appointed by the Canadian Prime Minister in collaboration with the Provincial Premier who represents the British Throne. Notably, Québec's civil law is based on a version of France's civil code as opposed to British common law, which is followed by the rest of Canada. The Federal Department of Justice however, shares a dual responsibility for criminal law with the province. In addition, by convention, Canada's Supreme Court must include three of nine judges from Québec. The province also has its own provincial police rather than relying on the Federal Royal Canadian Mounted Police or National

Force. Québec has 75 representatives in the federal House of Commons and 24 members in the Senate of Canada (Couture, 2021). There are over 100 joint committees and federal-provincial conferences between the federal government and Québec authorities (ibid.). The province also has its own international relations that are relatively independent of the federal government. For example, Québec has delegations in a number of countries, including but not limited to France, and the United States, and is in several cooperative agreements with other countries and international institutions such as the International Organisation of Francophones and UNESCO (ibid.).

Québec comes second in terms of real Gross Domestic Product out of all the Canadian provinces and territories (ibid.). Québec's economy had primarily relied on the natural resource and manufacturing sector for much of its history. However, following the second World War, the province went through a transformation with the emergence of pharmaceutical, transportation, communication, service, and knowledge industries. Still, forestry is one of the province's key economic resources, although most forestland is controlled and managed by the federal government. Québec has two sources of finance coming from provincial taxes and transfer payments from the federal government. Most expenditures go into health, social services, education and culture (ibid.).

In terms of welfare, Québec typically has higher rates of unemployment and reliance on social assistance in comparison with provinces of similar size (ibid.). However, Québec is also noted for being exceptional compared to the other provinces when it comes to alleviating poverty and inequality. Poverty rates and inequality of disposable household income are much lower in Québec compared to the rest of Canada and are even compared to generous welfare states in Europe (Van Den Berg, 2023). In general, Québec's social policies are regarded as more generous than the rest of Canada and they place more emphasis on supporting families and children (ibid.). These notable differences have led in some cases to Québec's welfare system being distinguished and considered separately from the rest of the country.

4.2 The Beginnings of Québec and Canada

Canada's current geographic territory was predominantly inhabited by various Indigenous peoples, including First Nations and Inuit, before the settlement and colonization of the territory. The first Europeans to arrive in Canada were the Vikings from Iceland, who established small settlements in what is now Labrador and Newfoundland, dating back approximately 1,000 (Sullivan, 2021). However, the Viking settlement lasted only for a brief period. John Cabot, an Italian immigrant to England, mapped Canada's Atlantic shore in 1497 at claimed "New Founde Land" for England. However, English settlement did not begin until 1610. It was, in fact, the French explorer Jacques Cartier who thrice voyaged across the Atlantic between 1534 and 1542 and explored the St. Lawrence River and present-day Montreal and Québec City. Cartier claimed the land for the King of France during this time. Cartier is also credited with naming Canada, derived from the Huron-Iroquois word "Kanata", denoting a village or settlement. By the 1550s, the name Canada began appearing on world maps (IRCC, n.d.). By 1604 the first lasting European settlement was established by Samuel De Champlain on St. Croix Island, followed by present-day Nova Scotia, present-day Québec City. England's first attempt at colonization in Canada began later in 1610 in present-day Cupids, Newfoundland, under John Guy, who was accompanied by 39 other colonists. Under Guy, a small settlement and trading company was established. In 1621, the Kingdom of Scotland also established a colony in present-day Nova Scotia. Though the Scottish colony was not successful, there continued to be a significant settlement of Scots in present-day Canada particularly on the Eastern coast. During the early years of settlement, like the English, the French and Indigenous peoples also established trade with Europe and colonies to the south, which would later form the present-day United States of America (ibid.).

4.3 Early French and English Conflict

By the late 1600s there were significant struggles over trade and Canadian territory led by the conflict between the French and the English settlers (IRCC, n.d.). By this time, English colonies had become significantly richer and more populous than the French (ibid.). In the 1700s, France and Great Britain fought for control of North America, and by 1759 the British defeated the French in a battle at Québec City. This battle marked the end of France's empire in present-day Canada. Following Britain's victory, the French colonies that had once been called "New

France" were renamed as the "Province of Québec". The Province of Québec remained mainly inhabited by French speaking Catholics. To govern this population, the British Parliament passed the Québec Act in 1774, which allowed for the religious freedom of Catholics, permitted them to hold public office, and restored French civil law in the province (ibid.).

4.4 Early Settlement

Policy in the colonies began to shift to encourage more settlement in Canada (Troper, 2022). For example, the Scottish community already living largely in Nova Scotia was supported by an influx of Irish, Swiss and German settlers. Further, in 1776 there was a significant influx of people loyal to the Crown coming from the United States due to the outbreak of the American Revolution. These people came from various backgrounds, including German, Dutch, and Scandinavian settlers and other indigenous tribes such as the Mohawk. Approximately 3,000 black loyalists who had been freed from slavery fled to present-day Canada (IRCC, n.d.). These people were of varying religious backgrounds, including Anglican, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist, Jewish and Catholic. More than 40,000 people settled in Nova Scotia and Québec (ibid.). Some of these people even established new British colonies, such as "Freetown", which was a colony for freed slaves in Nova Scotia. To support economic growth, particularly in the Canadian West, immigration began to be actively encouraged from Britain and the US (Troper, 2022). Throughout the mid-1800s largely due to the Irish potato famine, there was also a wave of new Irish immigrants in the tens of thousands. Though the new Irish immigrants spoke English, many of them aligned themselves with the French due to their shared religion but were still considered to be of a distinct and lesser ethnicity (ibid.).

4.5 The Dominion of Canada

Following the American Revolution, in 1812, the United States launched an invasion to conquer Canada. The English, French, Indigenous and other loyalists worked together to push back the invasion successfully and largely establish the present-day Canadian border. In 1840, two of the main territories of what would become Canada, "Upper Canada" and "Lower Canada" were united as the "Province of Canada", which included the former "Province of Québec". La Fontaine, who was a strong champion of democracy and French language rights, became the first leader of a responsible government for the united Canadas. Supported by the British, between

1864 to 1867, the representatives of the Province of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick acted as the Fathers of Confederation to create a new country. The former Province of Canada was split into the province of Ontario and the province of Québec. Altogether, these provinces formed a new country called the Dominion of Canada under the British North America Act. This Act also established that Canada would have two levels of government, federal and provincial, whereby the provinces could elect their own legislature and control particular areas such as education and health. Officially the Dominion of Canada was established on July 1st, 1867. Following Confederation, Canada continued to expand, including: Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in 1870; British Columbia in 1871; Prince Edward Island in 1873; Yukon Territory in 1898; Alberta and Saskatchewan in 1905; Newfoundland and Labrador in 1949; and finally, Nunavut in 1999 (IRCC, n.d.).

4.6 Immigration Policy and the Division of Powers

The British North America Act established that the constitutional responsibility for immigration would be divided between the Federal and Provincial governments. Historically speaking, though, the Federal government has "dominated this policy area" (Dirks, 2020). The first Immigration Act of Canada was passed in 1869. Under this Act, Canada adopted an "open door" policy that technically only discriminated against criminals but also had barriers for the "sick and poor" (Carleton, 2017). However, in practice, Canada's "open door" policy only encouraged white immigrants to come to Canada and especially favored British and Americans (Dirks, 2020). Black immigrants were excluded on the basis that they could not survive Canadian winters, and South Asians were excluded due to the "continuous voyage policy" which restricted immigrants who could not reach Canada in a single voyage (Carleton, 2017). Another well-known example was the Chinese Head Tax and Exclusion Act adopted in the late 1880s, which allowed for the specific restriction and taxation of Chinese immigration to Canada. Furthermore, white immigrants were also discriminated against based on their ethnic backgrounds. For example, Italians and Greeks were considered more difficult to assimilate and less desirable (Dirks, 2020).

4.7 Mass Immigration to Canada

The beginning of large-scale immigration from mostly European countries to Canada started in the early 1900s and reached a peak of 400,000 immigrants arriving in 1913 (Statistics Canada, 2016). Large numbers of immigrants were needed due to the high demand for farm labour (Troper, 2022). Under the government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Canadian government revamped the country's immigration program to encourage further immigration to the Canadian west, though the original Immigration Act remained unchanged (Troper, 2022). This marked a shift from preferring British and American immigrants and broadened Canadian immigration to include more Belgians, Dutch, Germans, Scandinavians, Swiss, Finns, French, and for the first time, Central and Eastern Europeans such as Ukrainians, Poles, Russians, Austrians, and Hungarians (ibid.). Italians, Greeks, South Slavs and Syrians were allowed to immigrate to Canada but remained still less desirable (ibid.). Further still, Black immigrants, Asians, Roma, and Jews were considered last but did in fact begin to immigrate to Canada (ibid.).

4.8 Impact of the World Wars

Following World War I, in 1919, Canada adopted a stricter immigration policy under a revised Immigration Act. The revised Act excluded Communists, Mennonites and groups with particular religious practices, as well as nationalities who fought against Canada in the war, including Austrians, Hungarians and Turks. More restrictive practices continued up until the end of the Second World War. Canadian immigration numbers hit their lowest points in the 1930s during the Great Depression and remained low during World War II (Dirks, 2020).

Following World War II, due partially to economic growth and changing attitudes, Canada's restrictive immigration policies began to ease, and the Immigration Act was expanded in 1952 to be more inclusive and new waves of immigration began (Dirks, 2020). During this period, the role of ethnic groups in society was given more consideration than before (Brosseau and Dewing, 2018). According to a research publication by Brosseau and Dewing (2018) supported by the Legal and Social Affairs Division of the Parliament of Canada, analysts generally agree that federal multiculturalism policy began its incipient stage during this post-war period. Despite these changes, the Federal government did not end all discriminatory policies against non-European and American immigrants. Canada was still largely oriented toward replicating British

society through symbolism and social, political, and cultural institutions (ibid.). In fact, up until 1947, Canadians were still defined as British subjects until the Canadian Citizenship Act was adopted.

4.9 Post-War Changes

It was only then, in 1962 that the Canadian federal government ended racial discrimination as a feature of immigration policy. By 1967 a points system was instead introduced to rank eligibility, but it did not include race or nationality but rather skills, education, language abilities, and family connections. Shortly afterwards, Canada signed the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol in 1969. Further to these developments, the 1960s saw the assertion of the identities of ethnic minorities in Canada, such as Indigenous and French Québecois identity.

4.10 Québec's Quiet Revolution

The 1960s were a period of rapid change in Québec. This period became known as the "Révolution tranquille" translating to the "Quiet Revolution". The Quiet Revolution began following the death of the long-serving Premier of the Province, Maurice Duplessis, who strongly enforced political conservatism and clerico-nationalism from 1935 to 1959 (Laing & Cooper, 2019). Duplessis' leadership was followed by that of the Liberal government under Jean Lesage, who took the province in a new direction. The Quiet Revolution was also fueled by a growing middle class and a desire to redefine the role of French speaking Canadians in society who were often viewed as incapable and uneducated (Durocher, 2015.). Under the provincial leadership of Lesage, the Liberal Party of Québec made wide-ranging reforms to healthcare (e.g. the establishment of public hospital networks); reformed the education system; nationalized private electricity companies; created new ministries (e.g. of cultural affairs); and reduced the role of the Catholic Church (ibid.). Another notable change was in the area of federal-provincial relations. The provincial government created a new ministry for federal-provincial relations and adopted the philosophy of "maîtres chez nous", translating to "masters in our own house". This led to the province withdrawing from various cost-sharing initiatives with the federal government, instead asking for additional funding. Overall, a growing nationalist consciousness was attributed to the "Quiet Revolution" (ibid.).

4.11 Québec Separatist Movements

The first inklings of Québec separatism appeared during the Rebellions of 1837, where in their Manifesto, the Patriotes made a declaration that the province secede from Canada but were ultimately defeated (Foot, 2016). Though there were a few notable thinkers concerned with separatism in the 19th century, separatism ideation largely did not exist as part of conservative French Canadian nationalism for over a century in the province (ibid.). The separatist movement only re-emerged in Québec in the late 1950s and grew during the Quiet revolution. One of the earliest and most important manifestations of separatism was the leftist movement turned political party called the "Rassemblement pour l'indépendance nationale". Support for separatism continued to grow into the late 1960s and into the 1980s. A new separatist party formed called the "Parti Québecois" (PQ) in 1968 under René Lévesque. The Parti Québecois was able to "rally most of the province's nationalist political groups to its program of political independence coupled with economic association with English-speaking Canada (ibid.). By 1976, the PQ came to power with 41% of the popular vote and began the path towards the vote for independence (ibid.).

4.12 Québecois Independence Movements and Domestic Terrorism

Aside from the Rassemblement pour l'Indépendance Nationale and the Parti Québecois, the 1960s also saw the beginnings of other independence movements such as the Comité de libération nationale (founded in 1962), which promoted violence to achieve political ends; and the Réseau de résistance (also founded in 1962), which believed in protesting through vandalism" (Laurendeau and McIntosh, 2020). Perhaps most notorious though was the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ) which saw its end in the early 1970s. The FLQ was a militant Québec independence movement that engaged in terrorist activities, including over 200 bombings, robberies, kidnappings and killings. The movement was "influenced by anti-colonial and communist movements in other parts of the world, particularly Algeria and Cuba", and "shared a conviction that Québec must liberate itself from Anglophone domination and capitalism through armed struggle" (ibid.). One of the key tactics of this group was to attack English symbols in Canada. The FLQ also embraced old symbols and images of francophone rebellions in pre-confederation times. The illegal activities and violence of the FLQ culminated with the high-profile kidnapping and murder of James Cross, a British trade commissioner and

the kidnapping of the Minister of Labour and Minister of Immigration Pierre Laporte, which triggered what is known as the October Crisis. Then Québec Premier Robert Bourassa asked the Prime Minister of Canada, Pierre Trudeau to intervene. In response, the Prime Minister invoked Canada's War Measures Act and deployed the Armed Forces into the streets of Québec. Approximately 500 people were arrested without charge. After discovering that Minister Pierre Laporte had also been killed, the Canadian government conducted 1,628 raids under the War Measures Act (ibid.). In the end, the FLQ officially ceased activities in 1971.

4.13 Formative Period of Multiculturalism Policy

The formative period of multiculturalism policy in Canada (Brosseau and Dewing, 2018) began in the same year the FLQ ceased its activities. In response to growing unrest amongst French Canadians, The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism was appointed by the federal government to investigate the state of bilingualism and biculturalism in Canada (Jedwab, 2020). The decision to do so was made by Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson, who was concerned that Canada was on the verge of a national-unity crisis (Laing & Cooper, 2019). At first, the Commission focused on exploring issues concerning the languages and cultures of English and French-speaking Canadians who were considered the "founding peoples" of the country (ibid.). However, because of objections over this understanding, the Commission eventually included reporting on the cultural contribution of other non-English and non-French ethnic groups.

In their first Preliminary Report, the Commissioners agreed that Canada was facing a national crisis and argued that English and French alone should be recognized as the official languages but rejected the idea of biculturalism (ibid.). The final Commission report was released in 1969 and recommended integration as opposed to assimilation into Canadian society. This report led to several significant changes in Canada. For example, there were changes in education and the adoption of the Official Languages Act, which included English and French as the official languages of Canada. The report also led to the creation of the federal ministry of Multiculturalism and the adoption of multiculturalism policy.

In his statement to the House of Commons in 1971, then Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau officially announced the policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework in Canada. During this

announcement, Pierre Trudeau stated that he was "sure, by all Canadians, that there cannot be one cultural policy for Canadians of British and French origin, another for the original peoples and yet a third for all others" (House of Commons, 1971, p. 8545). Trudeau went on to state that "although there are two official languages, there is no official culture, nor does any ethnic group take precedence over any other (...) no citizen or group of citizens is other than Canadian, and all should be treated fairly (ibid.). Trudeau went on to add that the government believed an individual's freedom "would be hampered if he were locked for life within a particular cultural compartment by the accident of birth or language" and, therefore it was vital that every Canadian be "given the chance to learn at least one of the two languages in which his country conducts its official business and its politics (ibid.). Trudeau went on to argue "a policy of multiculturalism within a bilingual framework commends itself to the government as the most suitable means of assuring the cultural freedom of Canadians" and would work to strengthen National unity by building confidence in one's own individual identity (ibid.). Finally, Trudeau concluded that Canadian's freedom to be themselves could not "be left to chance" and that it must be "fostered and pursued actively" (ibid.).

4.14 Increased Institutionalization of Multiculturalism Policy

The final phase saw the increased institutionalization of multicultural policy in the 1980s (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018). This phase began during a period of problematic race relations in Canada. Due to Canada's new Immigration Act of 1976, there continued to be an influx of immigrants from non-European countries and rising racism. The new Act led to a significant shift in demographics in the 1980s that led to an increased focus to fight against discrimination. As a response, the Canadian government moved away from supporting the ethnic and cultural expression of the English and French (Jedwab, 2020). The government also focused on making changes to Canadian institutions to adapt to the presence of newcomers and adopted anti-discrimination programs (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018). Practically speaking, these programs focused on combating discrimination at personal and institutional levels by encouraging and facilitating the participation of minority groups in Canadian society. This approach was characterized as "ethnicity multiculturalism", which focused on the assistance of certain ethnocultural organizations (Jedwab, 2020).

4.15 Québec's Rejection of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms

The separatist movement in Québec had also continued into the 1980s, and the Parti Québecois was re-elected in 1981. Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, a French Canadian himself, was openly against separatism. Trudeau promised the people of Québec that he would go as far as introducing a new constitution with a Charter of Rights and Freedoms to quell the divide (Foot, 2016). Two years later, the new Constitution Act was introduced following intense debates on the terms between the Federal government and the government of Québec. Famously, Québec was the only province to refuse signature as the Québec government argued the terms were not acceptable to the province. Despite the absence of Québec's signature, the adopted constitution still applied in the province. Later in 1987, Québec's government again tried to change the constitution to align more with their terms, including recognizing the province as its own distinct society, in what is known as the Meech Lake Accord, but ultimately failed to do so. Still, Québec did not formally consent to the constitution. Following this failure, there was a rise in the support for sovereignty in Québec, reaching 65% agreement (ibid.).

4.16 Québecois Vote to Separate from Canada

In the early 1990s, the Québec independence movement established a party at the Federal level for the first time called the Bloc Québecois (BQ) under Lucien Bouchard, a former progressive conservative. The party became the official opposition at the Federal level in 1993 with the objective of promoting separatism in national politics (Foot, 2016). In 1995, a referendum for Québec's sovereignty was held. "The referendum was defeated by a margin of only 1%, or fewer than 55,000 votes" (Millette et al. 2016). Several prominent provincial politicians and newspapers attributed the loss to non-French ethnic minorities in the province (ibid.). In the following years, the Bloc Québecois would remain a prominent party within the province of Québec but has generally remained weaker in Federal politics.

4.17 Continued Institutionalization of Multiculturalism Policy

Notably, with the adoption of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, multicultural heritage in Canada was recognized. Section 27 of the Charter states: "This Charter Shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians" (cited in Brosseau & Dewing, 2018). This provision

allowed courts to take into consideration Canada's multiculturalism. In 1988, a new multiculturalism policy with an even clearer sense of purpose and direction came into effect when the Canadian Multiculturalism Act was adopted. This Act sets out explicitly the legal framework for Canada's multiculturalism policy and acknowledges multiculturalism as a fundamental characteristic of Canadian society. Overall the new Act's objective was to preserve and enhance multiculturalism in Canada through the preservation of language and culture, reduce discrimination and enhance cultural understanding (ibid.). To ensure government compliance with the Act, a multiculturalism secretariat was established. By way of the Canadian Multiculturalism Act, many others were enacted, such as the Canadian Heritage Languages Institute Act, and the Canadian Race Relations Foundation Act. Other developments were also made in accordance with multiculturalism policy such as new employment equity legislation which required that data be gathered to assess underrepresentation of visible minorities (Jedwab, 2020). The Canadian Census also began collecting information on visible minorities and multiculturalism to assist the government and institutions in eliminating discrimination and to be more diverse (ibid.). The government of Canada has continued to establish various initiatives in the name of multiculturalism and also has established June 27th as Canadian Multiculturalism Day.

4.18 Multiculturalism Policy in the Québecois Context

After its introduction in 1971, opposition to Canada's federal multiculturalism policy was strongest in the province of Québec (Jedwab, 2020). Then Premier Robert Bourassa claimed that the policy was "founded on a questionable dissociation of culture from language" and was not suitable for his province (cited in Jedwab, 2020). "Many Québecers expressed concerns that multiculturalism seemed to place French culture on an equal footing with all other ethnocultural groups", and several French-language newspapers openly criticized the policy (Jedwab, 2020).

Earlier on in 1977, Québec had adopted their Charter of the French language Bill which made French the official language of the Governments and the courts. This Bill was intended to address a common concern amongst French-Canadians that without legislation, new arrivals to Canada would only integrate into English communities (ibid.). By means of this Bill, French also became the "normal, everyday language of work, instruction, communication, commerce and

business" (Behiels and Hudon, 2013). Notably, the Bill also made French the mandatory language of instruction for immigrants unless there was a reciprocal agreement with their province of origin. The roots of this Bill can be traced back to French nationalism in the Province beginning during the time of Confederation, when French leaders worried that the rights of French speaking minorities might be threatened. These same sentiments contributed to the separatist movement in Québec and informed the establishment of the Parti Québecois.

By 1978 the government of Canada had also transferred increased authority over immigration to Québec through several agreements and renegotiations. Under Canada's constitution, immigration was already one of the rare powers held by the federal government and the provinces. As a result of the renegotiations, Québec was given the responsibility of selecting its economic immigrants and has its own selection criteria for candidates of permanent immigration. The province also has increased authority on newcomer integration and cultural retention (Jedwab, 2020). Therefore, there is now a clear distinction made between Federal immigration policy and that of Québec which is managed by the Ministry of Immigration, Francisation and Integration. Still though, refugee files and family reunification are in control of the federal government and temporary immigration is jointly managed but requires the ultimate approval of Québec according to the Canada-Québec Accord. Notably, however, the Canada-Québec Accord allowed Québec full control over the selection process of economic immigrants and their integration. In this way, Québec gained significant powers to manage the number of their future candidates for permanent residency and citizenship based on their own criteria separate from the federal government (Proulx-Chenard, 2006). This unusual position of Québec in comparison to other provinces is rooted in the history, language and culture of the province from the onset of colonization and was accomplished through long periods of negotiations (ibid.). These changes led to the policy "Let's Build Québec Together", which supported an intercultural, not a multicultural, approach to immigration (ibid.).

In the 1980s, Québec Premier René Lévesque, who would go on to found the Parti Québecois, formally rejected the multiculturalism policy and proposed instead a policy of "cultural convergence" (Foot, 2016). Levesque published an action plan translated into *Many Ways to be Québecois* where he further detailed the rejection of multiculturalism principles in Canada

(Proulx-Chenard, 2006). The main point was that contention over multiculturalism was a result of tension with the federal government and the need to give precedence to the French language (ibid.). As mentioned above, by the 1990s, the Bloc Québecois was established as a federal party representing the separatist views at the national level and championing what would be a failed Québec referendum on separation.

Although there has been contention over Canada's multiculturalism policy with Québec, the province has a diverse population where immigration plays a crucial role in society (Proulx-Chenard, 2006). Dating back to the confederation, Québec, in keeping with the rest of Canada, has accepted high levels of immigration comparatively. In fact, Québec has higher rates of immigration than the majority of other provinces. For example, from 2015 to 2019, the province accepted approximately 250,000 permanent immigrants (Proulx-Chenard, 2022). Currently, approximately one-tenth of people living in Québec are of Anglophone descent, and another are mainly people of Indigenous, eastern and southern European and immigrants from various backgrounds such as the Caribbean and Asia (Britannica, 2023).

4.19 General Views on Multiculturalism in Canadian Society

"Various publications and polls suggest that Canadians are generally supportive of a multicultural society, at least in principle if not always in practice" (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018, p.10). Most Canadians also think of multiculturalism as a demographic reality (Jedwab, 2020). For example, in 2015, "focus Canada surveys found the percentage of Canadians who see multiculturalism as a symbol of Canadian identity increased from 37% in 1997 to 54% in 2015" (cited in Brosseau & Dewing, 2018, p.10). In a more recently completed survey in 2021, "Canadians were more likely to mention multiculturalism than any other idea that came to mind when describing, in their own words, what makes Canada unique" (Canadian Geographic, 2021, para. 4). Since 1985, "no fewer than 7 in 10 Canadians said that multiculturalism was important to the Canadian identity" (ibid.). Though there has been significant discussion regarding the value, influence and controversy of this policy, it is undeniable that it is significantly recognized in the Canadian context and associated with the country's identity.

5. Key Stakeholders and Actors

There were many key stakeholders identified in the dispute over multiculturalism policy with Québec. These stakeholders include the francophone community and the anglophone community more broadly, as well as cultural and ethnic minority communities, interest groups, media organizations, political parties, the federal government, and the government of Québec as represented in Figure 7.

Figure 7. Stakeholders Map

Source: *Created by the author*

The Francophone community in Québec was identified as a key stakeholder due to the fact it holds majority status in Québec and historically has a role in cultural preservation efforts and advocacy. Francophones, by definition are people whose primary language is French. The Francophone community represents the majority of the population, although it is shrinking. Francophones sometimes are referred to interchangeably as Québecois, sometimes implying they are the main or true residents of the province. However the term "Québecois" oftentimes implies other meanings such as being a descendant of French settlers. Therefore, not all Francophones can be considered Québecois, as there are many French speakers in the province from diverse backgrounds. Still the views of a French-majority and support have played an important role in the promotion of Québec's unique cultural identity, especially in terms of autonomy and language. Generally speaking, this stakeholder community has traditionally been concerned with key factors in the dispute over multiculturalism.

On the other hand, the Anglophone community in Québec is also recognized as a stakeholder. Anglophones in Québec refers to residents whose primary language is English. This community represents a linguistic minority in the province, although the largest one and the majority in the rest of the country. Their interests have historically been concerned with their place within Québec society, which has caused tensions over multiculturalism debates in the past. Notably, these concerns have predominantly centered around language rights, such as access to English-language education and services and equal access to the job market.

Cultural and ethnic minority communities in Québec can be recognized as a broad stakeholder group that can be further broken down into more specific groups, such as Indigenous communities. Minority communities are identified as stakeholders because they have had an active role in advocating for their rights, needs and interests currently and historically. For example, Indigenous communities' distinct cultural identities, their perspectives and advocacy for land rights, self-determination and recognition within Québec are interconnected with this dispute. Cultural and ethnic minority communities overall played an active and significant role in the creation of multiculturalism policy, especially the Ukrainian-Canadian community. These stakeholders are also represented in the ongoing struggle for accommodation and space within the multiculturalism policy framework in Canada. Although certain cultural and ethnic minorities have demonstrated a high interest in aspects of this particular dispute, and are represented at times in media discourse, from the initial review of search results they have less influence on new policies adopted by the provincial government in terms of framing. In addition, not all cultural and ethnic minorities share the same views on the individual laws and policies. For example, some Indigenous people may disagree with being grouped in with recent immigrants to the country as they view them as perpetuating the occupation of their ancestral land. Given that there are several existing studies (cited in Wong and Guo, 2015) which focus on specific communities within the province, this paper will not attempt to make broad characterizations of these stakeholders. However, it is important to note that these groups are still stakeholders who are impacted by such a policy dispute. This impact can also be exacerbated in different ways considering intersectional identities.

Interest groups can also be identified as stakeholders because of their active involvement in advocating for the rights and interests of other stakeholders in this dispute. Interests groups include advocacy and non-profit organizations, cultural associations, and lobbies. For example, as discussed, advocacy groups have had an active role in challenging bills and policies in Québec that are viewed as in opposition to Canadian multiculturalism.

Media organizations also have an influence in discourse on the dispute over multiculturalism policy with Québec. Media organizations can be considered key stakeholders precisely because of their influence in shaping public discourse as well as disseminating information by other dominant stakeholders such as governments and political parties. Their coverage of multiculturalism policy has and continues to have an impact on disputes over this topic. For example, media organizations such as CBC and Radio Canada have extensively covered the debates surrounding the wearing of religious symbols in public institutions in Québec as affected by the Québec Charter of Values. The media can also highlight and bolster certain positions and narratives. In this particular dispute, the media is found to predominantly quote verbatim the positions of government officials over other stakeholders. Although the media has quoted a number of individuals residing in the province, and their personal opinions on certain aspects of the dispute, these are more sporadic and the backgrounds of the individuals are not always clear. Therefore, from the initial review, it became clear that government officials framing of the dispute took precedence.

Drawing upon the contextual background of this issue, and an initial review of sources, the two contrasting perspectives on multiculturalism policy with Québec are found to be led primarily by respective government authorities of the provincial and federal governments. Therefore, when considering not only the stakeholders but also the key actors in this dispute and the key actors in framing the dispute, federal and provincial political parties that have been represented in the government of Québec and the government of Canada are chosen. These main actors have emerged as such due to several important reasons. First, these actors hold significant positions of authority and decision-making power over this dispute. As revealed through the contextual analysis, the Federal government of Canada is one of the key actors because it is and has always been responsible for the creation, shaping and perpetuation of multiculturalism policy, and

related initiatives at the countrywide level. The federal government has historically endorsed and promoted multiculturalism resulting in it being the most widely recognized Canadian policy. An important point that can be drawn from a review of the context of this dispute is that the endorsement of this policy by the federal government has been consistent despite changes in the governing political party of the country. There is a notable lack of instances where a federal political party leading the country has been opposed to the federal multiculturalism party. With the exception of the Bloc Québecois, this finding holds true of all federal official opposition parties. In part, this is likely because only two political parties have ever led the country - the Conservative Party and the Liberal Party. Although to varying extents throughout Canadian history, and not accounting for all individual positions, in terms of the dispute with Québec, the federal parties have been on the same side. On the other hand, the provincial Government of Québec also holds substantial autonomy and jurisdiction over areas connected with multiculturalism, including language rights, education and cultural promotion, as revealed by a thorough review of the context. Their position on multiculturalism directly affects its implementation as a policy in the province in various domains. Although supported by Québecers, the government has often been featured prominently and led this dispute by being critical of the policy from the onset of its introduction. In a similar way to federal political parties, it is important to highlight that the overwhelming majority of parties leading the provincial government have been officially opposed to the federal policy, even in instances where the government was the provincial equivalent of the same federal party. For example as was the case with former Québec Premier René Lévesque who was outspoken against multiculturalism policy but who was also a Liberal at the time.

Conveniently, this dispute can be divided along a line, with the federal and provincial governments consistently leading and representing each side as represented in Figure 8.

Figure 8. Key Actors by Party

Key Actors by Party		
Not Supportive		**Supportive**
Parti Québécois Position: Centre-Left Minority Provincial Government of Québéc (2012 - 2014)	**Liberal Party of Canada** Position: Centre-Left Majority Government of Canada (2015 - 2019) Minority Government of Canada (2019 - Present)
Parti libéral du Québec Position: Centre Minority Provincial Government of Québéc (2014 - 2018)	**Conservative Party of Canada** Position: Centre-Right Minority Government of Canada (2011 - 2015)
Coalition Avenir Québec Position: Centre-Right Majority Provincial Government of Québéc (2018 - Present)	**New Democratic Party** Position: Left Third Party (2015 - 2019) Fourth Party (2019 - Present)
Bloc Québécois Position: Centre-Left Federal Third Party (2019 & 2021)	

Source: *Created by the author*

Although the various other stakeholders highlighted could perhaps be generally divided on one side or the other, as has been undertaken as a task in other academic research, this will not be the focus of this analysis. Doing so would take much greater consideration of the nuances of each of these stakeholders and would distract from the main questions of this research. For example, although one may assume that Francophones in Québec would support the dominant position led by the provincial government of Québec, this may not account for French speakers who themselves represent ethnic minority groups in the province. Anglophones as another example, although perhaps assumed to be supportive of the federal stance due to concerns over assuring services in English, may not be supportive of other aspects of multiculturalism policy. This approach also recognizes that some stakeholders, such as some Indigenous peoples, may reject both dominant views on this issue and may not align themselves at all with other minorities in the country. Therefore, this paper will focus on the existence of the two dominant and distinct sides and actors of the dispute, without attempting to box each stakeholder into one, while still recognizing their importance to the context.

6. Framing Analysis: Exercising Meaning Power in Key Instances

To conduct this analysis, a signature matrix method was conducted, and frames were extracted from the discourses retrieved from the selected textual materials. To exemplify the spirit of the contentious framing, framing instances are described. These framing instances are selectively highlighted and discussed in terms of the elements such as the symbolic elements, roots, problem definition, diagnosis and prognosis. The empirical credibility, resonance and situation in the larger context are also reflected upon and described. To be clear and succinct, however, it does not include every aspect of all texts involved. This approach is in keeping with the example provided by Creed and their colleagues (2002), as well as authors which have also referenced their work (Azad and Faraj, 2010; Dowell et al., 2002; Hargrave and Van de Ven, 2006). Further, these excerpts were chosen due to their capturing of the essence of contested framing in this dispute, giving them high fidelity to the intent and content of the various frames used by the two sides when engaging in contested framing over multiculturalism policy, as suggested by Creed and his colleagues (2002). This process is also consistent with the authors' recommendations for lowering the risk of bias in frame extraction (ibid.). However, this paper acknowledges that the process is subjective, and all potential frames cannot be exhaustively identified. Although, using the previously-mentioned procedures, the steps towards increasing the credibility and results are undertaken. Overall, this section exemplifies the employment of the signature matrix technique for frame analysis to capture the instances of the exercise of meaning power.

Although multiculturalism policy has existed in Canada for decades and is supported by the majority of Canadians (Brosseau & Dewing, 2018), in the past decade or so, the dispute over multiculturalism with Québec has dominated the province (Patriquin, 2016). Although Québec has traditionally been opposed to multiculturalism policy, the past decade was marked by a growing trend of instances and surrounding debates marking a clearer and stricter opposition in this dispute (Proulx-Chenard, 2022; Jedwab, 2020).

Beginning approximately one decade ago, in September 2013, Québec's Minister for Democratic Institutions and Active Citizenship announced the contents of the proposed *Québec Values Charter,* then *Bill 60*. This announcement triggered "one of the most well-known policy

controversies in recent Canadian history" and marked the beginning of a series of similar policy initiatives in the province (University of Toronto, n.d.). Québec's government claimed that the goal of the Charter was to create a secular society (Degenais, 2016). As expressed by then ruling Parti Québecois in 2013 to the National Assembly, the government "sought the creation of a secular society - a society in which religion and the state would be completely separate (quoted in Dagenais, 2016). As revealed by then Minister Bernard Drainville, included in the Charter were five proposals to encourage religious neutrality. On November 7, 2013, the Charter was officially tabled in parliament as Bill 60. As directly expressed in the explanatory notes of the Bill:

> *The purpose of this bill is to establish a Charter affirming the values of State secularism and religious neutrality and of equality between women and men, and providing a framework for accommodation requests. A further purpose of the bill is to specify, in the Charter of human rights and freedoms, that the fundamental rights and freedoms guaranteed by that Charter are to be exercised in a manner consistent with the values of equality between women and men and the primacy of the French language as well as the separation of religions and State and the religious neutrality and secular nature of the State, while making allowance for the emblematic and toponymic elements of Québec's cultural heritage that testify to its history.* (National Assembly, 2013, p. 2).

This text excerpt directly emphasizes symbolism that reflects Québec's cultural heritage, especially the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. These elements are described as emblematic and toponymic framing that they carry significant historical and cultural importance for the province. As previously discussed, the Quiet Revolution was a significant period of modernization and change in Québec. One of the most notable changes coming out of this period was the creation and emphasis of a secular society in the province. As described by author Jean-Philippe Warren (2021), "the move to secularism was in part the result of a moral revolution", accredited largely to women's emancipation, and the view that monotheistic religions were misogynistic. Notably, one of the most controversial of the five proposals was a ban on wearing any visible symbols indicating religious affiliation by those providing services to the public, including public school teachers. During the Quiet Revolution, laicity was also a result of Québec's new characterization

as a welfare state and the creation of a Ministry for Education that ended the Catholic Church's control over the school system in the province (ibid.).

In reflecting on why debates on secularism have intensified in recent history, this excerpt from the National Assembly defines the problem through stating its intention to address potential conflict between fundamental rights and freedoms, as guaranteed by the Québec Charter of human rights and freedoms and the right to accommodation requests. Accommodation requests, in this case, refer to the notion of reasonable accommodation, which is closely tied to multiculturalism policy officially recognizing individual needs based on cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and providing that these differences should be taken into account when providing goods and services. Reasonable accommodation practically applies multiculturalism policy and was articulated by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1985 (Degenais, 2016). Notably, the social context during which Bill 60 was written was characterized by several controversies over reasonable accommodation that garnered national attention. One prominent example was the case of a Québec school board refusing to allow a Sikh student to wear a kirpan, which is a religious ceremonial dagger, as carrying any type of knife was prohibited. Another was the case where a community of Jewish people in the province successfully demanded that the windows of a community shelter be darkened so that women in bathing suits could not be viewed as it was against their religion. In turn, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled these issues fell under reasonable accommodation and were permitted. These key instances and growing "malaise" over reasonable accommodation led to the Premier of Québec, Jean Charest, establishing a commission to investigate best practices (ibid.). This commission revealed concerns of Québecois that accommodation practices were infringing on their values (ibid.). This in turn led to Pauline Marois, then leader of the Parti Québecois, introducing the charter of values. Marois echoed the explanatory notes of the Bill by stating:

> *The charter will affirm, once and for all, the equality between men and women, and it will reflect not only "universal" values, but Québec values as well. It will become, I'm certain, a strong uniting element between Québecers (...) we're moving forward in the name of all the women, all the men, who chose Québec for our culture, for our freedom and for our diversity* (Marois, 2013, quoted in CBC News).

Further to these quotes, Marois also made reference to a long process beginning with the secularization of Québec's public institutions and culminating in the tabling of this bill, harkening back as well to the historic context. Drainville further added that "the time has come for us to rally around clear rules and common values which will put an end to tensions and misunderstandings" (National Post, 2013). The prognosis conveyed in these excerpts is the need to amend the Charter of human rights and Freedoms to specify alignment with the mentioned values and freedoms. This prognosis indicates a desire to ensure individual rights and freedoms and the preservation of Québec's culture and values.

On the other hand, the Canadian federal government, including in this case, all federal political parties except the Bloc Québecois, were opposed to Québec's Values Charter. Public statements were made by all main federal political parties and their leaders against Bill 60. Several examples are reflected in the following statements by then Minister of Employment Jason Kenney of the Conservative party (under Prime Minister Stephen Harper), leader of the left leaning New Democratic Party Tom Mulcair, and leader of the Liberal Party Justin Trudeau:

At the federal level, we believe our job is to make all people who live in this country —
regardless of their religious, ethnic, cultural background — feel welcome, feel part of
our country, feel like this is a land of equality of opportunity (...) we are very
concerned by any proposal that would limit the ability of Canadians to participate in
our society and that would affect the practice of their faith (...) and if it's determined
that a prospective law violates the constitutional protections for freedom of religion to
which all Canadians are entitled, we will defend those rights vigorously (...) freedom
of religion is a fundamental, universal value inscribed in our constitution (Jason
Kenney, 2013, quoted in the National Post).

Suffice it to say, the text confirms our worst fear (..) we're categorical in rejecting this
approach. Human rights don't have a best-before date, they're not a popularity contest. To
be told that a woman working in a daycare center, because she's wearing a head scarf,
will lose her job is to us intolerable in our society (Tom Mulcair, 2013, quoted in the
National Post).

Canadians and Québecers are better than that (...) I want to reassure Canadians that
Madame Marois does not speak for all Québecers (...) the charter would create second
class citizens who lose their jobs because, for instance, they cannot wear religious garb
(Justin Trudeau, 2013, quoted in the National Post).

In the first excerpt from the then federal Minister of Employment, the problem is defined as Bill 60 limiting Canadians' ability to participate in society emphasizing equal opportunity and the practicing of their faith. Notably, the use of the expression "equal opportunity" conjures up several symbolic meanings when used within this context. Although this notion is referred to in several federal policies and legislations, it can be traced back to the Canadian Human Rights Act of 1977 specifically. This Act is a law that prohibits discrimination in employment and services within federal jurisdiction and has come to influence many subsequent federal employment laws. Given that Kenney was the Minister of Employment, it is likely that the use of these terms are meant to reference employment especially. Considering the forum, the background of this politician, and Conservative leadership at the time also reveals potentially deeper meanings that are less explicit but contribute to the framing nonetheless. Kenney himself served as the Premier of Alberta, another province in Canada, before becoming a well-known Minister in the Conservative government. Although not explicitly found in this excerpt, there is a well-known ongoing tension between the province of Alberta and the province of Québec, especially over economic issues, such as the allocation of federal funds for welfare initiatives. The government of Alberta, and the Conservative Party of Canada, especially under the leadership of Harper, were also well known for their economically oriented platforms and for disagreements with the Québec government. Therefore, using Kenney specifically to speak out for the Conservative party, coupled with his choice of phrasing, likely was a deliberate framing choice. This choice was likely intended to remind of ongoing economic tensions and debates with the province, and frame this Bill as potentially contributing to them going forward. This framing may also serve to remind of the Conservative's framing of their own party as economically concerned and responsible. The other symbolic elements used to frame the problem are federally recognized values of inclusivity, cultural diversity and constitutional rights. These elements draw on historic roots, such as the federal government's responsibility to ensure equal treatment and inclusivity for all residents of Canada. The diagnosis in this instance is the suggestion that Québec's laws

might violate and oppose federally constituted protections. Therefore, Kenney promises to take action. This prognosis strongly implies that the Federal government would bring the law before the Supreme Court of Canada to be challenged. This reference also recalls and emphasizes the division of powers in Canada, where ultimately, the Federal Charter has supremacy in law despite the province of Québec never officially accepting it.

Tom Mulcair (the leader of the New Democratic Party) also diagnoses the problem of the Bill as violating rights and makes reference to potential employment issues by giving a hypothetical scenario of a woman losing a job over wearing a headscarf. This scenario is used to emphasize Mulcair's argument by appealing to a sense of fairness or reasonability against the proposals of the Bill. Muclair also asserts his fear over the proposals framing the problem with a sense of significant concern and urgency. The excerpt's prognosis is not stated explicitly, but it is made clear that Mulcair outright rejects the Bill. Once again, the roots of this framing harken back to federally protected rights.

Justin Trudeau's quote makes several symbolic references rooted in Canadian and Québecois history specifically. Relevant to this context is the fact that Justin Trudeau (leader of the Liberal Party) is Québecois, and his father, former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, introduced multiculturalism policy in Canada. First, Trudeau makes an assertion that Québecers do not all agree with the proposals of the Bill, where he is most likely emphasizing his own, and his father's support of multiculturalism as prominent French politicians. This assertion also makes an appeal to a sense of unity and extends that not all people of Québec are in agreement with the proposal. This assertion, in turn confronts Marois framing as an overly generalized representation of Québecois values. Notably, Trudeau uses the term "Québecers" which is a more general term encompassing all residents of the province, as opposed solely those of French background, again appealing again to a sense of unity but also diversity of backgrounds and opinions within the province. Trudeau's framing also makes an appeal that Québecers and Canadians are better than the proposal, implying that it is shameful and counter to "Canadian" values. Another key point is Trudeau's use of the idea of "second-class citizens". This concept though self-explanatory on the surface, has deep cultural and historical significance for French Québecois. Québecois have historically been referred to and referred to themselves as second-

class citizens. This notion of Québecois in Canada has surfaced time again throughout Canadian history, especially in the discourse surrounding the Quiet Revolution, Québec Separatism, and in general, between French and English relations as previously discussed. In fact, French Canadians have been viewed, and view themselves, as minorities in Canada throughout Canadian history, even facing discrimination (Canadian Encyclopedia, n.d.). Trudeau, therefore, may be using this specific phrasing to create a sense of relatability between Québecois and minorities impacted by the Bill or may be framing the proposals as hypocritical, given this argument is still often used by Québecois in conflicts with the rest of Canada. Trudeau also couples these meanings with an example similar to Mulcair of people potentially losing their jobs. Overall, Trudeau frames the bill as leading to discrimination and a hierarchical society where people could lose their jobs.

Although Bill 60 was ultimately scrapped, by 2019, *An Act Respecting the Laicity of the State* was passed by the Québec National Assembly. During this time, the governing party of Québec had changed to the relatively new party, Coalition Avenir Québec, a nationalist and conservative provincial party led by former businessman Francois Legault. At the federal level, Justin Trudeau of the Liberals had become the governing party. Better known as *Bill 21*, the stated goal of this new legislation was also to confirm the secular status of Québec (Souissi, 2021). Included once again was the prohibition of wearing religious symbols, this time by civil service employees in positions of authority and by teachers. There was also significant controversy over the Act resulting in protests and denouncements from politicians, NGOs and academics (ibid.). Bill 21 was also contested in court by a Muslim trainee teacher with the support of the Canadian Civil Liberties and the National Council of Canadian Muslims. An English Montreal School Board also challenged the Bill, arguing that it violated the right to education in the language of the linguistic minority. However, the Québec Court of Appeal upheld the application of the Act but stated that it should not apply to English school boards or members.

In a press conference, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau answered questions about Québec's Bill 21 (CBC, 2021). In answering the question, Trudeau stated:

> *I deeply disagree with the law (...) it's important (...) to not give the excuse of a fight between Ottawa and Québec (...) and to ensure that it is Québecers themselves who deeply disagree with the fact that someone can lose their job because of their religion, and not to give the excuse to the Québec government that this is federal interference*

but just to say no, Québecers disagree with this principle (...) (Justin Trudeau, 2021, quoted in CBC).

In this instance, Trudeau is still positioning himself clearly in disagreement with the secularism bill; however, the focus of the diagnosis is shifted towards the problem of a potential disagreement between the federal government, referred to as "Ottawa", and the government of Québec. The idea of a "fight between Ottawa and Québec" is contextually symbolic, with roots in the tensions surrounding the division of powers in Canada and Québec's provincial autonomy. Using the term "fight" can act to remind of previous disputes and even violent conflicts involving the province, such as when Justin Trudeau's father triggered the War Measures Act to bring in the military into the province over FLQ terrorism. The mention of federal interference in this case is also highly relevant, as many "fights" with Québec have centered on the perception of encroachment of the federal government and Québec's assertion of its own jurisdiction and authority. This notion, for example, may harken back to Québec's referendum to separate from Canada altogether, which was not popular with the majority of Canadians, as previously discussed. Together these elements frame this dispute in a manner that can evoke responses connected with previous understandings and feelings connected with disputes with the province. Trudeau still problematizes the bill by referencing the legal challenge which centered on a Muslim woman losing her job due to her wearing a headscarf. The prognosis inferred in this case therefore is that Québecers express their opposition to the Québec government without federal intervention.

In reaction to the comments of the Prime Minister, Québec Premier Francois responded:

When we look at Bill 21, it was supported by two parties, the CAQ and Parti Québecois, that represent more than half of Québecers (...) polls show a majority of Québecers are for the law. It's a law that is reasonable. We are talking about prohibiting religious symbols only for people in positions of authority. When we look at what's being done in other countries, like France, it's more of a reasonable, moderate law. It's up to Québecers to decide. I was happy to see in Justin Trudeau's reaction to

say that it's up to Québecers to debate about it. (Francois Legault, 2013, quoted in CityNews).

The problem framing, in this case, is being emphasized as the need to regulate the display of religious symbols when someone is in a position of authority in order to retain neutrality. The framing emphasizes reasonability and the necessity to do so. Therefore, the prognosis for this diagnosis is the need for the law, which is framed as a moderate and balanced approach. Legault appeals to popular support by expressing that the law is supported by the two dominant rival parties in Québec. Doing so frames the law as democratically legitimate and credible and rejects Trudeau's prognosis. Legault also makes an appeal to symbolic notions by making a comparison with France. This comparison is employed again to emphasize the reasonableness and credibility of the law, by demonstrating that Québec's approach is aligned with measures implemented in another Western Society. This comparison reminds of Québec's connection with France, which first settled in Canada and is also known for its principle of laicity. This reference serves to contextualize Québec's law, therefore within a broader international framework and draws upon historic understandings. This framing seeks to counter the problematization of the law as excessive, unreasonable or discriminatory. Furthermore, this framing also appeals to Québec's autonomy by emphasizing a right to make legal decisions based on their values and priorities, supporting Trudeau's framing that federal interference would be an issue.

Additionally, in 2019, the Québec government introduced what is known as the *Québec Values Test* to meet the needs of the also newly introduced *Act to increase Québec's socio-economic prosperity and adequately meet labour market needs through successful immigrant integration.* This test required new economic immigrants to prove they have learned "democratic values and Québec values" (Shingler, 2019). The test can be taken twice, but if failed, economic immigrants are required to take a class in Québec values. Once completed, the candidate would obtain a selection certificate in order to take the next steps towards permanent residency in the province. The test created controversy as questions arose as to whether the test was necessary or more a political statement towards new immigrants (ibid.). The Premier of Québec explained that the test was intended to ensure that new immigrants understood their values, such as the secularism law which was introduced earlier in the same year. The Premier also emphasized that their test

was different to the typical citizenship test for Canada because Québec is a "distinct society" (ibid.). This framing is also expressed in the introduction of the Practical Guide of the Values Test, released by the Ministry of Québec Integration and Francisation:

> *Québec is a French-speaking democratic nation that welcomes immigrants from around the world. These people bring with them their aspirations, skills and expertise, which they contribute to the development of their communities, thus making Québec a better place" (...) These values are the result of a common history in Québec. They make Québec society unique, even though some of its values are present in other societies. It is important to be very familiar with the values of Québec society, because they have a real impact on the daily lives of all those who are a part of it. In Québec, values are expressed through the rights and responsibilities of citizens. They dictate the social rules and codes that make Québec society what it is. These values will serve as benchmarks and will allow you to participate fully in your new society in French* (Ministry of Immigration and Francisation, 2019).

The framing suggests that understanding these values are important to successful integration into society in Québec, therefore, this is a necessary step. The text establishes the framing of a Québec set of values from a common history appealing to a sense of historical legitimacy and authenticity. There is an emphasis on cultural identity that frames Québec as possessing a unique cultural identity and highlights the contributions of immigrants. This framing seeks to create a positive image of a diverse society within the broader Québec "nation". By emphasizing a shared historical context, the document appeals to a sense of cohesion and unity among Québecers. The idea of Québec as a "nation" also carries significant implications defining Québec as not only a province but also one which possesses its own national identity, culture and aspirations deriving from a unique historical development. This notion finds its roots in the historical development of Canada, and gained prominence during the Quiet Revolution and the rise of nationalism beginning in the 1960s. These roots frame Québec's values as an integral part of the province's societal fabric. This framing positions that immigrants, therefore must integrate into what is framed as overarching Québecois culture and distinctness.

On the other hand, then Federal Minister of Immigration Ahmed Hussen dismissed the values test stating:

> *We have laws, we have the rule of law in Canada, we have the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, we have multiculturalism that respects differences and believes that those differences make us stronger, not weaker (...) our diversity is great source of strength and gives us a competitive advantage around the world because we are able to have individuals in Canada who immigrate to our country, who have different faiths, from different backgrounds, different languages, and yet we integrated them successfully.* (Ahmed Hussen, 2019, quoted in Global News).

The Minister frames the issue as a matter of diversity and integration being an existing strength for the country that provides a competitive advantage and that without it, this would weaken the country. This framing appeals to positive outcomes and benefits of immigration in likely an economic and socio-political sense. By stating "we have laws" and then proceeding to refer to multiculturalism and the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Hussen's grounds the framing in Federal authority and legitimacy, which take supremacy in the country, also suggesting such a values charter does not fit into Canada's legal framework. This emphasis may also suggest Québec is undermining existing structures, and that Québec's government may be driven by other motives as it is legally unnecessary. This framing also reinforces multiculturalism policy itself as a symbolic element rooted in the Canadian historic and cultural context. These references also appeal to the beliefs expressed in multiculturalism policy, such as the respect for differences of culture, including languages and religions. Overall this framing positions the values test in opposition to these beliefs of the broader Canadian identity.

In the same year, the province of Québec announced it would reduce its admission targets for new permanent residents to up to 42,000, which was lower than previous years by approximately 10,000 people. Then Immigration Minister, Simon Jolin-Barrette argued that a temporary reduction in permanent residences accepted would ensure that those who were admitted would be better integrated into the province (CIC, 2018). This point was brought up in the dialogues

and critiques surrounding the existing controversies with Québec over such issues. In a televised interview with Premier Francois Legault, he explained the reduction further by stating:

> [Translated from French] *Québecois understand well what's important to ask from the government of Québec at the onset, is how many immigrants, because actually 26% of immigrants leave Québec in their first 10 years, that's 13 thousand out of 50 thousand. So if we integrate 40 thousand well, in total we will have more employees than the current situation. This is important. 58% of immigrants last year didn't speak French. It's difficult to find a job when you arrive here and you don't speak French. So there's changes we need to make to our model of immigration.* (Francois Legault, 2019, interview for Radio Canada).

Legault frames this issue as an employment issue linked to immigration, focusing on immigrants who arrive to Québec but leave to find work in other provinces. Legault attributes this problem to the acceptance of immigrants who do not speak French. Therefore, Legault stresses the need for changes in the immigration system, of which he directly refers to a reduction in the amount of people and a focus on integration. Notably, Legault is the leader of a provincial Conservative party which platform heavily on economic issues and on fixing the economic issues of Québec. In a similar manner to the Federal Conservative party, Legault frames his party as more economically responsible and fiscally cautious. Through this interview, as exemplified by this quote, Legault is framing the issue more in practical and logical terms (using statistics), while also implying that the existing model of immigration is contributing to the province's economic problems.

More recently in 2022, the Québec government passed Bill 96, officially called *An Act Respecting French, the Official and Common Language of Québec, which* reformed a previous Bill 101. Effectively, Bill 96 made the government's exclusive language of communication French (Busque, 2022). The Bill reformed several policies and pieces of legislation in Québec and made significant changes. Notably, new immigrants to Québec would have six months from arrival to adapt to French only government services (2022). The Bill also reduced the number of English only speaking students in post-secondary education and required larger companies to

adopt French as the working language (2022). Further, the Bill allows the Québec language office to investigate businesses who are suspected of now following the law. Controversially, the Bill invokes what is called the *notwithstanding clause*, which is a part of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms that allows provincial parliaments to override certain aspects of the Charter (Pelletier, 2022). In the case of Bill 96, the government applied the notwithstanding clause to the entire bill making it immune to charter challenges (Marchand, 2022). Notably, in the same year before the passing of Bill 96, Statistics Canada released a report revealing that the level of Canadians speaking French has declined in all provinces, including in Québec (CTV News, 2022). The report found that the percentage of Canadians who speak French predominantly had also fallen to 19.2% (ibid.). In the same year, ahead of Québec's most prominent holiday, the Fete Nationale, Premier Francois Legault was making a speech to announce new funding for a Québec music space and was discussing Québec's selection of immigrants where he stated:

> *We see that Mr. Trudeau is pushing for multiculturalism, so he doesn't want us to have a culture and a language where we integrate newcomers (...) it's important that our nation and our culture be respected and that we try to integrate new immigrants to that culture (...) it's important that we don't put all cultures on the same level; that's why we oppose multiculturalism* (Francois Legault, 2022, quoted in the Montreal Gazette).

These statements were made shortly after his language Minister Simon Jolin-Barrette had given a high-profile speech in Paris to l'Academie Française. In this speech, Jolin-Barrette discussed the challenges of integrating immigrants into the province and stated:

> *Although our project is thwarted by Canadian multiculturalism, which finds an equivalent in what you call communitarianism and which combats the claims of Québec to constitute itself as a distinct nation (...) the French language must really become the language of use of all Québecers* (Simon Jolin-Barrette, 2022, quoted in the Montreal Gazette).

Continuing on, Simon-Barrette made the following statements in regards to the language Bill 96 stating:

Law 96 on the French language does not come alone, it was adopted after Law 21 on
secularism, which I also had the honour of piloting, always with the same idea of
strengthening the autonomy and personality of the State of Québec (...) what is
presented as an openness to the world too often masks acculturation, which comes with
a significant loss of memory and identity (...) lazy authors depict our fight from the most
denigrating and insulting angle, trying to pass it off as a rearguard fight, a form of
authoritarianism (...) our fight for the French language is just, it is a universal fight,
that of a nation which has peacefully resisted the will to power of the strongest. (ibid.).

In these instances, both government officials frame the issue as a conflict between the protection of a distinct Québecois identity that includes a distinct language, culture and history, and the perceived threat of multiculturalism policy. They appeal to the idea of a distinct Québec identity and nation, and emphasize the importance of its preservation. Both frame multiculturalism policy as threatening this identity directly. Legault even positioned the Prime Minister's support of the policy as directly against Québecois culture and language. For example, Legault's phrase concerning putting all cultures on the same level problematizes this aspect of multiculturalism policy specifically. The phrase implies that instead there should be a hierarchical distinction with Québecois culture being predominant in order to protect it. A comparison can be drawn between this idea and the dispute leading to the adoption of multiculturalism policy itself. As previously discussed, the Bilingual and Bicultural Commission had been tasked with considering questions such as if Québecois culture was Canadian culture. Ultimately, it was decided that Canada was not officially English or French in culture, but only in language. Notably, Québec has taken issue with this framing from the onset, consistently arguing that English-Canada has always dominated the country. The Minister's use of symbolism in the phrase "a nation which has peacefully resisted the will to power of the strongest" therefore has significant roots and contextual reference. First, this phrasing makes a connection to the historic narrative of Québec as a distinct nation that has been in conflict with English Canada and, subsequently the federal government after the British officially came to dominate the country at the onset of the Dominion. The phrase can also conjure recollections of the nonviolent resistance of Québecois, such as those characterizing the Quiet Revolution, the Meech Lake Accord, and the separatist movement among others. This framing notably positions Québec as a peaceful resistor to the dominance of the majority of Canada. This framing also positions the federal government and English Canada

as having more power and influence than the province historically. This plays off an underdog narrative, which can work to elicit sympathy and support for Québec's struggles against a stronger entity. This concept is once again emphasized when the Minister criticizes opposing framing as depicting Québec's "fight" as a "rearguard fight" a "form of authoritarianism". A rearguard fight conjures up imagery of an authoritarian government in retreat, which the Minister strongly rejects. The diagnosis by both officials in this case is that multiculturalism as a policy approach hinders the integration of immigrants into Québec's culture and language and this undermines the distinctiveness of the province. Both officials, therefore, posit that Québec's culture be prioritized and justifies the implementation of Bill 96, 21 and immigration reforms. Keeping in mind Legault's previous statements on immigration and the Québec labour market, in this framing the Premier is thereby making a deliberate connection between Québec's economic issues, immigration, and multiculturalism policy. In particular, Legault, who had previously linked labour issues in the province to difficulties integrating new immigrants, attributes this difficulty to the federal government "pushing" multiculturalism. Further, therefore, the suggestion is that integration into a dominant Québecois culture would be more successful economically.

6.1 Frame Labeling and Reflections

From this exercise, the result was the identification of three key overarching frames on each side of the dispute. On one side, as supported by Québec's government officials, "Unique Cultural Preservation", "Québecois as Dominant Culture", and "Provincial Autonomy" were identified. On the other hand, as supported by the Federal government, "Cultural Diversity and Pluralism", "Accommodation", and "National Unity" were identified. This paper finds that these labels accurately capture the essence of the contested framing and are derived from phrasing found in the excerpts. Therefore, they are representative of the intent and content of the various framing elements used by key Québec Government and Federal Government representatives.

6.1.1 Unique Cultural Preservation

Unique Cultural Preservation is found to be an overarching frame in the dispute over multiculturalism policy used by government authorities of Québec. The key figures in this case

repeatedly contend that Québec has a unique cultural identity and that this cultural identity should be preserved. The French language; the separation of church and state; equality between men and women; Québecois as a minority within the broader Canadian context; and Québec's own institutions are most often referenced in this dispute. The overarching problem here is defined as the potential erosion of Québec's unique cultural identity. This frame positions multiculturalism policy as prioritizing a pan-Canadian, homogenized, identity that prioritizes English at the expense of Québec's cultural identity and language. Going further in this vein, some actors on this side frame multiculturalism policy as upholding not only the English language as dominant, but British culture under the guise of multiculturalism. Therefore, the framing further contend that without explicit measures, such as those passed in the past decade, to preserve Québec's culture, the identity of the province is undermined. Also in this vein, when considering the current context in which this framing is being used, it is important to consider the backdrop of a demonstrable drop in the use of the French language in Canada; the difficulty of retaining new immigrants in Québec; and legal challenges pertaining to accommodation requests. All excerpts directly if not indirectly reference these issues facing the province in the past decade. It is likely no coincidence that such framing is employed following closely after such topics have arisen. The roots of the notion of unique cultural preservation in this context are connected with Québec's history. Actors reference Québec's history as distinct, referring directly or indirectly to the differences resulting from their province being settled by the French as opposed to the English. Key social movements such as the Quiet Revolution, Separatism, and key policies and legislation are also referred to in this regard. These references and recollections appeal to the historic struggles and assertions in the protection of their cultural distinctiveness within Canada at large. Further, the singling out of this particular frame is lent credibility when considering Québec's multitude of initiatives, including significant contributions from its provincial budget, to support for cultural expressions and dedication to preserving cultural heritage. References to Québec's distinct cultural symbols, celebrations, expressions, and history therefore serve as powerful elemental symbols to draw upon and use in this framing of this dispute.

6.1.2 Québecois as Dominant Culture

This frame problematizes more specifically the marginalization and dilution of Québecois culture in the broader Canadian context because of multiculturalism policy. Although Québec officials repeatedly assert they are not against immigration or the existence of other cultural identities, the argument here is that Québecois culture should rightfully be the dominant culture into which people integrate in the province of Québec. How this frame differs is its more specific focus on the idea of Québecois culture being dominant and original in comparison to others. The diagnosis and prognosis are similar to that of the previous frame, but the elements upon which it draws are more nuanced. This framing more specifically plays on notions of the French being a founding people of Canada. This notion of Québecois as an original peoples of Canada, was referred to during the Separatist Movement and was a key topic of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism that directly led to multiculturalism policy in Canada. Precisely, multiculturalism policy was meant to determine what in fact it meant to be Canadian in terms of culture. The recommendations led to federal assertion that although there were two official languages to be used in Canada, there was no official culture. This was controversial for the province given that they viewed the dominant culture in Canada to be that of English and English-Canadian culture as reflected in the institutions and symbolism of the country, such as the British Monarchy. Legal accommodation challenges which have arisen in the past decade as a result of protection of multiculturalism likely inform the more recent use of this framing. Such challenges are framed as problematized examples to demonstrate Québec's culture is being challenged or expected to acquiesce.

6.1.3 Provincial Autonomy

This frame asserts and emphasizes Québec's provincial autonomy within the Canadian system. The government officials in this dispute often frame the pursuit of provincial autonomy in the context of the division of powers and asymmetrical federalism. From this angle, the frame posits that Québec's unique cultural identity and history necessitate a tailored approach to federal-provincial relations. In fact, this framing has previously been used with success in the past to negotiate for more provincial authority, notably with immigration policy as previously detailed. This framing, therefore also asserts and reminds of the special arrangements and exemptions that exist for the province. This framing lends support in instances where this autonomy is exercised,

as has been the case with many of the initiatives taken in the past decade, especially Bill 21 which was immune from Charter challenges. It lends support by seeking to further legitimize the actions and demands. This framing in this case also emphasizes the need for the province to exercise authority in its areas of jurisdiction free from federal interference. This idea is used multiple times in this dispute to counter federal challenges to the Québec government's decisions. This framing also draws on concepts of popular will and democratic legitimacy, arguing that autonomy is important to the people of Québec as represented in elections and public opinion. Interestingly, though more subtly, perhaps, there is a key economic component employed in this framing. In this dispute, the Québec government also frames its pursuit of provincial autonomy in economic terms by arguing the need for greater autonomy to effectively integrate and accommodate the province's diverse population. Again, this framing is falling on a backdrop where there is a demonstrable decline in the use of the French language in the province, and there is difficulty retaining recent immigrants. This framing seeks to reinforce their assertion that autonomy is needed to implement economic strategies that align with the province's unique cultural composition and needs, such as protecting the French language while retaining employees.

6.1.4 Cultural Diversity and Pluralism

Cultural diversity and inclusion, on the other hand is found to be an overarching frame in the dispute over multiculturalism policy used by government authorities of the federal government. The federal government authorities frame cultural diversity and pluralism as key Canadian values that underpin Canadian society. This framing aims to position multiculturalism as a means to foster equality and social cohesion in Canadian society at large, irrespective of cultural heritage. By framing the dispute in this manner, the federal government also advocates for multiculturalism policy and its connected laws and policies such as by highlighting its societal and economic benefits. In terms of cohesion, this framing highlights the belief that diversity enriches Canada and contributes to society. This also harkens back to Canada's branding or identity as a multicultural nation and its history of mass immigration. In terms of economics, this framing seeks to highlight economic benefits of multiculturalism. However, in this case, no explicit economic benefits are relayed. Given that Canada has historically and continues to rely

on immigration to support its economic growth, as previously discussed, it can be inferred that this is likely the context being referenced.

6.1.5 Accommodation

The framing of accommodation emphasizes the federal government's commitment as per multiculturalism policy to foster an inclusive society that accommodates diverse needs, identities and cultures. It posits multiculturalism as a way to ensure that Canadians from different backgrounds can fully participate in Canadian society without having to compromise their cultural or religious beliefs. The actors, in this case, highlight participation in the labour market as examples in this framing, arguing that Québec's approach can cause disruptions and conflicts that have an impact on employment. This framing also asserts that accommodation is not only promised but also necessary to uphold principles such as equality and freedom, which are central to federal institutions. Accommodation challenges Québec's framing of Québecois as Dominant Culture by advocating a balance between different interests. Doing so also implies that Québec's framing is counter to the principles of the country's institutions. Whereas the federal government is positioned as the champion of multiculturalism and its associated values and principles. Further, the framing can act to position the federal government as the mediator and as more fair and balanced than the government of Québec. This framing may be strategic in the sense that it may help the government maintain its legitimacy and support.

6.1.6 National Unity

Framing this dispute as a matter of national unity emphasizes the federal government's commitments and role in the promotion and protection of shared values and common identity. It also reinforces the supremacy of federal laws such as the Canadian Charter. It positions multiculturalism as a unifying force that bridges cultural differences and strengthens the nation as a whole. This framing may be employed to foster a sense of belonging or even loyalty to Canada that transcends people's backgrounds. This framing, like that of Québec in certain regards, stresses the importance of ensuring integration into society. However, from this framing perspective, the integration should be into the broader Canadian society that respects the supremacy largely of federal laws and institutions. This framing further posits multiculturalism as a source of national pride that contributes to Canada's identity. This may be strategically

employed to minimize or address social conflicts and conflicts with the other levels of governments. This framing also has deep historical roots in Canada's history and cultural context. National unity for example was stressed during the rise of Québec separatism which was not supported by the federal government. National unity was also called for during the terrorist attacks of the FLQ as previously discussed. Referencing the literature review of this paper, Canada's historic struggle with the idea of national unity has been extensively explored. This framing, therefore can be better understood and becomes more poignant by considering historic stresses and tensions surrounding national unity in the country, especially in the case of Québec which has been engaged in violent conflict, and has attempted to separate from Canada altogether.

7. Findings

The frames identified and described above signal the reasons behind the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec, which was the main focus of this paper. Furthermore, they address the three specific sub-research questions posed as follows:

(1) The historical roots of this dispute can be traced back to the very onset of colonization when French and English settlers fought over land and trade, eventually resulting in British control over Canadian territory. Despite British victory over what would become Canada, French settlers remained in Canadian territory, mainly in the province of Québec, and joined the Canadian Federation. Given the division of powers established in the country, and ongoing struggle, Québec has come to have considerable authority over key matters in this dispute, such is the case with immigration and language policies. While the Canadian nation was being shaped, so too was the Québec nation (officially recognized in the mid-2000s) within its own jurisdiction and by its unique cultural attributes. French and English Canada had long been considered the original founding cultures of the country despite multiculturalism policy. Although one of the dominant cultures in the country, Québecois society had long been considered second-class to an English majority. This view gave rise to nationalism in the province in the 1960s leading to the Quiet Revolution, which saw drastic cultural and socio-political changes to the province. The revolution marked a push for modernization, secularization, welfare, and significantly increased provincial autonomy. This movement increasingly challenged existing power structures and

sought to assert Québec's identity in Canada. In many regards, this movement was highly successful for the province, giving it more autonomy and bolstering its prosperity and social outcomes. However, with the rise of nationalism, also came tumultuous times characterized by terrorist attacks, the formation of nationalist parties, failed negotiations (e.g. the Meech Lake Accord) and the push for separatism. These events not only shaped Québec but also deeply affected the country leading to the establishment of "one of the most influential commissions in Canadian history the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism" in 1963 (Laing and Cooper, 2019). This Commission, was tasked with asking pressing questions in Canadian society pertaining to the country's culture and language, As a result of the findings and recommendations of the Commission, and likely influenced by the activism of minority populations in the country, Canada was deemed to have two official languages, but no official culture. These findings directly led to the adoption of Canadian multiculturalism policy and resulted in sweeping changes to Canadian laws and policies (2019). Perhaps unsurprisingly, Québec, who had been pushing for greater recognition and assertion, was not satisfied with the findings of the commission or multiculturalism policy, blaming minorities, the federal government and an English majority. From the onset of the policy, Québec officials have contended that the federal government and English Canada only sought to benefit from the policy at the detriment of their province. This dispute has persisted since, resurging in national discourse at various times. This historic context is crucial to understanding the broader question and other sub-questions of this paper, as the framing analysis reveals that historic meanings and symbolizing are frequently employed by both federal and provincial representatives in this ongoing dispute. Without first understanding the history of the country and the province, much of the nuance of the discourse is lost.

(2) The particular reasons why this dispute is present in contemporary public discourse is perhaps more difficult to discern than the first sub-question posed. However, through the framing analysis, with special attention to the context within which the framing is taking place, answers are revealed. A key observation is the framing surrounding key points of contention in the past decade, namely the Bills concerning laicity of the state, the Québec Values Test, and the Language Bill. Also vital is the analysis of key moments in Québec society that are either directly connected to these points or setting the backdrop for them. Through this analysis, we

find that these contentious policies and laws were adopted during a decade where the French language was reported to be in decline in Canada and in the province; where Québec was experiencing difficulties retaining newcomers in their struggling labour market; and the province faced several high-profile accommodation challenges that garnered significant attention. These factors are also taking place during a decade where the Federal government has accepted record numbers of immigrants, the majority of which do not speak French. Given the framing and specific framing elements drawn upon by Québec authorities, it can reasonably be concluded that these factors contributed to a resurgence of contention. For example, looking at the excerpts, it is observable that on several occasions, Québec authorities frame and attribute these problems in their province to multiculturalism, directly faulting the federal government for their support of the policy. Whether this is being used as a deflection from responsibility or whether this is truly believed is more difficult to discern for each individual actor. However, what is salient is that this framing has resonance with many Québecers. Again, turning back to the historic context, it becomes clear that this framing has deep meaning in the Canadian context.

(3) On the side of Québec's government officials, the frame of "Unique Cultural Preservation", "Québecois as Dominant Culture", and "Provincial Autonomy" emerged as overarching themes. Together these frames reflect Québec's concerns about the potential erosion of its unique cultural identity, the marginalization of Québecois culture within the Canadian context, and the need for provincial autonomy to protect and promote its distinct cultural composition and needs. On the other hand, the federal government's framing of "Cultural Diversity and Pluralism", "Accommodation", and "National Unity" emphasize the values of cultural diversity, the importance of accommodating diverse needs and identities, and the promotion of a unified nation.

8. Discussion

8.1 Roles and Implications of the Identified Frames

To this end, the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec is a continuation of the dispute which began at the onset of the policy, and which can trace its roots back to the beginnings of the country. Although this conflict has long persisted, in the past decade, a set of

new laws and policies in Québec and the active framing of government actors representing both the province and the federal government have influenced discourse surrounding the dispute. These new sets of laws and policies were introduced during a time when Québec was facing high profile legal challenges, economic difficulty and significant demographic change. Together these factors are represented, utilized, and attributed meaning in the overarching frames. In further answering the main research question, it is crucial to also consider the role and implications of these found frames.

The frame "Unique Cultural Preservation" has a role in shaping cultural identity and cultivating solidarity. This frame does so by positioning Québecois culture as distinct and emphasizing the importance of preservation. This framing can act to create a sense of belonging, solidarity and pride amongst Québecois. Doing so also reinforces the idea of "others" who do not fit into the Québecois culture, and reinforces the idea that they are a minority in need of protection in the broader Canadian context. This may have the implication of straining relations with minorities within the province who may feel further marginalized. This framing can also have the impact of creating a sense of fear of cultural erasure for minorities and for people who identify as Québecois. On one side this fear can lead to increased resistance to policies perceived to undermine Québecois distinctiveness. For example, this framing may lead to resistance or reluctance to adopt pan-Canadian or federal policies. This frame therefore may lend support to provincially led initiatives and policies, especially those aimed at the protection and promotion of Québec culture. For example, this has included policies aimed at the promotion and preservation of language, heritage sites and the arts. Notably, public statements made by the current Premier of the province were made on location at cultural sites. On the other side, implications of this framing may also lead to clashes, legal challenges and increased tensions between Québec, the federal government, minorities, and even other provinces. This framing also centers cultural identity as a central issue in policy debates and decision-making that may lead to a focus on identity politics and the expense of other considerations. This focus again may lead to more social conflict within the province between those included in the Québecois culture and those who are considered outsiders.

The frame "Québecois as Dominant Culture" acts in a similar vein to reinforce cultural identity with a greater emphasis on a historical and founding narrative and dominance within the provincial and national context. This frame supports policies that prioritize the preservation and promotion of Québecois culture especially in terms of maintaining dominance within the provinces jurisdiction. This framing also has implications for relations with minorities within the province and can affect integration and social cohesion. For example, reconciliation efforts with Indigenous peoples, and other government efforts aimed at minority populations may be sidelined or undermined. This may also raise questions about the recognition of rights of these groups. This framing may also contribute to heightened identity politics within the province, with identity becoming a prominent factor in political discourse that may lead to conflict and polarization. This framing may also impact federal-provincial relations, especially when there is a conflict or asymmetry between federal laws and policies. For example, differing immigration practices at the provincial and federal level may become more difficult to reconcile as they diverge in their methods and objectives.

The frame "Provincial Autonomy" also emphasizes a distinct Québec identity with a strong appeal to democratic legitimacy and decision-making authority. This frame draws on concepts of popular will, democratic representation and the right to assert autonomy in certain areas of jurisdiction. Further, the framing in this case also connects autonomy to Québec's economic needs that are framed as distinct from the rest of the Canadian economy. This framing is used to negotiate for more authority in certain domains, and can also act as a legal defense particularly when provincial laws and policies are challenged by the Federal government or Supreme Court. In turn, the implications of this framing may also lead to challenges of federal laws and policies seen as infringing on Québec's autonomy. Again, this can affect federal-provincial relations particularly when there are disagreements over policy priorities and jurisdictional boundaries. This can have further impacts on national unity, particularly if Québec autonomy challenges in real or perceived terms, broader cohesion in the country.

Alternatively, the frame "Cultural Diversity and Pluralism" employed by representatives of the federal government, emphasizes "Canadian values", inclusivity, economic and social benefits. This framing lends support to policies that promote and protect cultural diversity and expression,

such as those focused on creating inclusive institutions and public services that accommodate diverse needs. The implication of such framing emphasizes the idea of unity in diversity, and promoting a shared sense of belonging amongst Canadians from different backgrounds. This emphasis may inform efforts to bridge cultural divides and reach compromises. The frame may also act to gain broader political support.

The frame "Accommodation" positions accommodation as a way to protect individual rights while respecting cultural identities and promoting inclusivity. The implications of such framing lend support to policies that aim to provide inclusive public services, including by accommodating diverse needs such as policies that support accommodating religious practices and cultural customs. Policies based on this may face greater legal challenges when these accommodations must be balanced between multiple diverse groups with potentially competing interests. However, such policies can also act to foster intercommunity relations and relations with the government. The implications of this framing may contribute to a sense of national cohesion and reinforced notions of a shared Canadian identity.

The frame "National Unity" promotes the federal government's role in the protection of shared values and a common Canadian identity. This framing also seeks to foster a sense of belonging and loyalty to Canada that transcends different cultural backgrounds and differences. This frame positions multiculturalism as a unifying force that strengthens the nation as a whole. This frame may inform and support policies that promote a sense of national identity. For example, policies that celebrate Canadian history and symbolism. This framing is also employed to avoid controversy and backlash with all stakeholders involved including Québec.

Framing provides actors with a structure to put forward their positions and arguments in a way that speaks to the interests of their stakeholders and broader audiences. Framing influences decision-making and stakeholder receptivity. Two or three frames strategically chosen and executed ensures consistency of messaging, reinforces policy objectives, and ultimately can be harnessed to advantage. In the case of this resurging dispute on multiculturalism in Québec, the actors of both sides are deliberately choosing to emphasize certain aspects in their frames while downplaying or discounting others to advance their own agendas – for example, by focusing on

aspects that align with their political and ideological goals and avoiding others that could challenge or undermine their positions. This can lead to an oversimplification of the issue leading to further misunderstandings and reinforcing confirmation biases. Given that these actors are politicians representing their respective political parties, they have a stake in prioritizing narratives that they believe will resonate with their supporters and appeal to a voting base. While both sides appeal to historical contexts and conflicts to embolden their position that their respective approaches are founded in a long history of English-French relations, they diverge in their framing to align with their audience and better reflect contemporary attitudes. These dominant frames also serve both sides in terms of upholding certain power structures and can even act to extend their respective realms of influence. For example, even though legally Québec has jurisdiction over its economic immigration intake, and is exempt from certain Charter challenges, federal government representatives used framing that suggested otherwise. In short, Québec wants to make a strong argument to be empowered to protect its unique identity in spite of the federal policy on multiculturalism and the federal government wants to maintain the status quo. The lack of influence and representation of marginalized voices, also maintains the influence and authority of those in positions of power, and gives them control over their respective side of the dispute. For instance, omitting Indigenous peoples' voices and perspectives (who have also been recognized as a distinct nation within Canada), perpetuates problematic power imbalances.

8.2 Why Do These Frames Emerge?

Thus far, this paper has considered the dominant frames in this dispute, their role and potential implications. However, considering the underlying reasons why these particular frames emerge lends further insight into the main question of this research. Upon further reflection, it becomes evident that these frames reflect broader philosophical and ideological debates surrounding the very essence of nationhood, national culture, and the interplay between the individual and the collective. Ironically, though perhaps unsurprisingly, the debates that persist today were the same ones that originally led to the adoption of multiculturalism policy several decades ago. The framing employed by both sides not only influences the public discourse surrounding multiculturalism policy but also acts as a powerful tool in defining the essence of Canada and the Québec nation. These findings are in keeping with those of other authors considered in this

paper, such as Leung (2006) and Kenyeres (2014). Notably, even though the frames on both sides rely on notions of identity, culture, and nationhood, these frames largely leave out explicit reference to the colonial beginnings of the country. Even though certain frames reference the idea of "founding" and "original" people to strengthen their positioning, both sides avoid tackling this influential component of the formation of the country. By recognizing this connection to broader debates and questions, it becomes clear that this dispute goes beyond a policy disagreement but is also a struggle over fundamental questions of the country.

Acknowledging this underlying layer of complexity can lead to a more nuanced understanding of the issue at hand. As summarized by Kenyeres (2014, p. 27), multiculturalism policy is found to be more of a necessity aimed at establishing a Canadian national identity than an idealistic philosophy, and although the policy has played a role in supporting minorities, the difficulties of creating a national identity based on many diverse minority cultures is reflected in these very debates. Questions about Canadian-ness are not new to Canadians, as they have been extensively explored in academia, public discourse, and media (Gilmore, 2018). Various names have been used to describe this phenomenon such as a Canadian Identity Crisis, an Identity Dilemma and a Canadian insecurity to name a few. Although further reflections on this subject are outside the scope of this paper, and have been covered extensively by other authors, it is important to consider this factor in this particular dispute. Notably, all the frames found in this dispute avoid reflecting upon this phenomenon directly. This is likely due to the fact it would undermine the frames employed on both sides as it can lead to questions about the very authority of the respective actors and the legitimacy of the country itself.

Despite being covered extensively, there are few satisfying conclusions to these questions. This open-endedness has been attributed to many factors that shape the country, namely its size, its demographics and its beginnings based in colonization. However, given these results it would be worthwhile to further explore how questions of identity and nationhood shape other contemporary policy disputes in Canada.

8.3 Looking Forward

In looking forward towards possible solutions to this dispute, there are a few possibilities. On the one hand, the federal government could demonstrate flexibility and respect for provincial autonomy by refraining from challenging the province's adoption of measures that do not infringe upon the Rights and Freedoms of Canadians. This would demonstrate an acknowledgement and respect for the division of powers and province's autonomy in certain areas of jurisdiction such as economic immigration and language. The federal government could also focus efforts on better understanding the nuanced concerns and interests of Québec regarding multiculturalism policy by engaging with provincial representatives. In turn, there is common ground found through this analysis which could further be explored to develop policies that address both the province's needs and maintaining the principles of multiculturalism in a balanced approach. For example, as found through this analysis, all Québec governments in the past decade have openly supported immigration to the province and reinforced this position with significant funding and support, even more so than the majority of other provinces. Any resolution in this case should also aim to sustain efforts towards building a positive and cooperative relationship keeping in mind past conflicts.

Conclusion

This paper aimed to investigate, through frame analysis, the reasons behind the recent dispute over multiculturalism policy in Québec and more specifically uncover and characterize the nature of the dispute that has resurged in recent years. By seeking answers to three sub-research questions on the dispute's historical roots, the reasons for its resurgence in contemporary public discourse, and the framing by key actors, this paper identified the contrasting viewpoints and interests that are at play. The historical aspect reveals that the dispute traces back to the very origins of the country and is shaped by key pivotal moments in Canadian history. The contemporary dispute has further been shaped by key policies and laws adopted during a decade where Québec has undergone demographic and economic changes as well as high profile legal challenges that reignited these longstanding tensions surrounding multiculturalism policy. Specifically, the analysis revealed three key frames used by Québec and federal government representatives respectively, to strategically position their interests within the debate and secure the support of other stakeholders. These identified frames include "Unique Cultural

Preservation", "Québecois as Dominant Culture", and "Provincial Autonomy" for Québec; and "Cultural Diversity and Pluralism", "Accommodation", and "National Unity" for the federal government. Upon further consideration, these frames reflect a deeper debate in the Canadian context about nationhood, and cultural identity. These findings reveal that the frames not only shape this policy dispute but also act to shape notions of the Canadian and Québec nation and their relationship to one another. Despite the complexities of this dispute, the analysis also reveals common ground, which lends possibility to moving towards resolutions.

Overall, the approach used in this paper, which relied on framing analysis, proved to be a helpful analytical tool in capturing and further exploring the essence of the contested framing and various framing elements used. It provided a structured and systematic way to analyze the dispute while still allowing for the benefits and flexibility of an interpretivists approach. Altogether, this facilitated a deeper understanding of a complex topic that helped explore the research questions and as such demonstrated how much can be revealed from analyzing the framing employed by key policy actors to unravel the complexities fueling the dispute.

This study took a broader look at this dispute and investigated the interconnectedness of many factors, which has not been previously done. This benefit is also a chosen limitation however, as it may overlook finer details in its focus on the dispute at large. Although, the intention was not to provide an exhaustive review of all specific accounts, but to attempt to see the bigger picture of the dispute and factors play. Arguably, a more limited scope may be better suited in attempting to understand the impacts and influence of a specific group within the province. However, given that such academic literature exists on this topic, and there is a lack of characterization of the broader problem, the findings of this paper aim to fill a gap in the existing literature on the topic of multiculturalism policy in Canada. Going forward, this particular area of study could benefit from on-going analysis of sources covering the current dispute, and the use of academic theories and methods to provide guidance and structure in analysis. Keeping in mind the reasons for this dispute, uncovered in this research, can also help shed light on how this dispute is likely to be resolved going forward, and can inform policy responses in this context.

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